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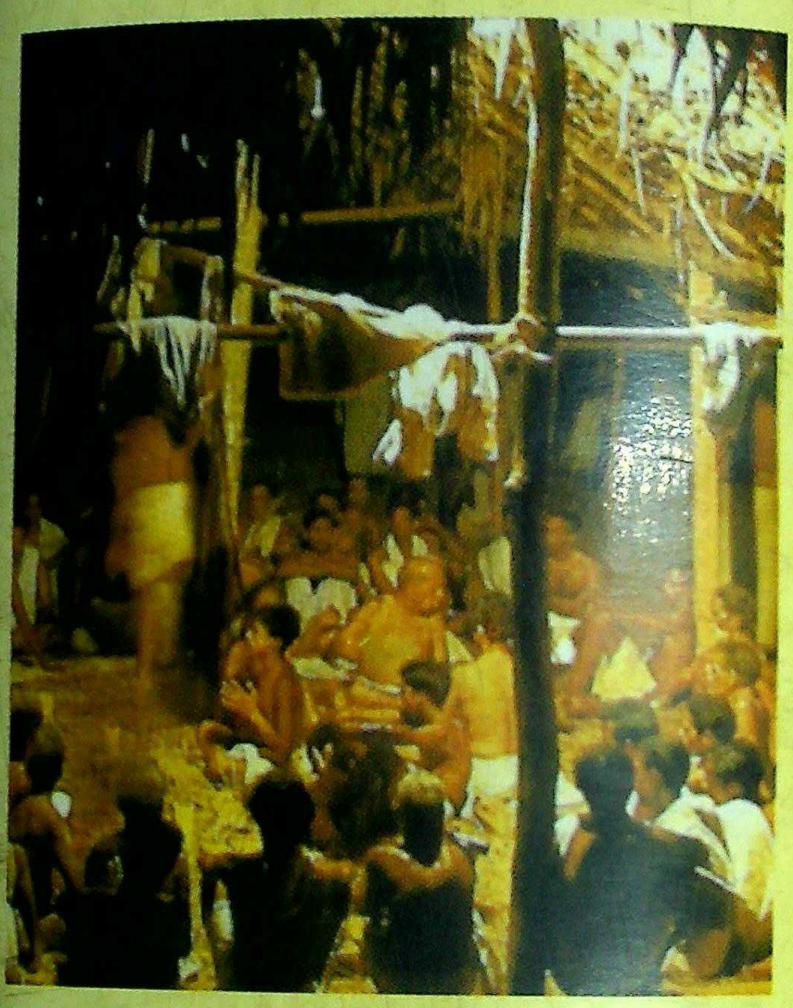

VOLUME I

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AGNI

The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar

VOLUME I

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Mahāvedi (G

Patnīśālā
(Wife's Hall)

Prācīnavaṃśa (Old Hall)

○ Utkara Rubbish Heap

Gārhapatya (Domestic Altar)

Vedi

(Old) Āhavanīya
(Offering Altar)=
(New) Gārhapatya
(Domestic Altar)

Dakṣiṇāgni
(Southern Altar)

Sadas
(Hall of Recitation

Audumba

N

E

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि
न लगायें।

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
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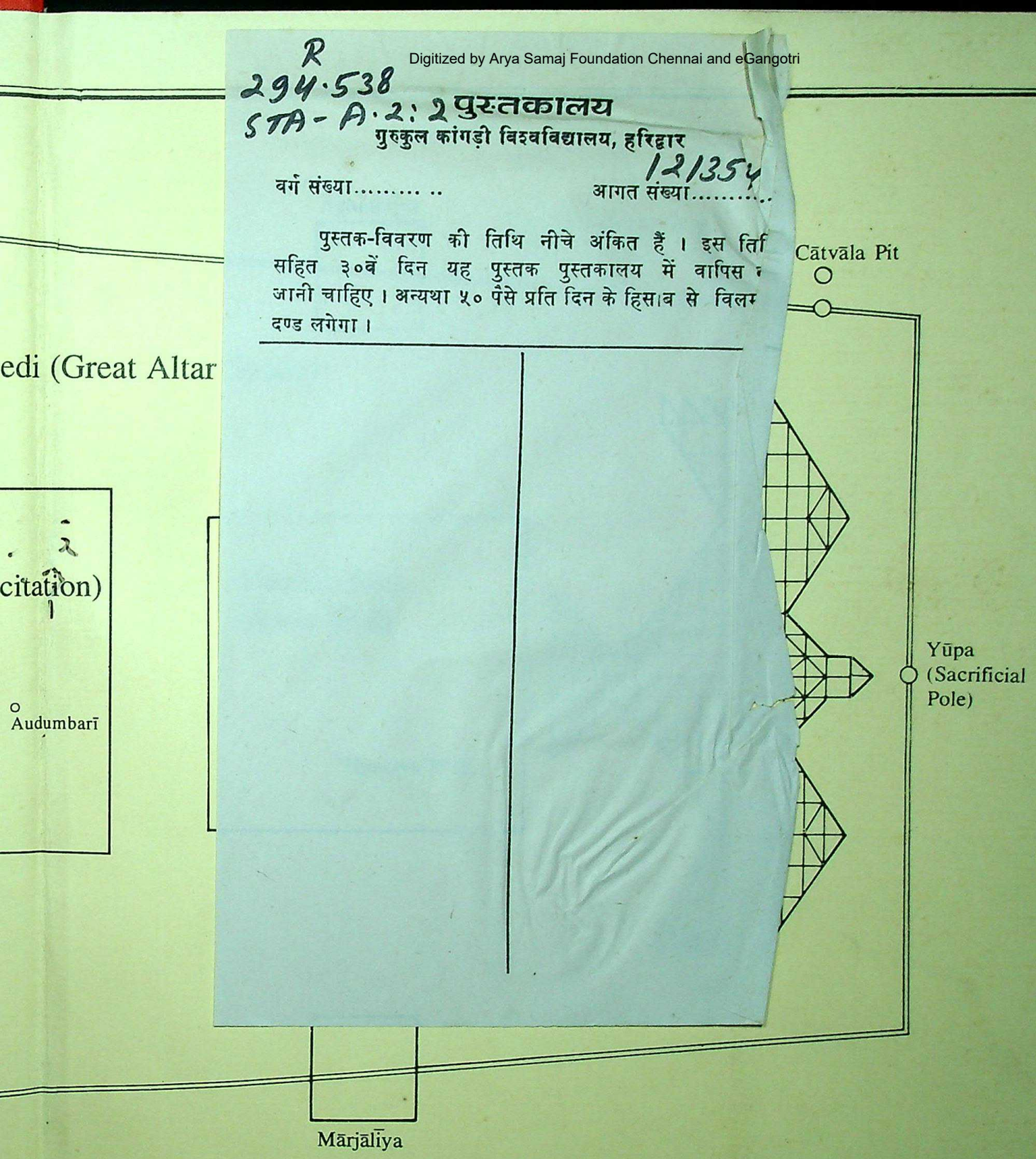
वर्ग संख्या..... .. आगत संख्या.....

पुस्तक-विवरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित हैं । इस तिथि सहित ३०वें दिन यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापिस आ जानी चाहिए । अन्यथा ५० पैसे प्रति दिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब दण्ड लगेगा ।



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AGNI

The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar

121354

by

FRITS STAAL

in collaboration with

C.V. SOMAYAJIPAD

M. ITTI RAVI NAMBUDIRI

Photographs by

ADELAIDE DE MENIL

VOLUME I

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS PUBLISHERS
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First Indian Edition: Delhi, 2001

First published in 1983 by Asian Humanities Press, Berkeley
and reissued by Motilal Banarsidass, India 1986

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ISBN: 81-208-1658-7 (Vol. I)
ISBN: 81-208-1660-9 (Set)

Also available at:
MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
236, 9th Main III Block, Jayanagar, Bangalore 560 011
41 U.A. Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi 110 007
8 Mahalaxmi Chamber, Warden Road, Mumbai 400 026
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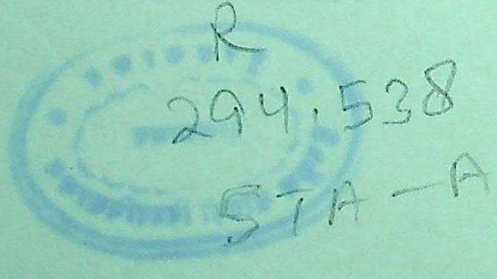

Printed in India
BY JAINENDRA PRAKASH JAIN AT SHRI JAINENDRA PRESS,
A-45 NARAINA, PHASE-I, NEW DELHI 110 028
AND PUBLISHED BY NARENDRA PRAKASH JAIN FOR
MOTILAL BANARSIDASS PUBLISHERS PRIVATE LIMITED,
BUNGALOW ROAD, DELHI 110 007

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PREFACE

In 1955 I visited for the first time a traditional Nambudiri Brahmin home in a small village in southwest India. We sat on the verandah, which was spotlessly clean. Hospitality is a virtue common all over Asia, but my hosts' generosity was overwhelming. Delicious vegetarian dishes were served by the eldest son—mounds of rice surrounded by preparations made from a variety of vegetables, spices, pickles, and fruits, among which I recognized cocoanut, ginger, mango, and banana. I ate all these from a banana leaf on the floor by myself, watched with undisguised curiosity by the male members of the family. Earlier, I had bathed in a corner of the garden where numerous buckets of water were made available. These were followed by a towel and a *muṇḍu*, the garment of unbleached cotton that the Malabar District Gazetteer describes as "a white cloth tied round the waist, tucked in on the right side, and hanging loose to the ground." I sometimes saw women's eyes through a window; more rarely, an elephant in the compound. At that time, though a student of the Vedānta, or "End of the Vedas," I knew little about the Vedas. I considered them ancient and distant, and it would hardly have occurred to me to connect them with my charming hosts. As it turned out, they spent most of their time bathing or engaged in Vedic ritual when I was not sharing their company.

During my second visit I was armed with a tape recorder, an upright Philips machine of ample weight and dimensions, which Professor van Buitenen had used in Poona, and which belonged to the Netherlands Organization for Pure Research (Z.W.O.). My heart sank whenever a little boy carried it on his head across a river. I recorded Kathakali and other Malayalam songs, a concerto by a famous singer, and increasing amounts of Vedic recitation and chant. One result of these early researches was my book *Nambudiri Veda Recitation*, published in 1961.

Visits to Kerala of irregular duration followed in more rapid succession. In 1962 I was accompanied by J. E. B. Gray of the School of Oriental and African Studies. We made complete recordings, lasting some thirty hours, of the *Ṛgveda* recitations, *Sāmaveda* chants, and *Yajurveda* formulas that accompany the *Agniṣṭoma*, a ritual celebration that lasts five days. We did not witness any such ritual. The brahmins recited and chanted for our tape recorder, and the occasion was to them like a general rehearsal. We tried to gain access to a real performance, but none was at hand, and we would not have been allowed in any case. One Nambudiri offered to organize a faithful imitation of the ceremony, to be performed for our sakes, but we declined.

In the sixties, some leading Nambudiris became concerned about the weakening and possible disappearance of their Vedic traditions. At the same

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time I began to urge that their largest ceremony, the twelve-day *Atirātra-Agnicayana*, which had occurred in 1956 and had never been witnessed by outsiders, should be performed once more so that it could be filmed and recorded. After years of intermittent discussion, in which Professor E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma and Dr. Asko Parpola participated, the Nambudiris agreed. They asked only that in exchange for being given the privilege of attending, filming, and recording the performance, scholars help defray the cost of the ritual. The Agnicayana was performed from April 12 to 24, 1975. The circumstances that led to this performance are related in greater detail in the second volume of this book ("The Agnicayana Project": Part III, pages 456–475).

Over the decades, while I was beginning to penetrate the riches of their Vedic heritage, I made many Nambudiri friends and came to know them better. I found them sincere, straightforward, and disinclined to take themselves too seriously. After initial reluctance, they are eager to explain the intricacies of their recitations, chants, and ceremonies; they never claim knowledge they don't really possess; they will not preach or become pompous, and express no interest in coming to America. Though no longer adverse to modernization, they remain attached to their simple habits. Stripped of former privileges, they have preserved their ability to practice the art of living. This book is offered to them with the wish that material progress will not destroy that rare ability.

Agni is not only fire and the name of a God, but also the name of the Agnicayana ceremony itself, and the name of the bird-shaped altar constructed during that ceremony. This book deals with Agni in all these forms. It is not a book primarily made from books, but derives, in the first place, from my Nambudiri friends. It would be difficult to list all those who have helped to make it possible over the years. The expertise described in the following pages is extensive and varied, and is embodied in a sizable section of the community. For example, in the course of the long Agnicayana ceremony, the ritual implements of another rite (the pastoral Pravargya) have to be put on the altar in the shape of a man. One person knew precisely how this should be done. When the chief priest was about to perform the rite, he appeared and demonstrated it.

PLATE 85

Without being able to thank all, let me pay tribute to four Nambudiris upon whom I have always relied and who, at the time of writing, are in their seventies. Two of them have directly collaborated with me in the present volume, especially in its Part II: Cherumukku (Ceṟumukkù) Vaidikan Vallabhan Somayājipad and Muṭṭatukkāṭṭù Itti Ravi Nambudiri.

Cherumukku Vaidikan, or C.V. as he is respectfully called, occupies a central position in the ritual realm of the Ṛg- and Yajurveda. He is the leading force of one of the two Vaidika families who continue to perform the large rituals. He carries his knowledge lightly, but his authority is unquestioned.

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He has a formidable mind, combined with an efficiency that is rare. He arranged for the Agniṣṭoma recordings of 1962, and when the preparations for the 1975 performance (originally planned for 1974) were about to collapse, the situation could only be saved—and was saved—through his power and decisive action.

Itti Ravi, as he is affectionately called, is the undisputed master of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda, the school of Sāmaveda that survives primarily among the Nambudiris. He has devoted his life to the maintenance of the tradition of these chants: he reconstructed from his memory, with the help of his pupils, those that were on the verge of being forgotten, had them recorded whenever there was an opportunity, and committed them to writing. Thanks to his constant activity the materials are now at hand, and the only unpublished school of the Vedas is ready for publication. It was my good fortune to meet Itti Ravi during my first visit to Kerala. Ever since, I have learned and recorded from him. The extent of his knowledge is as phenomenal as the length of his breath.

One of my oldest friends is Māṭampū Narayanan Nambudiri, B.A., B.L. After early training in his native Yajurveda, he took to the study of law and became an advocate. Like C.V. and Itti Ravi, he was politically active and took part in the Nambudiri Yogakṣema Mahāsabhā, an organization concerned with the modernization of the Nambudiri caste system. Since he was opposed to animal sacrifice and refused to attend rites that involved such sacrifice, the 1975 performance was the first of its kind that he witnessed. His Gandhian attitude did not diminish his enthusiasm for Vedic culture, and this zeal, combined with a modern outlook, made him a valuable ally in bridging the gaps between my plans and reality, and between sometimes opposing factions.

The doyen of Nambudiri scholars is Ērkkara Rāman Nambudiri. In 1966, he recited the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa for its editor, E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma. In 1976 his book *Āmnāyamathanam*, "The Kindling of Tradition," was published in Malayalam. Another book on *ekāha, ahīna*, and *sattra* is about to appear. As long as Ērkkara failed to support, for respectable reasons, our desire to film a Vedic ritual, there was nothing that could be done about it. However, it is characteristic of him that when he changed his mind and came to feel that there is merit in having on film and tape what otherwise might be irretrievably lost, he also assumed full and active responsibility. In spite of his indifferent health, he consented to be present inside the sacrificial enclosure throughout the ceremonies, so that all could benefit from his deep knowledge and wide experience.

The 1975 performance was organized by Cherumukku Vaidikan and Itti Ravi Nambudiri. Their responsibilities and roles will become apparent in the course of this work. Our collaboration at the writing stage is easily described. The description of the performance in Part II of the present

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volume was written in drafts that were separately submitted to C.V. and Itti Ravi for their scrutiny. They then sent me their corrections and additions. Many of these exchanges took place through correspondence, but fortunately I have been able to sit at their feet again in the course of this work, and after the manuscript had begun to take shape. These sessions were not confined to the correction of what I had written. They induced me to reorganize the material so as to express its structure more clearly, and to incorporate new facts and insights. For example, much of the information on measurements and the ritual enclosure in the "Preliminaries" (Part II) derives from days spent with Itti Ravi in 1977. Late in 1978, the Smithsonian Institution enabled me to go to India once more and to consult with my collaborators for the last time before the manuscript would be completed. Some of the additional results of this trip are presented in three chapters of Part III (in the second volume). As a result of our close and extended collaboration I can now assert with confidence, that Part II of the book exhibits a major part of C.V.'s and Itti Ravi's combined knowledge of the ritual. The occurrence of their names on the title page is therefore not merely decorative. At the same time, I alone am responsible for mistakes that remain.

My indebtedness to others, hardly less numerous, is for support that has also been indispensable. When the Nambudiris had decided to permit the performance to be studied and documented, an international committee was set up, consisting of Professors R. N. Dandekar and C. G. Kashikar (Poona), Klaus Mylius (Leipzig), Asko Parpola (Helsinki), V. Raghavan (Madras), E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma (Tirupati), J. A. B. van Buitenen (Chicago), and myself as chairman. Dr. Parpola initiated the correspondence, which soon grew into formidable proportions. We invoked the assistance of Vedic scholars all over the world, and the response was invariably positive. Among the enthusiastic supporters was Dr. Pierre Rolland, whose tragic and untimely death occurred in 1974.

The first preparations began to take shape. Dr. Kashikar provided a 30-page description of the Agnicayana, based upon *śrauta sūtras*, *śulba sūtras*, and *prayogas*. Dr. Parpola provided a list of the *sāman* chants from Jaiminīya sources, which was later supplemented and extended by Itti Ravi. Cherumukku Vaidikan gave an oral description, in Malayalam, of the sequence of rites to Professor Sreekrishna Sarma, who translated this into English in a pamphlet of 21 pages. Professor J. C. Heesterman from Leiden visited Berkeley during January-March, 1975, lectured on the Agnicayana section (Chapter 10) of *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, and helped me to prepare a booklet of instructions for the cameramen. Mr. J. E. B. Gray, London, prepared from our recordings a full transcript of the recitations of the Soma-pressing day. I wrote a general pamphlet on the study of Vedic ritual, to be used in approaching foundations.

I felt strongly that the filming and recording should not be done by Sanskrit scholars, but be in professional hands. Thus started the research for

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technical assistance and, at the same time, financial support. I have always hated begging for money, which has become a very time-consuming part of all large scholarly projects. Financial support was particularly hard to obtain in the seventies for projects that were not fashionable, or were considered to lack practical utility or "relevance."

Operating from Berkeley—with the advice and assistance of Dr. Mark Juergensmeyer, and with the help of the administrative staff of the Center and the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies—I approached numerous foundations and individuals, generally without tangible result. Fortunately, we were assisted not only by the members of the executive committee, but also by other scholars from all over the world. I should like in particular to mention the active participation of Professors A. Scharpé (Belgium), C. von Fürer-Haimendorf and J. E. B. Gray (England), N. Nakada and N. Tsuji (Japan), J. Gonda and J. C. Heesterman (Netherlands), T. Asch and E. C. Dimock (U.S.A)., and W. Rau (West Germany). This worldwide network resulted in the following grants, donations, and commitments:

Smithsonian Institution, U.S.A. (in rupees)	$49,449
The Rock Foundation	40,261
National Endowment for the Humanities, U.S.A.	15,000
Netherlands Organization for Pure Research (WOTRO/ZWO): Dfl. 30,000	12,300
School of Oriental and African Studies, London: £1500	3,495
Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: DM 6,650	2,860
University of Gent, Belgium: francs 65.000	1,672
Dr. Asko Parpola, Helsinki	1,000
Professor N. Tsuji, Tokyo	1,000
Mr. S. Iwamoto, Tsurumi University: ¥50,000	170

I am especially indebted to the Smithsonian Institution, The Rock Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, not only because their contributions were the largest, but also because they sustained their interest in the project and continued to support us on later occasions.

In the meantime, the Government of India had been approached through the Indian Consulate-General in San Francisco, the Indian Embassy in Washington, Dr. Dandekar and Dr. Raghavan. Following the enthusiastic support of Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, the Government of India expressed great interest in the project and agreed to provide the necessary permissions and facilitate the importation of equipment.

The rupee grant from the Smithsonian Institution, authorized by the Government of India, was administered through the American Institute of Indian Studies. Mr. P. R. Mehendiratta of the Institute put all the facilities of his office at our disposal and helped with the administration of the project, its financial implementation, and the processing of numerous docu-

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ments. His participation in the project started in 1974, and he continued to provide background support from New Delhi throughout the actual performance. A detailed financial report on the rupee grant was prepared at his Delhi office. Some information on our budgets will be provided in the account of "The Agnicayana Project" in the second volume.

Late in 1974, I secured the participation of Professor Robert Gardner of the Department of Visual and Environmental Studies, Harvard University. Henceforward the direction of films and still photography, and indeed the supervision of the entire visual and sound effort, was in his hands. Gardner and I visited Kerala in December 1974, made the final arrangements, concluded agreements with the performers, and initiated a period of active consultation and cooperation that continued without interruption for the next four months.

When the performance started on April 12, 1975, I began to realize that there were many basic things I did not know. I came to understand only then what is meant when we say that ritual is "activity" (*karman*). Ritual is not a thing that can be easily understood if one only has access to texts. More importantly, whatever texts may say, language does not explain such activity. It is we who ask for explanations in terms of linguistic expressions. For the ritualists, action comes first, and action, which includes recitation and chant, is all that counts. Now, however, a curious convergence became apparent, for the same holds for cameramen, photographers, and sound engineers. Textual scholars will find it hard to understand how much I learned about Vedic ritual by seeing how Robert Gardner, who until then had known nothing about it, set about to film it. Despite the time we had spent preparing for the event, the rites generally took me by surprise. We could not enter the ritual enclosure, and it was not always possible to see clearly. Earphones enabled me to hear what was going on inside while it was being recorded on tape. All in all, I was often lost. In confusion, I would look for Gardner, who was always where the action was, filming it with his assistants there, while Adelaide deMenil was doing the still photography. I am grateful to them, therefore, not only for providing massive documentation, but also for making me see.

While most of the films were shot by Gardner and Kevin Burke, they were assisted for sound by Kunju Vasudevan Nambudiripad and Professor M. Narayanan Nambudiripad, who, unlike all non-Nambudiris, could enter the enclosure. The film crew consisted, in addition, of Mankada Ravi Varma and Sarwesh Kumar. Most of the still photographs were taken by Adelaide deMenil, and a fair number by Dr. Parpola and Dr. Ikari. Professor Edmund Carpenter assisted with the technical organization, made sketches and measurements of sacrificial implements, and collected information of various kinds. Professors N. A. Jairazbhoy, E. Carpenter, and myself were in charge of the sound recordings, sometimes helped by other visitors, e.g., Dr. Romila Thapar. More detailed information about our equipment and mode of

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operation will be provided in the second volume.

We returned with almost 80 hours of recorded tape, 20 hours of color film, more than 4,000 still photographs (color and black/white), a set of sacrificial implements (now in my Berkeley office), and abundant notes, sketches, and drawings. The first need was for an inventory of these materials. Back in Berkeley I began with the 20 hours of film. I had access to a balky Moviola editing console for less than a month, and prepared 78 pages of tentative annotations with the assistance of Harold Arnold, my wife Saraswathy, and (for the Pravargya) Wayne Surdam. The first draft of the annotations was completed by August, 1975, and an abridged outline is published below (Part V, in the second volume). These annotations were used in preparing the 45-minute film "Altar of Fire," produced by Robert Gardner and myself and released early in 1977. In the meantime I also learned to find my way in the mass of tapes and photographs, though until now there has not been sufficient time to prepare a proper catalogue.

The way was now paved for writing up the results. During 1976–1977, this work was made possible through the assistance of a research grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. I started with an analysis of the background, which resulted in Part I of the present volume ("The Agnicayana Ritual"). In this part, limited use is made of the data collected in India. Though my primary inclination is to work in the field, this first part could not have been written had I not been in residence at Berkeley. Our Berkeley Campus not only provides incessant intellectual stimulation, but its athletic facilities preserved my ability to transport books, films, and tapes, and prevented me from getting stiff when spending long hours at my desk. Also, Berkeley still houses some of those almost legendary scholars who combine insight with the unfailing control over large masses of facts. A telephone conversation with Edward Schafer, for example, provides precise answers to numerous questions in a matter of minutes. Our library would yield such information only grudgingly and after weeks or months of frustration.

I am therefore especially grateful to some of my Berkeley colleagues: Professors Murray B. Emeneau and George L. Hart of South Asian Studies for things Dravidian; J. K. Anderson, Thomas Rosenmeyer, and Michael Nagler of Classics for Greek; Leonard Lesko and Martin Schwartz of Near Eastern Studies for Egyptian and Indo-Iranian, respectively; Edward H. Schafer of Oriental Languages and Raymond N. Tang of the East Asiatic Library for Chinese. Robert F. Heizer of Anthropology has taught me most of what I now know about fire by generously providing a pile of offprints. Lewis and Lois Lancaster have helped me with Buddhism and pottery, respectively, and Margaret Lock has assisted me with Shamanism. Ned K. Johnson and his associates at the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology—Mercedes S. Foster and Steve Bailey—have informed me about birds. Joseph H.

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Peck, Jr., of the Museum of Paleontology, has helped me with fossil ammonites. Richard Reeder of the Department of Geology and Geophysics identified the "chicken-fish" pebbles.

From outside the Berkeley campus I also received a great deal of assitance, especially in connection with publications. For this I should like to thank Robert Gardner and his assistant Hope Norwood at Harvard, J. E. B. Gray in London, Jeff Masson in Toronto, Don B. Griffin in Tuscaloosa, and Barbara Miller and Dorothy Norman in New York. My indebtedness to the articles that appear in Part III of the second volume will be apparent at the appropriate place. Special interest attaches to the translation of the 10th chapter of Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra by Yasuke Ikari and Harold Arnold in Part IV of the second volume.

In preparing the text of Part II, which constitutes the bulk of the first volume, I derived much help from all the articles and documents that had been prepared, and from the numerous Vedic texts and related publications, with which Vedic scholars are already familiar. However, the following description is principally based upon the materials we brought back from India. With the help of my own field notes I went repeatedly through our recordings, films (now available as videotape cassettes), and photographs. Whenever there was a discrepancy between the ancient texts and our own field data, I recorded the latter, checking explicitly with Cherumukku Vaidikan [or Itti Ravi if there seemed to be any reason for doubt. The reader should not jump to the conclusion, therefore, that unfamiliar forms are "mistakes," even if elementary rules of the language seem to be disregarded, as for example in *agnaye idaṃ na mama*, "this is for Agni, not for me" (see below page 47).

While the Atirātra-Agnicayana unfolded itself in my mind in all its splendor and perplexity, the manuscript began to grow. Dr. Ruth-Inge Heinze helped me to edit the manuscript and typed large portions of it in exemplary fashion. Ruth Suzuki typed the latter portions with fantastic speed and accuracy. My wife Saraswathy helped me in matters of style. Yvonne Kins, Helen Tu, Keith Jefferds, and Pamela MacFarland assisted in numerous ways, including style, references, and books. Adrienne Morgan prepared the illustrations in the text and the maps—a difficult task that she executed with expertise and imagination, as a glance at Figures 27–36, for example, will show.

A difficult dilemma was whether to include in the description of the ritual the text and translation of the numerous recitations and chants. A simple alternative would be to merely refer to them by means of the numerous abbreviations customary among Vedists. It might be argued that, since the participants do not often understand them, it would be best to delete the texts. Be that as it may, they certainly *know* them. To omit them and confine oneself to references would not only give the book the appearance of a telephone directory, it would also do an injustice to the perfomance, and be useless to nonspecialists. I accordingly decided to provide something, and

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the next question was whether to provide texts, translations, or both. To omit the original form, which is ritually significant, would almost be sacrilege. Moreover, most readers, when presented with Sanskrit forms, would want to know their meaning. In the case of many of the chants, and recitations such as the *ṣoḍaśin*, "the sixteenth," there is no meaning, and so there was no problem. In the remaining cases, the great majority, I reluctantly decided to provide the text together with a translation into English. In preparing the texts I was helped by Pamela MacFarland, Professors R. N. Dandekar and T. N. Dharmadhikari, Poona, and Professors E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma and S. Sankaranarayanan, Tirupati.

In translating the texts I received a great deal of assistance. My first thanks go to Professor Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, who helped me with translations from the Ṛgveda. Neither of us is a specialist in Indo-European, one requirement for the traditional Vedic philologist. Both of us feel, however (as she says in the Introduction to her Anthology from the Ṛgveda: Penguin Classic, 1981) that "there is so much in the Ṛgveda to interest and excite non-Vedists, it seems a shame to let it go on being the treasure of a tiny, exclusive group, hidden as it is behind the thorny wall of an ancient and cryptic language." The difficulties, however, are formidable: "As a result, there are places where the reader may be puzzled. Good. The hymns are meant to puzzle, to surprise, to trouble the mind; they are often just as puzzling in Sanskrit as they are in English."

One of the main features of the Atirātra-Agnicayana—its huge dimensions—made itself felt in connection with the translations. Wendy could not cover more than a relatively small portion because of her other commitments and the daunting distance between Berkeley and Chicago. I decided, therefore, to follow existing translations in many cases, even though they are often unsatisfactory. I changed them whenever I felt I knew how they should be changed, and in all cases sought to improve their readability. This applies especially to Keith's translation of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, which is in biblical English. The Ṛgveda translation by Geldner is in German, and that by Renou, almost complete, in French. Several other texts have been translated by others, and some have remained untranslated. All required a lot of work.

In polishing the English translations I was helped by several students: Dennis Lahey, Wayne Surdam, and especially Pamela MacFarland. When the work was nearing completion, I learned that Professor Stanley Insler of Yale was translating the Ṛgveda and had completed nearly half of it. He graciously offered to look through my translations, not only of the Ṛgveda, but of all the recited texts. Again, the mass of the material constituted a stumbling block. Stanley scrutinized more than half the translations, and offered me corrections and suggestions for improvement. He spent a great deal of time, but it became clear that he could not complete the work without sacrificing every other task in which he was engaged. It is also frustrating for a skilled translator to correct the efforts of an unskilled colleague instead of

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offering fresh translations of his own. Fortunately, there were several verses and hymns of the Ṛgveda that Professor Insler had already translated. Adding numerous others, he has given me permission to include and publish here for the first time the following Ṛgvedic verses that underlie the 29 *stuti* chants of the Atirātra:

stuti	*Ṛgveda source*
1 (*bahiṣpavamāna*)	RV 9.62.25–27; 9.61.28–30; 9.66.10–12
2	RV 1.12.1–3
3	RV 1.23.4–6
4	RV 1.7.1–2,4
5	RV 7.94.4–6
6	RV 9.61.10; 9.54.1; 9.61.11–12; 9.107.4–5; 9.87.1–3
7	RV 9.64.1–2
8	RV 4.31.1–3
9	RV 8.49.1–2
10	RV 8.66.1–2
11	RV 9.1.1–3; 9.63.7; 9.65.25; 9.101.1–2; 9.75.1–3
12	RV 6.48.1–2
13	RV 6.16.16–18
14	RV 8.21.1–2
15	RV 8.98.7–9
16	see pages 660–663
17	RV 8.92.1–3
18	RV 7.31.1–3
19	RV 8.2.16–18
20	RV 8.92.19–21
21	RV 8.17.11–13
22	RV 8.81.1–3
23	RV 8.45.22–24
24	RV 8.2.1–3
25	RV 3.51.10,12,11
26	RV 1.5.1–3
27	RV 1.30.7–9
28	RV 8.13.1–3
29	RV 7.16.1–2; 7.81.1–2; 7.74.1–2.

Stanley Insler has also contributed the translation of the text of the first *śastra* recitation by the hotā priest (RV 8.48.3–4; 3.13.1–7) and the *varuṇa-praghāsa* verses (RV 10.176.2–4; 3.29.4; 6.15.16; 3.29.8; 2.9.1–2) recited by the hotā during the Carrying Forth of Agni (Episode 20). Stanley's translation are recognized at a glance: he uses "thy," "thou," and "thee," where

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I would have "you". These discrepancies happen to illustrate the gap between Ṛgveda and Yajurveda, which is of the same order as that between Shakespeare and contemporary American literature.

I am grateful to all who have helped me with the considerable amount of translation *Agni* has required. Excluding the translations by Stanley Insler, I bear the final responsibility for the form in which the translations now appear. In conclusion, I would like to adopt, and extend to the Yajurveda, what van Buitenen said in his description of the Pravargya (1968, 54): "My colleagues will understand that my renderings . . . do not pretend in any way to be definitive. There is hardly a line in the Ṛgveda which does not present its own problems. . . . It was my intention at least to show what *kind* of hymns were recited at the ritual and I have hoped for at least a fair approximation of their contents."

Apart from Vedic Sanskrit, there are a few translations from Malayalam, the native language of the Nambudiris. With respect to these I have been helped most by Professor E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma. He has also established the text and translated the long "Praiṣārtha" addressed to the patron of the ritual on the occasion of his consecration. Dr. N. S. Mooss, Vayaskara, Kottayam, helped me with the names and identification of plants and trees.

The year following the completion of the text, 1979, was disastrous for Sanskritists and Oriental scholars generally. Four scholars of worldwide fame, including two members of our international committee and two contributors to the second volume of this book, passed away within the span of six months. Professor V. Raghavan, doyen of Indian Sanskritists, died on April 6, 1979. Professor C. Hooykaas, the leading authority on the religion of Bali, died on August 13, 1979. Professor J.A.B. van Buitenen, still engaged in his translation of the Mahābhārata, died on September 21, 1979. Professor N. Tsuji, dean of Japanese Sanskritists and Vedic ritualists as well, died on September 24, 1979. We who remain pull closer together in a vain attempt to fill the gaps.

While I was preparing the manuscript for the press, I was searching for a publisher. I had no success, even though I had started the search as early as 1975. One reason for this lack of results was that I felt that the book I had in mind should be illustrated with plates, using the beautiful photographs made by Adelaide deMenil in black and white as well as in color. This feeling reflected my growing conviction that ritual should not merely be read about, but should also be seen, and—if possible—heard. I was unwilling to compromise by proposing to sacrifice either comprehensiveness or quality, feeling that the excellent materials brought back from India deserved a definitive scholarly account, with adequate presentation of information, texts, pictures and—if possible—sound.

There was another reason for my lack of success in finding a publisher. Until the National Endowment for the Humanities decided to support publication costs, it was relatively easy to obtain money for projects in the

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humanities, and almost impossible to find support for publishing them. The assumption was, apparently, that university publishers would take care of the manuscripts. However, this had long ceased to be the case. No one can keep up with the avalanche of manuscripts that the ideology of publish or perish has unleashed.

Since producing the book I had in mind would be expensive, I had to find the money. I wrote more letters than I care to recall. In approaching publishers and foundations, I received help from Berkeley's Chancellor Bowker and from the Berkeley Foundation of the University of California. I also corresponded with UNESCO and with the Government of India. There are great similarities between these three bureaucracies, and we reached a point where I was uncertain whether their wheels were still moving, or had ground to a halt. In 1978, when despair was near, the Rock Foundation donated $90,000 to enable me to transform the almost completed manuscript into a spectacular book. There were no formalities, no application procedures, no reports, and in no time the arrangements were completed. There was only one restriction on the use of the grant, which I accepted enthusiastically: the funds should be used entirely for the material production of the book, and no part of it spent on overhead or other administrative costs. Unfortunately, these funds were spent differently and only partially recovered. This explains the four-year delay, as well as the high price and reduced quality of publication, cost having risen. Publication was finally achieved through the efforts of Edward M. Stadum, a lawyer and friend.

I owe a great debt to Pamela MacFarland, Assistant Editor for Volume II, and Dr. Muneo Tokunaga, who checked the Sanskrit texts before they were printed by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institutute, Poona, under the expert supervision of Professor R. N. Dandekar. I am especially grateful to Mrs. B. S. Staal who assisted with the preparation of the indexes. Insiders will note that these volumes are to some extent inspired by Gordon Wasson's book on Soma. This is as it should be, for Agni and Soma are the closest of ritual companions. Moreover, I value not only Wasson's book and his friendship, but admire the boldness of his hypothesis, and agree with him that Vedic culture is too important to be left to the Vedists.

The cost of production of this book is due not only to its quality, but also to the illustrations. Here I depend entirely on others, though the selection is my own. My greatest gratitude goes to Adelaide deMenil, who made the photographs of the 1975 performance, and permitted me to select and use what I wanted. Two plates were provided by Dr. Asko Parpola from his photographs taken on the same occasion. I am grateful to him, and also to Professor Cyril Birch and Kuo Li-ying for the opportunity to publish photographs they made in the People's Republic of China and in Japan, respectively, and to Professor George Dales, who drew Plates 22–32 and helped me with the description of ritual implements. Grateful acknowledgement for the use of illustrations is furthermore made to Ajit Mookerjee,

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London and New Delhi; Professor G. R. Sharma, Allahabad; the Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Republic of China, where I was helped in particular by Miss Wang Ch'ing-hung, Mr. Liu Tang-ping, and Mr. Mark Landes; the E.M. Scratton Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Archaeological Survey of India; and the American Oriental Society. I thank Louis T. Judson for helping me produce the tape cassettes that accompany these volumes, another delicate and time-consuming task.

The University of California, and in particular the two departments of Philosophy and of South and Southeast Asian Studies, have repeatedly allowed me to be absent, and at most other times made do with my physical presence when my mind was in the Agnicayana. The same holds for my students and my family, so much so that my son Nanoo, before he could properly talk, already referred to the ritual as "ugly China." I am truly grateful to my colleagues, students, and family for granting me such privileges, without which it would not have been possible to complete this book.

Finally I should give vent to a question that I have sometimes asked myself. Why should I, a philosopher and Sanskritist, have spent years of my life with an obsolete ceremony? Am I weary of the present? Or am I merely tired of words and meanings, and have turned to sounds and activities? If I look at the issue negatively, this may be so, though my turning is still a turning of words. However, from a positive point of view, I have long stood in awe of this unique survival, so archaic yet so sophisticated, so close to the early history of man, and so lovingly preserved through millennia that elsewhere saw the birth and death of entire civilizations. While pyramids, temples, cathedrals, and skyscrapers were built and fell into decay, languages and religions came and went, and innumerable wars were fought, the Vedas and their ritual continued to be transmitted by word of mouth, from teacher to pupil, and from father to son. What a triumph of the human spirit over the limitations of matter and the physical body! A continuity verging on immortality—though not of any individual person. And so I found myself involved not merely in the past, but in the present and the future as well. A curious combination of circumstances and accidents put me in touch with this venerable tradition, and then in almost complete possession and control of its physical manifestations on tape, plate, and film. The time had come for the leading Nambudiri ritualists to be willing, indeed eager, to reveal and elucidate to me these cultural treasures, which had always been hidden from outsiders. Here was a unique opportunity, indeed a responsibility, to continue the oral tradition by means of a book. Here was something for which I was so well placed and equipped that I could almost believe that only I could do it. I was fortunate and responded to the challenge as a matter of course.

San Francisco

FRITS STAAL

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THE 1975 PERFORMANCE

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Transliteration

SANSKRIT

अ a	इ i	ऋ ṛ	ऌ ḷ	उ u
आ ā	ई ī	ॠ ṝ		ऊ ū
	ए e			ओ o
	ऐ ai			औ au
क ka	च ca	ट ṭa	त ta	प pa
ख kha	छ cha	ठ ṭha	थ tha	फ pha
ग ga	ज ja	ड ḍa	द da	ब ba
घ gha	झ jha	ढ ḍha	ध dha	भ bha
ङ ṅ	ञ ña	ण ṇa	न na	म ma
	य ya	र ra	ल la	व va
ह ha	श śa	ष ṣa	स sa	
अः aḥ		ळ ḷa		अं aṃ

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TRANSLITERATIONS

MALAYALAM

അ a	ഇ i	ഋ ṛ	ഌ ḷ	ഉ u
ആ ā	ഈ ī			ഊ ū
	എ e	ഏ ē	ഒ o	ഓ ō
	ഐ ai		ഔ au	
ക ka	ച ca	ട ṭa	ത ta	പ pa
ഖ kha	ഛ cha	ഠ ṭha	ഥ tha	ഫ pha
ഗ ga	ജ ja	ഡ ḍa	ദ da	ബ ba
ഘ gha	ഝ jha	ഢ ḍha	ധ dha	ഭ bha
ങ ṅa	ഞ ña	ണ ṇa	ന na	മ ma
	യ ya	ര ra	ല la	വ va
ഹ ha	ശ śa	ഷ ṣa	സ sa	
അഃ aḥ	ഴ ḻa	ള ḷa	റ ra, ṯṯa	അം aṃ

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A Note on Pronunciation

THE NAMBUDIRI PRONUNCIATION of Sanskrit and the pronunciation of Malayalam are similar. Special features of Veda recitation are mentioned separately (page 173). In general, in Sanskrit and Malayalam, vowels are pronounced as in Italian or Japanese. They are short (*a*, *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*) or long, that is, twice as long as the short ones (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ṝ*, *e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*). The consonant *r* is pronounced as in Italian, while the vowels *ṛ* and *ḷ* contain a vocalic element similar to the short *i* in the third syllable of English *ability*. Among the consonants, there is a series of dentals (*t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, *s*) and a corresponding series of retroflexes or cerebrals (*ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *ṣ*). The former are produced when the tip of the tongue touches the teeth (as in French), the latter when the tongue is bent backward and touches the palate (the English pronunciation of *t*, *d*, *n*, and *s* is more or less in between). In the Sanskrit *s* and *ṣ*, the tongue points in the same respective directions, but breath passes over it. The palatals are pronounced when the tongue touches the front of the palate: *c* as in English *chair; j* as in *jar; ñ* as in Spanish; and *ś* as in *sheet*. The aspirates (*kh*, *gh*, *ch*, *jh*, *ṭh*, *ḍh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, *bh*) are pronounced with a clearly audible release of breath following the consonant: *th* as in *anthill; dh* as in *bald-head,* etc. The *ṃ* expresses nasalization of the preceding wowel. The Nambudiri *ḥ* sounds almost like the *ch* in German *ach* (which is different from the pronunciation elsewhere in India, which is like an *h* followed by a short echo of the preceding vowel). In Yajurveda, ḥ sounds fully like German or Arabic *ch*, when followed by *k*. In Yajurveda and Sāmaveda it sounds like *f* when followed by *p*. The *ṅ* is pronounced like *ng*. Most other consonants are pronounced as in English.

Malayalam sounds differ from Sanskrit in several respects. Under certain conditions, the dentals are pronounced like alveolars, as in English, where the tip of the tongue touches the upper ridge of the teeth, close to the palate. The *ḷ*a, which is characteristic of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda, is pronounced like *r* in American English, but further back. The *ḷ*a is retroflex, the *ṛ*a is palatal, and the t͟ta is similar to the double *t* in English *attention*. Many words in Malayalam end in a short vowel, like the vowel between English *but* and French *tu*. This is transliterated as *u̇*.

Unlike English, Sanskrit differentiates between the stem of a noun (e.g., *agni*, *viṣṇu*, *savitṛ*) and the nominative case (e.g., *agniḥ*, *viṣṇuḥ*, *savitā*). I generally refer to nouns by their stem form, except for the names of some of the priests, such as hotā, pratiprasthātā, etc., because the Nambudiris refer to them in this form.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
AB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AG	(Jaiminīya) Araṇyageyagāna
ĀpGS	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
ĀpŚulvaS	Āpastamba Śulva Sūtra
ĀGS	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
ĀŚS	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
AV	Atharvaveda Saṃhitā
BĀU	Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad
BGS	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
BhārŚS	Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra
BŚS	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
BŚulvaS	Baudhāyana Śulva Sūtra
CU	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
GG	(Jaiminīya) Grāmageyagāṇa
GobhGS	Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra
HirGS	Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra
Hirśs	Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra
JA	Jaiminīya Ārcika
JB	Jaiminīya Brāhmana
JŚS	Jaiminīya Śrauta Sūtra
KapS	Kapiṣṭhala Samhitā
KŚS	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
KŚulvaS	Kātyāyana Śulva Sūtra
KB	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
KhādGS	Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra
KS	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
KU	Kena Upaniṣad
LŚS	Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
MānŚS	Mānava Śrauta Sūtra
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
MU	Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad
PārGS	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
PB	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
RV	Ṛgveda Saṃhitā
SV	Sāmaveda Saṃhitā
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚGS	Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra

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ŚŚS	Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
TA	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
TU	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
VaikhŚS	Vaikhānasa Śrauta Sūtra
VaitŚS	Vaitāna Śrauta Sūtra
VārŚS	Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra
VS(K/M)	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (Kāṇva/Mādhyandina)
VŚS	Vādhūla Śrauta Sūtra

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I.

MORE THAN THREE thousand years ago, nomads crossed the mountain ranges that separate Central Asia from Iran and the Indian subcontinent. Leaving behind the dry steppes of their ancestral home, they entered the fertile plains of the upper Indus and came in contact with scattered remnants of an earlier civilization. These nomads imported the rudiments of their social and religious system along with their Indo-European language, which developed into Vedic, and later into Sanskrit. They worshipped fire, called *agni*, and adopted the cult of *soma*—a sacred plant, probably a hallucinogen—which grew in the high mountains.

The interaction between these Central-Asian adventurers and earlier inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent gave birth to Vedic civilization, called after the four Vedas: Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda, and Atharvaveda. These Vedas, oral compositions by bards and priests, have been transmitted by word of mouth to the present day. Their guardians, the brahmins of India, are each attached to one of the Vedas by birth. The Vedas depict Vedic religion, in the words of Louis Renou (1953, 29) as "first and foremost a liturgy, and only secondarily a mythological or speculative system."

The larger Vedic rituals were primarily dedicated to Agni and Soma. Agni was not only a god in his own right, but the divine messenger and intermediary. The offerings, primarily of clarified butter (ghee), were poured into sacrificial fires installed on altars, and Agni transmitted them to the gods. Special libations were made of juice extracted from the stalks of the Soma plant. Remnants of the offerings were consumed by the celebrants. The ceremonies were accompanied by recitations from the Ṛgveda and chants from the Sāmaveda. According to the Ṛgveda itself (7.26.1), pressed juices unaccompanied by sacred hymns have no effect. The celebrations required the execution of multifarious activities, distributed among priests from different Vedas, who officiated on behalf of, and for the benefit of, a ritual patron, the *yajamāna*.

One of the most elaborate of these ceremonies was called Agnicayana, the "piling of Agni," or, simply, Agni. This ritual originated around 1,000 B.C. During its performance, a large altar in the shape of a bird, dedicated to Agni and itself also called Agni, was piled from more than a thousand bricks. The Agnicayana plays an important part in the Vedic literature after the Ṛgveda, and especially in the Yajurveda. Unlike the Ṛgveda, which remains curiously alien to India (see Renou 1960), the Yajurveda occupies the center of Vedic culture. It constitutes the foundation of the ritual and of the edifice of the Vedic schools. More distant from the Indo-European back-

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ground than the Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda exhibits a more Indian flavor, is closer to the beginnings of Hinduism and Buddhism, and preserves features of earlier Indian cultures. In all these respects, the Agnicayana ritual occupies a similar position. Though it incorporates the Indo-European fire cult and the Indo-Iranian cult of Soma, these begin to be overgrown by numerous features not found outside India. These features are not Indo-European or Indo-Iranian, but are recognizably Indian. The Agnicayana shows us India beginning to assert herself.

Though Vedic ritual was confined to an elite, its performances must have been relatively common for about five centuries. This period—which lasted for a shorter time than Manichaeism or Islam, but longer than Protestantism—may be called the age of karman ("ritual activity"). Around 550 B.C. Vedic culture began to decline. Further east and south, new religions and cultures rose to prominence. Though Hinduism and Buddhism are replete with Vedic elements, they belong to another age, the age of *jñāna* ("knowledge"). Hinduism continued to look upon the Vedas as its source, formally transmitted by the brahmins, regarded as eternal revelation, "of nonhuman origin" (*apauruṣeya*) and no longer understood. Buddhism rejected the Vedic heritage, the authority of brahmins, and the supremacy of ritual. In due course it evolved its own hierarchies and ceremonies. Fragments of the original Vedic ritual survive to the present day in the domestic rites of the brahmins, such as marriage ceremonies. Despite attempts to revive them, we hear less and less of the larger Vedic ritual celebrations. In the eleventh century A.D., the logician Udayana could declare that the great Vedic ceremonies were no longer performed (Renou 1960, 21, note 4).

India, however, is a land of miracles. In a distant corner of southwest India, Kerala, far away from the original home of Vedic civilization, a few families among the isolated and orthodox community of Nambudiri brahmins have maintained their Vedic tradition and continue to perform two Vedic rituals: the Agniṣṭoma, which lasts five days, and the Agnicayana or Agni, which lasts twelve days and continues through some of the nights, from which the name Atirātra ("overnight") derives. We know little of the history of these performances; their continuation was unknown to the outside world. The Nambudiri performances are not artificial or scholarly reconstructions (as have taken place in some other parts of India), nor are they the results of recent revivals. The tradition is authentic and alive. Though this will be apparent from the present work, it can be directly observed in the attitude of the performers. When the Nambudiri ritualists are told that, according to the classical texts, certain rites used to be performed differently in the past, they say, "Interesting." Not for a moment would they consider changing their own ritual practice in the light of such information. They perform the rituals as they have learned them from their preceptors. It is their tradition.

During the last hundred years, the Agnicayana has been performed

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seventeen times; during the last fifty years, five times. After a gap of almost twenty years, it was celebrated again in 1975. For the first time in history, it was attended by outsiders. On this occasion, the performance was not only witnessed but filmed, photographed, recorded, and extensively documented. The only restriction was that non-Nambudiris could not enter the ritual enclosure, in which most of the ceremonies took place. This 1975 performance of the Agnicayana, which was possibly the last, is the subject matter of the present publication.

2.

The elaborate ritual performances of the Vedic period and the supreme importance attached to them in Vedic civilization demand an explanation or at least an interpretation. In the earliest Vedic literature itself, rituals, along with meters and chants, are depicted as instruments used by gods and demons to fight and conquer each other, and sometimes to create. Even when the aims are not explicit, gods and demons are frequently described as engaged in ritual. It is obvious, however, that priests who perform rites on behalf of a yajamāna cannot always be thought of as conquering or creating. Moreover, the later commentaries, especially the Brāhmaṇas attached to the various Vedic schools, provide rituals with a great variety of interpretations, sometimes inconsistent with each other. Many of these are obvious rationalizations. Some invoke events, myths, or legends that have nothing to do with the rites at hand. On the other hand, the most important episodes of Vedic mythology, those that reflect cosmogonic events, are not reflected or used in any rites (Renou 1953, 16; cf. below page 117). Renou concluded:

> We must be content with very general theories if we are to avoid arbitrary explanations such as those put forward in the old *Brāhmaṇas*, where we find fabricated accounts of the origin of various details in the liturgical ceremonial. In these stories there is much that deserves attention, but the *nidāna* or *bandhu*, the hidden connection that they try to establish, cannot be accepted; it is too visibly the product of the priestly mind. It is recognized in the texts that comprehension must cease at a certain point: they declare "*paro'kṣakāmā hi devāḥ*," "the gods love what is out of sight" (1953, 16; with a modification in the translation).

The recitations that accompany the rites often express specific desires: for health, strength, sons, victory, heaven, and immortality. The list of wishes and desires is not so different from that of modern man. It is not exclusively spiritual, as some contemporary visionaries have claimed, nor is it wholly materialistic, as some critics have asserted. As can be seen at a

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glance from the recitations recorded in this book, the same desires are repeated over and over again. Does this mean that they were never fulfilled? In spite of a certain poetic variation, such repetitiveness would almost seem offensive, not least to the gods. However, it is universally believed, and by the best of minds, that repetition increases effectiveness. Today, similar repetitions are thrust upon us by politicians and the media—not to mention commercials. Bertrand Russell was criticized for his antiwar speeches by a general: "Do you not think there is some lack of a sense of humour in going on reiterating the same thing?" Russell observed that, if it would not serve any purpose to repeat himself, "I failed to see why he was so anxious to prevent me from doing so."

By the time the Vedic rituals had reached their greatest elaboration, these reiterated wishes receded into the background. Their place was taken by a codification of the two kinds of rites we have already met: the *gṛhya* or domestic rites—which are "rites de passage," life-cycle rites or sacraments, accompanying such events as birth, initiation, marriage, and death—and the *śrauta* rites, which the French call "rites solennels." There are several general and formal differences between these two kinds of ritual. For example, the śrauta rites require three fire altars and the services of several priests, whereas the domestic rites require only one fire (the domestic fire) and one priest (the domestic priest). While the function of the domestic rites appears to be fairly straightforward, the significance of the śrauta rites is not obvious. The śrauta ritual, with its myriad ramifications, exhibits the unhampered development of ritual construction and creativity. It is therefore more important for the understanding of ritual than the domestic rites. There are, moreover, śrauta rituals that last a thousand years, which shows that some of the rites were purely theoretical. Such theoretical constructs (which the grammarian Patañjali compared to the infinite uses of language) should not be brushed aside, as was done by Hillebrandt, who referred in this connection to "myth and fantasy" of the ritualists (1897, 158). On the contrary, they are as important for the theory of ritual as are concrete ceremonies. Many rites have, in fact, an intermediate status. The Agnicayana, which was performed in 1975, is a śrauta ritual that seems to have been always "real," though some of its extensions, which the texts describe, smack of theory.

The Śrauta Sūtras of the late Vedic period offer several definitions of ritual. One that is often quoted characterizes it as comprising three things: *dravya*, "the substance (used in oblations)"; *devatā*, "the deity (to which oblations are offered)"; and *tyāga*, "renunciation (of the fruits of the ritual acts)." The tyāga is a formula pronounced by the yajamāna or patron at the culmination of each act of oblation. When the officiating priest, on behalf of the yajamāna, makes the oblation into the fire for one of the gods, for example Agni, the Yajamāna says:

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This is for Agni, not for me (*agnaye idaṃ na mama*).

At this point a contradiction begins to appear, which becomes increasingly explicit in the ritualistic philosophy of the *Mīmāṃsā*. The reason for performing a specific ritual is stated to be the desire for a particular fruit or effect. The stock example of the Mīmāṃsā is:

He who desires heaven shall sacrifice with the Agniṣṭoma ritual (*agniṣṭomena svargakāmo yajeta*).

But this fruit is renounced whenever the yajamāna utters his tyāga formula of renunciation. The effect, therefore, is not obtained.

The resulting picture is further complicated by another apparent contradiction. The rites are subdivided into two classes, "obligatory" (*nitya*) and "optional" (*kāmya*). Unlike the Agnicayana, which is kāmya, the Agniṣṭoma is a nitya rite: every brahman has the duty to perform it. So here is a ritual that appears to be optional, since it is confined to those who desire heaven (nobody's duty), but that is also not optional because it is a prescribed duty, and that does not bear any fruit because its fruits are ultimately abandoned. The texts reflect such contradictions. The Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, basic manual of the ritual philosophy of the Mīmāṃsā, lays down that the rites lead to happiness, but the subcommentary "Straight Spotless" (*Ṛjuvimalā*) observes that this does not apply to obligatory acts.

The Mīmāṃsā philosophers faced another difficulty. When a ritual performance is completed, no fruit is seen. The yajamāna, on whose behalf the rites have been performed, does not rise up and go to heaven. Rather the opposite: he returns home and is, as the texts put it, the same as he was before. In particular, he must continue to perform the morning and evening fire rites (*Agnihotra*) for the rest of his life. The Mīmāṃsā concluded, quite logically, that the fruit of ritual activity is—temporarily—unseen. It will become apparent only later, e.g., after death. An elaborate theory was devised to show that this is in accordance with the mechanism of karman, according to which every cause has an effect. A special logical theorem, called *arthāpatti*, was invented in support of this theory. The followers of the Mīmāṃsā were criticized by others (e.g., the philosophers of the *Advaita Vedānta*) for postulating such unseen effects. For whatever our contemporary fads may suggest, in India the unseen is resorted to only under duress. What the Mīmāṃsā in fact ended up teaching is that the rituals have to be performed for their own sake.

The notion of tyāga, "renunciation," has attained an important position in Hinduism through the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Here Śrī Kṛṣṇa advocates, as the highest goal of life, a mode of activity in which acts are performed as usual, but the fruit (*phala*) of action (*karman*) is always renounced (*karma-phala-tyāga*).

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Unlike the Brāhmaṇa literature and the Mīmāṃsā, the Śrauta Sūtras are not concerned with interpretation. They confine themselves to description and address insiders. They were in no sense teaching manuals. Their description is not enumerative, but highly structured, and uses abstract principles of organization. The Śrauta Sūtras exhibit the science of ritual as an intellectual discipline. In doing so they influenced and determined the development of scholarly and scientific methodologies in India. The ritual rules (sūtra) are formulated carefully and consistently, the use of metarules (*paribhāṣā*) enables the authors to explicate structure and avoid redundancy, and the logical organization of the system of rules is brought out explicitly. All these features developed gradually and paved the way for the work of the Sanskrit grammarians. Directly or indirectly, they contributed to many of the more technical features of Indian logic and philosophy, which are often expressed in sūtra form. It is not the complexity of the ritual itself, but the Śrauta Sūtras' explicit, systematic, and exhaustive characterization of that complexity that is the first manifestation of the Indian scientific and scholarly genius.

3.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of ritual for the civilizations and religions of India, for it is their basic feature. Accordingly, for a Hindu or Jaina, and to some extent for a Buddhist, what he does is more important than what he thinks, believes, or says. Earlier, I referred to the *orthodoxy* of the Nambudiri brahmins. It would have been more appropriate to use the term *orthopraxy* (from Greek *ὀρθός*, "right," *δόξα*, "opinion," and *πρᾶξις*, "action"). Ritual activity is physical activity and is therefore primarily related to the body, unlike thinking or believing, which are mainly connected with the mind. Ritual affiliation is therefore determined by birth, and not by choice or preference. Unlike religious sects, ritual traditions coexist more or less peacefully, they are mutually exclusive, and there is neither desire nor mechanism for conversion. This feature, too, has become a mark of Indian religions.

The study of the Vedic ritual ceremonies was taken up by European Sanskrit scholars in the nineteenth century. In 1805, Colebrooke mentioned several śrauta ceremonies, quoting from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. He did not mention the Agnicayana by name, but referred to it when mentioning that four books of the text "teach the consecration of sacrificial fire: and the tenth, entitled *Agnirahasya*" (see below page 63) "shows the benefits of these ceremonies" (Colebrooke 1873, 54). The first survey that resulted from these European studies appeared at the end of the century in Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Literatur: Vedische Opfer und Zauber* of 1897.

Around the turn of the century, Willem Caland (1859–1932) opened up

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the study of Vedic ritual in its full depth and complexity. By publishing and translating some of the Śrauta Sūtras (upon which the excerpts from Baudhāyana in our second volume are based) he showed that there was a science of ritual, and explicated for the first time in a Western language the Indian systems of ritual rules. Apart from ritual, he wrote extensively on the arcane subtleties of the Sāmaveda and explained its liturgical raison d'être. He left a few questions unanswered. In due course, I obtained their answers from Itti Ravi. The paradigm of the Soma rituals was described by Caland and Henry in the two volumes of their *Agniṣṭoma* of 1906. As we have seen, this is the five-day ritual that the Nambudiris have preserved.

Since the publication of the monumental "Caland and Henry," Western, Indian, and Japanese scholars have explored the ritual texts, and especially the Śrauta Sūtras, in breadth and depth. Hillebrandt dealt with the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* (Full- and New-Moon ceremonies), Schwab with the *Paśubandha* (Animal Sacrifice), Dumont with the *Aśvamedha* (Horse Sacrifice) and the Agnihotra (Daily Fire Worship), and Tsuji with the Śrauta Sūtras of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda. Renou published a monograph on the ritual schools. The Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona contributed a series of studies, culminating in a collective work, directed by Dandekar and Kashikar, entitled *Śrautakośa*, an encyclopaedia in several volumes on the śrauta ritual. Renou provided a small dictionary of technical terms used in the ritual, as well as several specialized studies. More recently, the Śrauta Sūtras of the Sāmaveda were studied by Parpola; the *Āśvalāyana* Śrauta Sūtra of the Ṛgveda by Mylius; the Baudhāyana, *Bharadvāja*, and *Vārāha* Śrauta Sūtras of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda by Kashikar; and particular rites by a host of others, for example, the *Rājasūya* or Royal Consecration by Heesterman, the Pravargya by Van Buitenen, the *Sarvamedha* and the *Saṃsava* by Mylius, and the *Mahāvrata* by Rolland. More general and interpretative studies have been written by Lévi, Rau, Gonda, Heesterman, Thite, Biardeau, Malamoud, and many others.

Some of the Śulba Sūtras, dealing with the measurement and construction of Vedic altars by means of a cord or rope (*śulba*)—formerly explored by Thibaut, the historian of mathematics Cantor, Van Gelder, and Raghu Vira—have been studied recently by Satya Prakash, Swarup Sharma, and Seidenberg, and have been published by the Research Institute of Ancient Scientific Texts of New Delhi. Numerous links of the śrauta ritual with history, archaelogy, art, architecture, music, religion, anthropology, economics, linguistics, literature, mathematics, science, mythology, magic, and philosophy are only beginning to be explored. Gonda's study on the origins of the Indian drama in the Vedic ritual and Kashikar's study on Vedic pottery are examples of what can be done. A new area of research involving botany and pharmacology is opened up by the works of Wasson and Flattery on the hallucinogenic origins of the Soma.

Insofar as information on the ritual is concerned, all such studies are

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confined to texts. Yet, as Renou observed, "one cannot grasp even the outward meaning from reading the text by itself unless one is gifted with the rare virtuosity of a Caland" (1953, 34). Direct information on living ritual in contemporary India is mostly confined to temple ritual, the domestic ritual of the higher castes, other caste rites, village rites, and tribal rituals. Traces of the Rājasūya are preserved in Southeast Asia and in Nepal, and in India in temple worship and *pūjā*, which retain elements of the consecration rite (*dīkṣā*).

Until recently it was quite unknown that the śrauta rituals, which are much more spectacular than any of these other rites, continue to be performed in India, albeit rarely and in a few inaccessible places. The fact that these almost three-thousand-year-old rituals are still alive would have astonished Hillebrandt or Caland. Once these survivals were discovered, it became obvious that many of the basic issues concerning the interpretation of the ritual, as well as numerous problems of a more technical nature, could only be brought closer to a solution if the living traditions were studied. At the same time it became clear that this study is a matter of urgency, since many of the few surviving authentic traditions are on the verge of extinction. What ensued was a new era of Vedic research, which involves close collaboration with the traditional Indian ritualists, and which might be more properly called Vedic fieldwork (an expression first used by Kashikar in his Presidential Address to the Vedic section of the 24th All-India Oriental Conference, Varanasi 1968). An unexpected feature of this work is that the informed interest of scholars from all over the world gives fresh hope and inspiration to the rare Vaidikas who try to keep the śrauta traditions alive. A chapter in our second volume (Part III, pages 193–251) will show how extensive these Vedic survivals are.

Scholars who came in contact with the living tradition directed their attention first to the recitations of the Veda, which are not only prominent features of the ritual, but which are more easily accessible because they can be heard outside the ritual context. Nonbrahmins are not allowed to hear Vedic recitation or to attend Vedic rituals. This continues to make Vedic fieldwork a delicate affair. Not surprisingly, the first barrier was overcome first. Recordings were made and studied by Bake, Gray, Howard, Parpola, Raghavan, Sreekrishna Sarma, Van Buitenen, and myself. The Government of India, through its Sanskrit Commission, urged that complete recordings of the Vedas be made. All-India Radio also took an active interest. Subsequently, films of śrauta ceremonies were made by Van Buitenen (of the *Vājapeya*) and by me (of fragments of an *Atyagniṣṭoma*). When the ritual began to be studied also in its social context, it became apparent that much work was left undone by anthropologists. Except for recent work by Mencher, basic information on the Nambudiris, one of the main communities that maintains its Vedic culture, remains available mainly in the older manuals

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of ethnographers (e.g., Anantha Krishna Iyer), historians (e.g., Padmanabha Menon), and British District Collectors (e.g., Logan and Innes).

If nothing else, the present publication will show that a great deal of Vedic fieldwork remains to be done and should be done before it is too late. At this point in history, each time one of the older Vedic ritualists dies, a portion of the 3,000-year-old tradition is irretrievably lost.

4.

Vedic ritual is not only likely to be the oldest surviving ritual of mankind, it also provides the best source material for a theory of ritual. This is not because it is close to any alleged "original" ritual. Vedic ritual is not primitive and is not an *Ur*-ritual. It is sophisticated and already the product of a long development. But it is the largest, most elaborate, and (on account of the Sanskrit manuals) best documented among the rituals of man.

We now have to record one of the more striking failures of modern scholarship, especially striking since it has largely gone unnoticed. Vedic ritual, the best source material for a theory of ritual, has been ignored, with one exception to which I shall return, by precisely those scholars who have been concerned with the theory of ritual. The resulting picture is not edifying: on the one hand we have a highly developed science of ritual, laid down in Sanskrit texts and made accessible and interpreted to non-Sanskritists by several generations of Sanskrit scholars; on the other hand we have ideas on the nature of ritual by anthropologists, psychologists, and students of religion, which fail to take the former into account and are, by comparison, surprisingly simplistic and naïve.

There are several reasons for this state of affairs. First of all, the theorists of ritual have usually confined themselves to generalities. There is no large body of empirical ethnographic work on ritual that theorists can draw upon. Accordingly, theorists tend to quote ritual facts selectively in support of some theory or other. Since details are rarely described exhaustively, the real intricacies are not generally touched upon. In all the work on ritual by anthropologists, ethnographers, and students of religion I am familiar with, there is nothing that approaches the thoroughness of the Indian Śrauta Sūtras. The situation is very different from that in most of the sciences. In biology it is known how many teeth every animal has, and in philology what the numerals of every language are. Only masses of detailed knowledge of this kind can pave the way for adequate theories, which tend to spring up in an imaginative mind steeped in facts. The Indian science of ritual could develop into a rigorous intellectual discipline, on a par with mathematics, physics, or linguistics, because it was based on vast amounts of precise empirical knowledge of ritual and rituals.

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The absence of a Western counterpart to the Indian science of ritual is not due to the fact that rituals are not important. A striking fact about ritual activity is that all men, and probably many other animals as well, engage in it. Perhaps the absence of a science of ritual is due to the fact that the discipline of ritual lacks the utilitarian and pragmatic value that other sciences are believed to have. A physicist can always claim that his work may have military significance, a linguist can always hope that his research is relevant to the computer industry, but a ritualist has no illusions of this kind. It is conceivable that the emphasis on relevance (which means that scholars should follow the whims of others rather than their own) has prevented people from taking ritual seriously and from paying adequate attention to its rich detail and real intricacies.

A specific reason for the neglect of the study of Vedic ritual is that the exclusiveness of its brahmin guardians has been adopted by some of the Sanskritists whose task it is to expound and clarify it. As a result, some publications on Vedic ritual are unintelligible to readers without Sanskrit. This does not apply to some of Caland's work. His translation of Āpastamba's Śrauta Sūtra, for example, appeared in three volumes, the first of which was published in the *Quellen der Religionsgeschichte*, a sourcebook accessible to all students of religion. In order to read the present book no knowledge of Sanskrit is needed, though it does not follow that its contents are simple and easily assimilated.

This is not the place to try to demonstrate fully the inadequacy of the Western approaches to the study of ritual. However, I shall provide a few examples and establish their inadequacy by showing that they fail to apply to Vedic ritual. First let us dispose of the emptiest of all these theories, if it is a theory at all: the idea that ritual effects a transition from the realm of the profane to that of the sacred. (Instead of "transition" we also meet with "communication," a weaker version of the theory.) Though this idea may correspond to some believers' sentiments, it is very unclear. Terms such as "transition" or "communication" are vague and do not pose too much of a problem, but "sacred" and "profane" certainly do. On one interpretation the theory may be saved by turning it into a tautology: the distinction between profane and sacred is the distinction between the status of a person or object before and after a relevant ritual is embarked upon. Accordingly, if sacred and profane have been defined in terms of ritual, ritual cannot be defined in terms of sacred and profane. This is circular and uninformative.

Given another interpretation, this theory would assume that the distinction between sacred and profane is already established and known from elsewhere. For example, "sacred" might have been shown to apply to the domain of the gods, and "profane" to that of men. However, a satisfactory distinction of this kind is not easily found. Moreover, if it were found, the terms would not introduce anything new. The theory would merely claim that ritual effects a transition from the realm of men to that of the gods (or

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a communication between the two). As a matter of fact, the Vedic ritual offers an immediate contraction. During the *Agnipraṇayana* rite (Episode 20 of Part II), a transition is effected from the Old to the New Altar. The former is said to be the abode of men, and the latter that of the gods. Thus a transition from the domain of men to that of the gods is effected *within* the ritual. The distinction therefore cannot serve as a concept in terms of which ritual itself may be defined.

Another theory that has long been fashionable is that rites reenact myths. This idea, which originated more than a century ago, was partly inspired by the Babylonian festival of the New Year, which involves a recital of the myth of creation. But whether or not it is applicable elsewhere, it is certainly inconsistent with Vedic ritual. As we have already seen, the Vedic rites are, in general, not related to any myths. In the few cases where there is a historical connection, it has no longer a ritual function. The officiating ritualists may not be aware of it, just as speakers of a language need not know the etymology of a word, which is no longer connected with the word's meaning or function. Just as etymology is not linguistics, the notion that rites reenact myths has nothing to contribute to the science of ritual. Moreover, in the few cases where historians can trace a mythological connection, the rites lead a life of their own, full of ritual features that have nothing to do with, and are not explicable in terms of mythology. An example is the construction of the fire altar from a thousand bricks. This is probably related to a hymn in the Ṛgveda that refers to a Man with a thousand heads, eyes, and feet (see below page 113). Though the precise relationship is not clear, the mythological background seems to be safeguarded in this case. However, this background has no ritual significance. What is ritually relevant is that numerous rules are followed that determine the shape of the bricks, their arrangement, the order in which they are piled, and the various mantras with which they are consecrated. Many additional rules pertain to specific features relating to the placement of the bricks, the activities and behavior of the priests in relation to them, the recitations over the completed layers, over the completed altar, and so forth. These are the bread and butter of ritual activity, the activities determined by tradition and/or texts, the knowledge of which distinguishes a ritualist from an outsider. Moreover, none of this enormous amount of ritual has any mythological background or significance. The idea that rites reenact myths may be applicable to Vedic ritual in a few isolated cases and, in those cases, in a very general way, but it fails to explicate any specific rite. It fails, therefore, even as a component of a general theory of ritual.

The same holds for the related theory, current among anthropologists, that rituals are used to transmit cultural and social values to the younger generation. Whether or not this theory holds elsewhere, there is no evidence in support of it from the area of Vedic ritual. It is tautologically true that rituals transmit ritual values, whatever these are, but it is difficult to pinpoint other values that Vedic rites such as are described in this book transmit in

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general. It is obvious that ritual performances create a bond between the participants, reinforce solidarity and territory, boost morale, and constitute a link with the ancestors. So do many other institutions and customs. Such side effects cannot be used to explain ritual. It is true that a few rites are specifically dedicated to the ancestors, but this does not explain the great majority of rites, and throws no light on the nature of ritual in general.

The idea that rites and myths are closely connected is a typically Western idea. It is connected with the notion of "orthodoxy," which stresses the importance of opinions and ideas. To the Indian ritualist it is the activity that counts. As a mode of existence it is perfect in itself and does not stand in need of something else. Unfortunately, anthropological studies have mainly developed against a Western background, and continue to be dominated by the search for a connection between rites and myths. Even Lévi-Strauss, who has many worthwhile things to say on ritual in general, offers, as a kind of definition, that ritual "consists of utterances, gestures and manipulations of objects which are independent of the interpretations which are proper to these modes of activity and which result not from the ritual itself but from implicit mythology" (1971, 600). Vedic ritual does not support the last clause. However, the distinction between ritual and proper activities is certainly applicable to it. Almost any rite could illustrate this. Consider the important ceremony, already referred to, of Agnipraṇayana, "transporting the fire." Agni is transported from the Old to the New Altar. First the adhvaryu priest of the Yajurveda addresses some of the other priests with a formula, prompting them to perform their respective ritual tasks. Then he lifts the clay pot containing the fire, and begins to move east, addressing recitations to Agni and other gods. Several priests form a procession, each executing his own rites and recitations (see Part II, Episode 20).

PLATE 86

To the onlooker, the main result of this performance seems to be that the fire is deposited on the New Altar. This result, however, can only be reached in the ritually prescribed manner and has only ritual use. If it were an ordinary activity, I could come in from the outside and assist in the proceedings by picking up the fire from the Old Altar and depositing it on the New Altar, or by making a wheelbarrow available. However, if I did such things, the ceremony would be desecrated, interrupted, and expiation rites would have to be performed. Similar disruption would result if anyone used the sacred fire for any but a ritual purpose, e.g., to heat water for tea.

The two kinds of activity, ritual and ordinary, can be juxtaposed without conflict or contradiction. After making fire in the ritually prescribed manner, by rubbing two pieces of wood together, a priest may leave the sacred enclosure and light a cigarette with a match. But the two domains should not be mixed. If a priest were to light a cigarette from the sacred fire, it would be bad; he would have confounded different realms and roles. If, on the other hand, he were to go outside the enclosure, produce fire by rubbing two

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pieces of wood together, and light his cigarette from that fire, he would be considered mad or at least eccentric. This would not, incidentally, disqualify him from performing ritual tasks. The ritual and ordinary ways of making fire are neatly demarcated.

The so-called structuralist approach, often associated with the work of Lévi-Strauss, may well be applicable to the study of Vedic ritual, but it would have to be formulated more adequately. Since it is by definition a synchronistic approach, remnants of diachronistic methods of explanation (e.g., "rites derive from myths") would first of all have to be excised from it.

A more unadulterated form of structuralism occurs in the work of the earlier anthropologist Van Gennep. Van Gennep coined the expression "rites de passage," the title of his book of 1909, which is largely applicable to the Vedic domestic (gṛhya) rites but does not contribute to the understanding of the śrauta rites. After completing his book, Van Gennep noted that in many societies marriage ceremonies include an aspersion rite that he interpreted as a fecundity rite. Identical aspersion rites are employed, in the same and in different societies, when a slave is acquired, when a new ambassador arrives in town, to make rain, or to expel someone. Van Gennep gave different interpretations to each of these rites, and concluded:

> The aspersion rite does not have any personal or basic meaning in the state of isolation, but it is meaningful if seen as a component part of a particular ceremony. The meaning of the rite can, consequently, only be found by determining the relation it has with the other elements of the whole ceremony (Van Gennep 1911, in Waardenburg 1973, I, 299).

This seems a promising kind of structural approach, and though it is sketchy, there is nothing in the Vedic ritual that contradicts it. I am not familiar with any attempt to develop this approach systematically and in detail, so that the data of the present book, for example, could be used to test it. This is in general the complaint one is forced to make about these anthropological contributions, not to mention the religious ones, which are very much vaguer: if they mention Vedic ritual at all, they are no more precise, and much less enjoyable, than Foster's *Hill of Devi* (1953, 36): "As each guest finished, he sang a little song from the Vedas in praise of some god, and the Rajah was, as usual, charming."

Earlier I mentioned that there is one exception to the general neglect of Vedic ritual by theorists of ritual. This exception is contained in the work of Hubert and Mauss, who used the Vedic animal sacrifice as source material for the construction of a ritual paradigm (*un schème abstrait du sacrifice*, 1909, 22). Their study is thorough and admirable, though it stays rather close to the texts made accessible mainly by Schwab. Hubert and Mauss did not know that these rituals are still performed, so that some of the data were

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inaccessible to them. When it comes to structure, the authors noted little more than that rites have a beginning, a middle, and an end. More can be done (see Part III, Chapter 00). At least their own essay was a real beginning, though nothing of similar quality seems to have followed.

In the area of psychology, the only worthwhile contribution I am familiar with is the brief article Freud devoted to the subject. Freud noted three points of similarity between rites and neurotic obsessions: "the fear of pangs of conscience after their omission," their "complete isolation from all other activities," and "the conscientiousness with which the details are carried out." He also enumerated three differences:

> the greater individual variability of neurotic ceremonial in contrast with the stereotyped character of rites (prayer, orientation, etc.); its private nature as opposed to the public and communal character of religious observances; especially, however, the distinction that the little details of religious ceremonies are full of meaning and are understood symbolically, while those of neurotics seem silly and meaningless (Freud 1907, in 1953, II, 27–28).

While the similarities discovered by Freud seem to be real, the differences are not. The first difference is overstated: Freud was more familiar with the variability of obsessive acts than of rites. The present book will easily redress the balance. The second difference does not obtain: many Hindu and Buddhist rites are performed by a single priest, an audience being optional. This holds for temple and iconic ritual, and especially for Tantric rites, which combine ritual with meditation and Yogic practice, in India, Indonesia, and the Far East (cf. Staal 1975, 191–193; Hooykaas, in Part III, pages 382–402). As for the other side of the alleged difference, I am not qualified to challenge the view that neurotic obsessive behavior is only private. I doubt Freud would have been as emphatic had he lived in California.

Regarding the third difference, the thrust of Freud's article is that obsessive acts are meaningful, and therefore similar to religious rites. His paper does not show that obsessive acts have general meaning, but illustrates how they refer to particular events, "from the most intimate, and for the most part from the sexual experiences of the patient." Here Vedic ritual could offer at least some support. For example, the birth of Agni from the kindling blocks that are rubbed together is clearly connected with the sexual act (see below page 76). Sex, however, predates Freud. Beyond throwing light on a few particular rites and, perhaps, ritualists, I do not see how Freudian theories could explain ritual activity in general.

Obsessiveness in ritual is often reported, though it does not seem to be a necessary feature. Moreover, it may merely reside in the eyes of the beholder who is unfamiliar with particular ritual procedures. Speakers of a language also adhere painstakingly to numerous rules when they utter a

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sentence. This does not seem obsessive even to a person who does not know the language, though it might seem so to a being who does not know any language. Lévi-Strauss has been criticized for neglecting this obsessiveness or anxiety that may accompany or underlie ritual. Instead of replying to his critics that the anxiety is theirs, Lévi-Strauss has located it in the ritualists' fear that reality, which they cut up, cannot be put together again (1971, 603, 608). However, the ritual of the fire altar contradicts this assumption. It involves the construction of a large altar that allegedly puts together the universe, the god Prajāpati, or the yajamāna. Since the participants need not be familiar with these mythological notions, we should confine ourselves to saying that the altar is put together. If we admit mythology, as Lévi-Strauss does, it weakens his case further. However, it is irrelevant, as these notions are probably a later rationalization. (In the Soma rituals, Prajāpati is certainly an afterthought: Oldenberg 1919, 31; see below page 160). It is an undeniable fact that the altar is put together without anxiety.

To the extent that there is obsessiveness in ritual performance, its explanation does not seem to pose much of a problem. An activity that has to be performed painstakingly and in accordance with strict rules can easily become obsessive. Ritualists may be obsessed by rites, stockbrokers by the market, or mathematicians by proofs. I have been obsessed by the Agnicayana, at least to some extent, or else I would not have completed this book. There is scope for obsession wherever there is serious concern. The more complex the domain, the greater the concern that mistakes have been made. The Agnicayana performance of 1975 was followed by a long series of expiation rites for mistakes that were or might have been committed. No anxiety or discomfort was felt, however, unless it was due to the excessive heat. Like solidarity, obsessiveness may be a side effect of ritual. It is not a necessary feature.

Biologists have used the term "ritualization" with reference to certain types of animal behavior (e.g., Huxley 1966). Some anthropologists have denied that there is any connection between such ritualization and human rituals. As far as I can see the question is wide open. I hope biologists will use the detailed descriptions offered in this book to determine whether there is any resemblance to animal ritualization.

5.

In the previous section I have claimed that theorists of ritual have neglected Vedic ritual. Though true, this might merely be an oversight, easily accommodated. What we have seen, however, is worse. All the theories mentioned fail to be applicable to Vedic ritual and are therefore basically inadequate. Moreover, their inadequacies cannot be resolved by patchwork. At this point the reader may voice a suspicion. Perhaps Vedic ritual con-

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stitutes an exception. Perhaps Vedic ritual is too sophisticated, highly developed, and intellectual. This may be so—I could not tell without undertaking a major comparative survey of rituals. However, I suspect that such criticism is on a par with saying that it does not matter that a certain theory of language does not apply to Sanskrit or English, because Sanskrit or English are too sophisticated, highly developed, and intellectual. If anyone were to make such a claim, the conclusion would be simple and immediate: his theory of language is itself insufficiently sophisticated, developed, and intellectual. The same verdict must apply to the theories of ritual we have reviewed. If they cannot account for Vedic ritual, they must go.

There is a general reason for this inadequacy: all these theories are of the reductionist kind. They attempt to reduce ritual to something else. Vedic ritual shows that ritual is, at least in part, a discipline engaged in for its own sake, which cannot therefore be thus reduced. Most Indian theorists of ritual have sensed this, and some have stated it in so many words. Basically, the irreducibility of ritual shows that action constitutes a category in its own right. To reduce it to ideas or anything else seems the scholar's prerogative, but in this case it appears doomed. It is likely, at this stage, that no general theory of the reductionist kind can explain the majority of Vedic rites such as are treated in this book.[1] This is especially clear in the case of such elaborate ceremonies as I referred to in connection with the piling of the bricks. These specific rites cannot be explained by a general desire for strength or heaven, a yearning for the sacred, a wish to reenact myths, sexual anxiety, or any such motivation, which—from the ritual point of view—can only be regarded as extraneous. Such rites show, on the contrary, that ritual follows its own principles and leads a life of its own. Once this is realized, it becomes increasingly obvious. When the bricks of the altar have been finally deposited and consecrated (which takes five days: one day for each layer) there is an unexpected sequel: 118 pebbles are placed on the top layer, in specific positions between the bricks. Again each pebble is consecrated with mantras. And so it goes on, rite after rite. Ritual exhibits a very detailed and specific knowledge. I estimate that the extent of specialized knowledge needed to put the altar together ritually is on a par with the extent of technical knowledge required to build an aeroplane. The bird-shaped altar is in fact a kind of aeroplane, only it takes off in a different way.

The Soma ceremonies require similarly complex constructions, though the intricacies are different in kind. Here numerous subtle relationships are maintained between recitations of the Ṛgveda and chants of the Sāmaveda. They are carefully balanced, and each is subject to numerous rules; syllables, groups of syllables and verses are repeated, partially repeated, or undergo

[1] I say "at this stage" because it is not inconceivable that a future science of ritual, which would account for all such specific rites, would itself turn out to be reducible to another science, as chemistry is to physics. But we are far from having reached such a stage of advancement in our understanding of ritual.

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transpositions; certain parts are hidden; specific priests officiate in specific roles. When dealing with some of the intricacies of these chants, even Caland lost heart: *Au surplus, cette méthode de chant comporte encore une infinité de règles, qu'il est impossible de consigner ici* (Caland and Henry, 180, note). The Soma sequences exhibit mind-boggling complexities that relate almost entirely to the form of the chants and recitations, and can therefore be described in purely formal terms. In order to achieve this, the priests cooperate closely, and the results resemble the movements of a musical composition of Wagnerian proportions.

Some of these complexities, and much of the ritual tendency toward proliferation, are due to recursive features. These are features that result from rules that are applicable to their own output. A simple example is the rule:

$$B \rightarrow A\ B\ A$$

This rule expresses the fact that a structure B is joined on both sides by another structure, A. Since the rule applies to any B, it applies to the B of its output:

$$A\ B\ A \rightarrow A\ (A\ B\ A)\ A \text{ or } A\ A\ B\ A\ A$$

By reiterating this procedure, an indefinite number of structures A may be attached to B on both sides:

$$\ldots A\ A\ A\ B\ A\ A\ A \ldots$$

The recursive features of Vedic ritual include this structure, and many more complex structures (for illustrations, see pages 127–134 of Part III in the second volume). Such features will have to be taken into account in any general theory of ritual structure. They are indicated, and sometimes explicated, in the Śrauta Sūtras.

A simple application of a recursive structure is the insertion of the so-called *iṣṭi* rite (basically a vegetable oblation: see pages 46–47). Iṣṭi rites can be inserted in specific, but indefinitely many places, so that the ritual system is indefinitely expandable. Such recursive features are not confined to Vedic ritual. They occur in the elaborate rituals that characterize contemporary bureaucracies. An iṣṭi rite is in certain respects like a committee or a report. Committees create new committees and reports lead to more reports. At the University of California we have a Committee on Committees, which symbolizes and initiates such recursiveness, which then operates throughout the system. I once argued that a certain committee should be abandoned because it served no purpose. My arguments were taken seriously and time was spent on debating whether a subcommittee should be created to look into them and submit a report. As we have already learned from our cursory survey of the interpretations of Vedic ritual, invisibility of results is no bar to the proliferation of rites. Rites obey principles of their own, and humans find

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rationalizations to explain them. Such rationalizations are also invoked to explain the proliferation of committees and reports: supporters claim that they safeguard justice and fairness; critics attribute them to suspicion and paranoia; the truth is that ritual forces are at work, which are greater than man.

One reason that the absence of visible or otherwise detectable results causes no concern is that large rituals are ends in themselves. A bureaucracy grows and does not mind a diminution of its effectiveness and an increase in waste provided that its rules and regulations are maintained and further developed. Vedic ritual manifests the same tendency to be absorbed in itself. The rites have no practical utility and have lost their original function, if ever they had one. The ritualists perform them not in order to obtain certain ends, but because it is their task. Lack of practical utility, incidentally, is a characteristic that ritual shares with many of the higher forms of human civilization. It may be a mark of civilization.

There is an analogy between rites which are without function, and ritual language which is without meaning. We have already observed that an important characteristic of Vedic ritual is the emphasis on recitation and chant. Under duress, ritual acts may be neglected, glossed over, or changed, but recitations must be maintained at all cost, and without modification. This has been the case in the past, and continues to be so in the present. The construction of the fire altar involves the deposition of more than a thousand bricks, of specific sizes and shapes, and in a complicated pattern. However, the physical deposition of the bricks is unimportant; what counts is their consecration by mantras. This is obvious from the simple fact that, though the order of bricks is ritually prescribed, the bricks are actually put down in any order, and not at the proper time. When they are consecrated, however, the prescribed order is adhered to and the correct time is observed. This emphasis on ritual consecration also explains the pebbles, mentioned before: they must have been introduced simply because there were more mantras than bricks. That this emphasis on mantras has been the same for at least 2500 years is demonstrated by a statement in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (9.1. 2.17): "This fire altar is language, for it is constructed with language."

During the 1975 performance of the ceremony several changes were made. One of the most important was that no animals were killed during the fourteen animal sacrifices traditionally prescribed. The goats were represented by cakes made of a paste of rice flour. This modification did affect the rites, since it is not easy to kill rice cakes by strangulation and cut them open to take out particular internal organs. However, the mantras were recited in the prescribed manner and it was felt that the essence of the ritual was thereby preserved.

If it is remarkable that recitations are more important than acts, it is not less remarkable that these recitations are not generally understood. This unintelligibility is an inherent feature of mantras. It is not simply due

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to the meaning having been forgotten. Whoever can remember a mantra can certainly remember its meaning. However, mantras are significant not as meaningful expressions, but as units recited on specific ritual occasions. In its purest form, this view was defended by the ancient ritualist Kautsa, according to whom the mantras are meaningless (see below, page 61). This is consistent with the fact that the formal features of the recitations and chants are ritually the most important. Hence the emphasis on syllables, meters, insertions, and transpositions, none of which make any sense in terms of meaning. An extreme example is provided by the Sixteenth Recitation (*Ṣoḍaśi-śastra*), which is also one of the most sacred and mysterious (Part II, Episode 29, pages 660–663).

In the history of the religions of India we increasingly meet with mantras that are unintelligible and mysterious, not because they have lost their original meaning, but because they had no meaning to begin with. A well-known example is the mantra OM, which originated in the Vedic recitations. Though an entire Upaniṣad is devoted to its interpretation, the interpretation is pure rationalization. Unlike language, such mantras are universal. They do not stand in need of translation. The abundance of such sacred noises in Buddhism facilitated its introduction into China, where their way was paved by the magical formulas of Taoism (cf. Staal 1979a).

In the case of the Sāmaveda chants, their meaninglessness is more obvious and admits of a simple explanation in historical terms. Basically the Sāmaveda consists of mantras, mostly taken from the Ṛgveda and set to music. The texts are adapted to the melodies, so that many words are changed and new syllables are inserted. Thus we meet in the chants with sequences such as: *hā yi* or *kā hvā hvā hvā hvā hvā*. Meaningful words may also be incorporated, e.g., *suvar jyotiḥ*. This expression has a meaning by itself ("celestial light") but not in its melodic or ritual setting. The chants of the Sāmaveda are often *Lieder ohne Worte*, "Songs without Words," as is indicated by their name, sāman, which means "melody" as well as "the hum of bees." Faddegon referred in this connection, quite appropriately, to "Ritualistic Dadaism" (1927), showing thereby—as did Wasson and Flattery—that the fashions of one period sometimes enable us to understand another.

In Vedic ritual the chants and recitations that accompany the acts are partly meaningless. This meaninglessness may be original or derived. A similar situation obtains with respect to the rites themselves. They are often devoid of function or outside reference, which again may be original or derived. A few illustrations will make this clear, and will show that this state of affairs is not confined to Vedic ritual.

Some of the earliest rituals of mankind seem to have originated in connection with the use of fire. As we shall see (Part I, page 78), carrying fire became a ritual activity as soon as it was no longer necessary, i.e., as soon as man had discovered methods for kindling fire. The two main types of ritual fire, "perpetual fire" and "new fire," represent the two main periods

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in the history of fire, the early age of fire collecting and the later age of fire production. During the ceremonies that will be described in this book, there are seven occasions at which new fire was made by rubbing two pieces of wood together. At all other times the fires were kept. The making of new fire is not accompanied by mantras and is therefore less ritualized than the carrying of perpetual fire, which is generally accompanied by mantras and other rites. The historical explanation is that the transportation of fire is much older, and became superfluous much longer ago.

While many rites that pertain to fire go back to the early stages of human evolution, other Vedic rites reflect later and historical periods. Many rites are inspired by the adventures of Vedic nomads who entered the Indian subcontinent from the northwest (Part I, Chapter 5, p. 90). The sacred fire (going back to the Indo-European period) and the sacred Soma plant (going back to the Indo-Iranian period) are ritually transported from west to east, as they were carried by the Vedic nomads in the course of their eastward expansion. The priests recite battle hymns that make sense only in the context of these early adventures. The rites refer to enemies who are sometimes historical, at other times purely ritual. The modern performers are not aware of any of these historical roots, which are not reenacted or celebrated and are as unimportant to the ritual as the etymology of a word is to its meaning.

The cult of Soma, originally a hallucinogenic plant, has undergone the most massive ritualization. This is apparently connected with the fact that the original Soma was lost and replaced by substitutes at an early period (Part I, page 109). This is similar to the disappearance of features of the paleolithic hunt, which seem to survive only in ritual sacrifice. In this connection Burkert has sounded a warning: scholars are prone to assert that the original idea behind a ritual has been lost or misunderstood (1979, 38). In some cases it is likely that there never was an idea behind it. Even if there was, it is no longer functional in ritual performances, and is therefore without ritual significance.

The tendencies of rites to be without function and of ritual language to be without meaning are conspicuous in the area of Vedic ritual. This is not the place to enquire to what extent these are general characteristics of all ritual. If they are, this would offer a simple explanation for the inadequacies of the Western theories of ritual we have reviewed, for all theorists of ritual have assumed that ritual cannot merely have intrinsic value, but must be provided with meaning, function, or outside reference. If the assumption is wrong, this would indicate that theorists are in this respect not different from ordinary believers, who always assume that rites have special, if not extraordinary effects.

When Vedic ritual entered the counterculture in the United States, a center was set up in Randallstown, Maryland. It distributes a journal, pamphlets, and books that claim that ashes from the Agnihotra fire may cure fever, skin fungus, and ringworm, and alleviate cancer of the rectum. A

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pharmaceutical firm in Bodensee, Switzerland is quoted as confirming these findings. Apparently, such specific cures are expected by Westerners, too sophisticated to be satisfied with health, strength, and immortality in general.[1] However, if we are able and willing to abandon our own specific expectations and desires and to immerse ourselves in the rites as they are performed, we realize that Vedic ritual is very different from a health cure, a psychoanalytic session, an anthropological meeting, or a religious service. When we begin to develop a sense for its structure and orchestration, we discern that the ritual resembles, at least structurally, a musical performance. As a matter of fact, some of the syntactic rules that ritual and language share are also found in music. The structures ABA, ABBA, ABCBA, and AABAA, for example, all occur in Bach's six sonatas for violin and harpsichord. Why men and probably some other animals use and delight in such structures and not in others, equally plausible or implausible, has not yet been explained.

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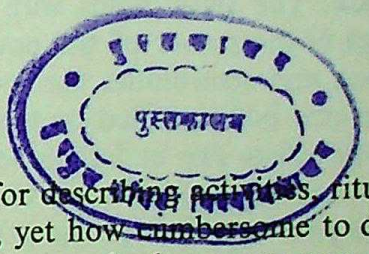

6.

Words are not the most effective means for describing activities, ritual or ordinary. How simple it is to peel an apple, yet how cumbersome to describe that process in words, especially to someone who has never seen an apple or used a knife. With respect to rites, the task of their description was undertaken in the Śrauta Sūtras. It is also the principal aim of Part II of this book. In formulating the descriptions, I have experienced some of the problems with which Baudhāyana and other authors of Śrauta Sūtras were struggling more than 2,000 years ago. In the course of my work my admiration for them has grown. However, there is a difference between those manuals and the present publication. The Śrauta Sūtras, though fully explicit, address an audience of initiates and connoisseurs. The authors made judicious use of references, cross references, and abbreviations, all explained with the help of metarules (paribhāṣā). For example, in the Śrauta Sūtras of the Yajurveda, "he" always refers to the adhvaryu priest. Whenever an oblation is referred to, and is not otherwise specified, it is to be understood that it is an oblation of ghee, made by the adhvaryu into the sacrificial fire by means of the *juhū* ladle or by means of the *sruva* if the juhū is already otherwise employed. Vedic recitations, nowadays generally referred to by numbers, are quoted by the beginning words, the end being marked by the particle *iti*.

[1] Actually the Agnihotra center at Randallstown is not the first manifestation of Vedic ritual in American popular culture. The priority goes to Batman, as Michael O'Flaherty has shown. In the January, 1976, issue of the *Batman* journal, the hero is shown a slide of a mysterious rug and exclaims: "Just as I thought—the figure of *Agni*, the *Vedic god of the altar fire*! This is a *prayer rug* of an obscure sect of the *Vedas* . . . a most sacred object . . . In fact, even *photographing* it is considered *desecration*!"

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The resulting prose is characterized by a highly nominalized, formulaic style, which—in some of the later texts—begins to resemble algebra.

By contrast, the present volume addresses an audience not merely of experts, be they Sanskritists, Indologists, or even Vedic ritualists. Throughout my work I have tried to keep in mind that my readers would be historians, anthropologists, psychologists, students of religion—in fact anyone interested in the great manifestations of civilization, provided he has the *Sitzfleisch* and reads from the beginning. Since the subject is explained ab ovo, the description is even longer than the relevant parts of the Śrauta Sūtras, composed for insiders, which are published and translated in the second volume. And yet, in spite of its intrinsic value, I would have hesitated to present a work so large and so exotic were it not for its audiovisual component. In fact, this component is better suited to its subject matter than the 250,000 words of the entire text. The photographs of the rites form an integral part of the book. The same holds with regard to the cassette tapes, which give an idea of the power of the oral tradition. I have found that Western traditions and sensibilities are such that most Westerners are attracted by the pictures but mystified by the recordings. It is good to plunge oneself into both before one undertakes any systematic reading. Ideally, readers should first see the film "Altar of Fire," which it has not been feasible to include in this package. This provides an immediate experience of some of the ceremonies, and after 45 minutes one has reached just that mixture of understanding and bewilderment that propels one to take on the book.

The organization of the book is straightforward. This first volume consists of two parts and a Bibliography. Part I provides the background. It deals with Vedic ritual in general, its sources and traditional interpretations, the historical and prehistorical background, and the community of the performers. As I have already indicated, much of this background, though interesting for the understanding of Indian culture and for a variety of other reasons, need not possess any ritual significance.

Part II of the first volume, its main part, offers a detailed description of the 1975 performance of the ritual. It is preceded by a description of the preparations that discusses time, space, materials, and personnel. The principles of the description, which is selective and nonbehavioristic, are explained in an Introductory Note (pages 274–276). The description is concerned with the 1975 performance, not with what is prescribed in the classical texts.

The second volume consists of three parts, numbered III-V. Part III is a collection of contributions by different scholars whose work illuminates the ritual from a variety of perspectives. Some of these authors attended the 1975 performance. Part IV contains texts and translations of the relevant ritual manuals. The first of these, Chapter 10 of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, provides a detailed description of the Agnicayana ritual and should be compared with the description of Part II by anyone who wishes to study the difference between the classical tradition and the 1975 perfor-

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mance. Part V gives a brief outline of the twenty hours of film and eighty hours of recordings made in 1975 under the direction of Robert Gardner, which were subsequently used in the production of the film "Altar of Fire." It also provides texts and translations of the material available on the accompanying cassettes. Finally, there are a Glossary and Indexes. There are cross references throughout, and each volume is separately introduced.

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PART I

THE AGNICAYANA RITUAL

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

THE FIRST PART of this book deals with the Agnicayana ritual and provides background for a description of its 1975 performance.

This first section is based partly upon classical texts, including discussions of these texts by modern interpreters. The Agnicayana, as described in such texts, should be distinguished from the Agnicayana as performed by Nambudiri brahmins in 1975. The Nambudiri performance is not revivalistic and is therefore not based upon a scholarly study of ancient texts. It is based upon the Nambudiri tradition, handed down from teacher to pupil and from father to son, largely orally, but with the occasional assistance of manuscript manuals in Malayalam. Because it represents a living tradition, there are discrepancies between the tradition and the texts.

Throughout this first part I shall refer to the 1975 performance only occasionally, because the performance will be documented in other parts of the book. Relevant portions from some of the most important classical ritual manuals will be given, in text and translation, in Part IV.

Chapter 2 of Part I will introduce the texts and the hierarchy of rituals. This chapter is full of names and demands some effort on the part of the reader. It introduces the roles of the dramatis personae (who will themselves be introduced in Part II) and is therefore an indispensable part of the volume. The Vedas themselves are important primarily because they provide the recitations for the ritual. In the Ṛgveda there are numerous references to ritual, but they are too fragmentary to permit its reconstruction. The Yajurveda is the ritual Veda par excellence, but it does not provide systematic descriptions of ritual. In the later Vedic period, roughly from 700 to 300 B.C., a number of specialized manuals were compiled that provide a general classification of śrauta rituals and a minute description of each of them. Some of these texts are manuals of Vedic schools, which are preserved in the Nambudiri tradition. Texts and translations of relevant portions are provided in Part IV of this book. Other manuals belong to schools that have long been extinct. N. Tsuji treats one of these in Part III (pages 135–160). Chapter 2 of Part I will first survey the textual sources, and then provide an overview of the śrauta rituals described in these sources, indicating the position of the Agnicayana.

Chapter 3 of Part I will provide a bird's-eye view of the Agnicayana based upon the classical texts. A more detailed and illustrated description of episodes of the 1975 performance will be given in Part II. This is further documented by the description of records and films in Part V.

Chapter 4 of Part I deals with some of the traditional interpretations of the Agnicayana. The ritual manuals provide only descriptions, and presuppose that the performers were familiar with the meaning of the rites. Other

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portions of the Vedic literature deal with the meaning of ritual and of rituals. The Brāhmaṇas in particular are devoted to ritual interpretation and speculation, but the numerous, not always consistent, and sometimes fanciful interpretations that these works provide show clearly that, even at this early period, any meaning many episodes may have had was already lost. The texts themselves declare that "the gods love what is out of sight" (*paro'kṣapriyā devāḥ*: Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.1.1.2, etc.). Obscurity kindles the imagination. The ritual speculations of the later Vedic literature lead to the beginnings of Indian philosophy, and stand at the origin of many developments in later Hinduism.

Chapter 5, the longest chapter of Part I, discusses the origin and significance of the Agnicayana. This chapter has been divided into several sections in an attempt to bring some order to the vast amount of material. The origin of the Agnicayana takes us back almost to the dawn of civilization. When we come to later prehistoric times we face two distinct civilizations. On the one hand we have the materially simple culture of the Indo-Iranian nomads, who were wandering on the dry steppes of Inner Asia. On the other hand we know of a highly evolved city culture, which flourished, roughly at the same time, a thousand miles further south and on the other side of the formidable mountain ranges of the western Himalayas, in the fertile valleys of the upper Indus. It has been fashionable for some time to trace everything Indian that is not found in the earlier Vedas to this Indus civilization. I shall resist this temptation, because our knowledge of the Harappā culture, though extensive, is limited and one-sided, based as it is upon archaeological data and controversial seals. Yet it cannot be denied that there are numerous features of the Agnicayana that cannot be derived from the nomadic culture of the Indo-Iranian invaders.

Thapar, Parpola, Heesterman, and Seidenberg treat these early periods from different points of view in Part III of this book (in the second volume). I provide an analysis of ritual structure there. To introduce and supplement these chapters, I shall deal with Agni, fire, the Vedic nomads, Soma, the Cosmic Man, the altar, and naturally perforated stones in Chapter 5 of Part I.

Chapter 6 of Part I treats Vedic traditions among the Nambudiris, incorporating some material from my book *Nambudiri Veda Recitation* (1961). A long history, spanning almost twenty-five centuries, leads from the Vedic period to contemporary Nambudiri society. As regards the Vedic ritual, most of this history remains unwritten. Some definite but scattered information can be derived from epigraphical evidence, mostly from the medieval period. References in epic and literary works are numerous but are rarely specific. The picture gains precision only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when many of the śrauta rituals were already on the verge of extinction. Kashikar and Parpola will survey śrauta performances in recent times in Part III. For further information on the history of the Nambudiri community, see K. Kunjunni Raja, M.G.S. Narayanan, Kesavan Veluthat, M.R. Raghava Varier and others in Part III in the second volume.

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Chapter 2. THE AGNICAYANA IN CLASSICAL VEDIC RITUAL

SOURCES

OUR KNOWLEDGE OF Vedic culture is, in the first place, derived from the four Vedas: the Ṛgveda (RV), a collection of poems, hymns, and invocations of deities, reflecting myths, rites, battles, and insights of many kinds; the Yajurveda (YV), verse and prose largely concerned with ritual; the Sāmaveda (SV), which consists mostly of parts of the Ṛgveda set to music; and the Atharvaveda (AV), a collection that is somewhat similar to the Ṛgveda, but that pays more attention to magic, and probably reflects a different stratum of society.

Each of these Vedas consists of several portions, the earliest of which is called *saṃhitā*. Like other concepts applied to the Vedas, this term emphasizes form more than content. The term saṃhitā means "conjunction, continuity" and refers to the continuous recitation of the text. In such continuous recitation, euphonic combinations (*sandhi*) apply between words, as in current speech. For example, *agníḥ naḥ yajñám úpa vetu* is recited as *agnír no yajñám úpa vetu*, "Agni, may he come to our ritual." At the same time, the rendering of the accent of a word might influence the pronunciation of the immediately preceding and following words.

The saṃhitā recitation contrasts with the *padapāṭha*, "word-for-word recitation," from *pada*, "word," in which sentences are decomposed into separate words. Such decomposition implies that the sandhi combinations are dissolved, and that the influence of the word accent is confined to the word itself. For example, in the above illustration, the padapāṭha is: *agníḥ / naḥ / yajñám / úpa / vetu*. The padapāṭha, available for each of the *saṃhitā* texts, preserves the earliest linguistic analysis of these texts.

The word "text," which we tend to use in such contexts, is in fact inappropriate: we are not dealing with books that were written down, but with orally transmitted compositions. The translation of veda as "knowledge" or "wisdom," though correct, is also misleading. The predominant Indian way to approach the Vedas is to consider them in the first place as recitations. This is indicated by the term *saṃhitā*.

In the case of the Ṛgveda there is only one saṃhitā, which is called *Ṛksaṃhitā*. References to the Ṛgveda, without further specification, are to the Ṛksaṃhitā. In the case of the other Vedas, there are several saṃhitā traditions, referred to by different names. In the case of the Yajurveda, the one that is relevant for the Nambudiri Agnicayana is the Taittirīya Saṃhitā.

Throughout the centuries, the Vedic recitations have been transmitted orally by members of the brahmin community. Each brahmin belongs by birth to one of the Vedas, and is initiated into the recitation of his particular

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Veda by his father or by a teacher, either at home or in a Vedic school. Elaborate mnemotechnic methods have been devised to safeguard the proper formal transmission of these compositions, and to eliminate or decrease the danger of losing words, syllables, or accents. The simplest of these methods is the memorization of the padapāṭha alongside the saṃhitā recitation. There are several mnemotechnic modifications (*vikṛti*), in which the words of the padapāṭha are recited in certain definite combinations and permutations. In a simple extension of the padapāṭha, each word is repeated once. Even this is not as simple as it seems, for the sandhi combinations and the accents are also modified according to rules. One of the more complex modifications is called *ghana*. If the words of the padapāṭha are represented by numerals as 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / . . . , the ghana is 1 2 2 1 1 2 3 3 2 1 1 2 3 / 2 3 3 2 2 3 4 4 3 2 2 3 4 / . . . . The beginning of the ghana of the sentence illustrated before thereby becomes: *agnír no no'gnír agnír no yajñáṃ yajñáṃ no'gnír agnír no yajñáṃ* / . . . . The ghana of the English translation would begin as follows: Agni may may Agni Agni may he he may Agni Agni may he / . . . . Many of these modifications can be heard on Levy-staal (1968). Their rules are given in phonetic treatises called *prātiśākhya*, attached to each of the branches of the Vedas. For each of the hymns of the Ṛgveda the names of the composer or seer (*ṛṣi*) and of the deity (*devatā*) to whom the hymn is dedicated, are preserved. The names of the original meters (*chandas*) are also handed down traditionally. The metrical structure itself has not been retained in the actual practice of recitation. In texts that were originally accented, the location of the original accent is maintained in the oral transmission; the original rendering of the accent, however, is generally lost.

According to the lawbook of Manu, a brahmin who does not know the Vedic verse is as useless as a eunuch among women (*Manusmṛti* 2.158, quoted Ingalls 1959, 3). In actual practice the knowledge of brahmins varies greatly. The minimum each brahmin knows is the *Gāyatrī*, a three-line verse from the Ṛgveda (3.62.10): "May we receive this desirable light of the god Savitṛ, who shall impel our thoughts." This verse, recited daily during the *Sandhyā* ceremony (cf. Srinivasan 1973), is taught at the time of *Upanayana*, the investiture with the sacred thread that each brahmin undergoes at his initiation ceremony, or "second birth."

Alongside this transmission of sound, there has not been a comparable or equally ancient oral tradition that preserves the meaning. With the development of classical Sanskrit, and of middle and modern Indian languages, there has accordingly been a gradual loss of the meaning of much of the recited material that had been composed in the older Vedic language. The reciters might be familiar with the names of the deities that are invoked, or might know the meaning of some Vedic words that occur in the recitation, and that also occur (though often with a different meaning) in classical Sanskrit or in modern Indian languages. However, in recent times, they generally do not understand longer phrases. The reciters are primarily preservers of the

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Vedic tradition, not Vedic scholars. They are dedicated to the preservation of their sacred heritage for posterity. Without them, scholars of the Vedas would have nothing to be scholars of. Had the reciters themselves been scholars concerned with meaning, the original sounds might have long been lost.

Separate from this formal transmission there is an entire development of intellectual traditions in India, which was concerned with meaning, but which gradually moved away from the Vedic heritage and evolved the numerous systems and schools of thought that make up much of later Hinduism. The Vedas were preserved in their pristine purity, uninterpreted, unaffected by what went on elsewhere, and accordingly without exerting much influence on these later developments. And so we witness a development that is probably without parallel: for about 3,000 years, a class of people devoted themselves in relative isolation to the formal preservation of a large number of oral compositions, confining themselves almost entirely to sound. This transmission has been at least as faithful as have been manuscript traditions in other parts of the world. Sound, though perhaps not as durable as stone or clay, has proved much less susceptible to wear and tear than paper. As a result, we have access to one of the ancient literatures of mankind almost in its original form and in its entirety.

This extraordinary effort of memorization can largely be explained by a simple fact: when the Vedas were composed, writing was unknown in the community to which the composers belonged. It is a matter of controversy whether at a much earlier period a regular system of writing was used in the Indus civilization, which at one time had occupied the same areas that the Vedic nomads entered. But even if a writing system did exist, it is not open to doubt that the art of writing had disappeared with the advent of the Vedic culture. When writing was later introduced (or reintroduced) from elsewhere, it was considered alien to the Vedic heritage and therefore unfit as a receptacle for the Vedas. In the beginning, this foreign invention was mostly confined to commercial use and to royal edicts. It was gradually adopted in all branches of learning, and finally the Vedas themselves were committed to writing. For a long time, however, writing continued to be considered impure and even offensive. A later Vedic text, the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (5.5.3), states that a pupil should not recite the Veda after he has eaten meat, seen blood or a dead body, had intercourse, or engaged in writing. Unlike the ancient civilizations of the Near East and of China, Vedic civilization flourished without literacy. In India, writing has always been held in lower esteem than memory or the sound of recitation. This explains, among other things, the importance attached to *mantras*, a term originally applied to the Vedic verse.

The oral transmission of the Vedas from father to son or from teacher to pupil is known as *adhyāya*, "learning" or "recitation." This is contrasted with prayoga, "ritual application," which refers to the general use of Vedic texts in ritual, or *viniyoga*, which refers to the recitation of a particular mantra at a particular point in the ritual. Vedic ritual is primarily characterized

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by the recitation, by one or more priests, of Vedic passages. The structure and organization of this recited material follows the requirements of the ritual. As a result, sentences and verses are often taken out of their original context (which is preserved in adhyāya only) and adapted to new surroundings. A reciter who is familiar with the prayoga has learned different arrangements of fragments of the oral tradition that he has already memorized, and knows where to insert them into ritual structures. This new dimension of learning may be handed down orally too, and without any connection with ritual activity. And so we meet with three kinds of knowledge, handed down orally, each presupposing the former. Most reciters preserve the Vedic texts in their original, or presumedly original, order. Some among them have, in addition, learned how recitations have to be modified and rearranged for use in ritual. A few have preserved the ritual practice itself, and know what, how, where, and when to act as well as to recite.

The importance of recitation in the realm of Vedic ritual is not merely a recent development, which might be explained by the fact that ritual recitations are more easily preserved than the ritual activities they accompany. Throughout the Vedic period, the importance of language has been emphasized, and many ritual acts are only performed by uttering mantras, as is stated repeatedly in the Vedic literature. Thus we need not be surprised when we find, for example, that Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 9.1.2.17 declares with reference to the Agnicayana, "This fire altar is language, for it is piled up with language" (already quoted on page 18).

With regard to ritual, the four Vedas are not on a par. The Ṛgveda contains numerous references to ritual practices. Many priestly functions and names of priests are mentioned, and there are terms for particular rites and ritual recitations, for altars, and especially for rites connected with Soma. However, the precise significance of many of the ritual terms is unclear and, taken as a whole, these references are too fragmentary to permit the reconstruction of specific rituals. Potdar (1953) has tried to establish four stages of ritual development in the Ṛgveda, but when it comes to formulating the differences, he is relatively vague. Kashikar (1964) has, moreover, shown that there are many exceptions to Potdar's presumed generalizations.

In the Yajurveda the situation is different. In the saṃhitā traditions we find mantras that are to be recited at the rituals, and prose passages explaining them. The ritual specification that is provided is generally consistent with the detailed descriptions given in the later ritual manuals attached to the Yajurveda. The ritual that emerges from these descriptions is generally referred to as "Vedic ritual." I shall sometimes call it "classical Vedic ritual" to distinguish it from earlier rituals, such as the ritual of the Ṛgveda or the lost rituals of the original inhabitants of the subcontinent. The arrangement and organization of the Yajurveda itself is largely determined by ritual considerations. Not only is much of its subject matter ritual, but the text itself is used in rituals. The Ṛgveda, on the other hand, is used only in part in the clas-

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sical ritual, and many portions have no ritual connection. The Ṛgveda consists, for the greater part, of "family books," and does not have a clearly visible ritual structure. It would be rash to assume that it originally had such a structure that was lost subsequently. It is true that ritualistic interpretations of the Ṛgveda have found favor among scholars from Bergaigne to Bloomfield, who wrote, for example: "If we had before us the ritual practices which accompanied the Ṛgvedic hymns at the time of their composition, the Ṛgveda would lose much of its obscurity" (quoted in Kashikar 1968, 9). This may be true in some cases; but on the whole, those scholars look at the Ṛgveda through the eyes of the Yajurveda.

In some parts of the Sāmaveda, a ritual arrangement has been adopted. It occupies, in this respect, a place between Ṛgveda and Yajurveda. The Sāmaveda consists, for the largest part, of material taken from the Ṛgveda and set to music. This adaptation from texts to melodies has resulted in numerous textual changes and in the insertion of much new material, originally perhaps necessitated by the requirements of melody. An example will make this clear. The first melody of the *Jaiminīya Sāmaveda* is based upon the following mantra from the Ṛgveda:

agna ā yāhi vītaye gṛṇāno havyadātaye
ni hotā satsi barhiṣi
"Agni, come to the feast, after being extolled,
come to the gift of offerings!
As Hota sit down on the sacrificial grass!"

अग्न आयाहि वीतये
गृणानो हव्यदातये ।
नि होता सत्सि बर्हिषि ॥

(RV 6.16.10 = TB 3.5.2.1; with this mantra the second brick of the fire altar is consecrated. See below page 388)

In the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda this mantra is transformed into:

ō gnā yi / ā yāhi vā yi / tāyā yi tāyā yi / gṛṇāno hāvyadā / tāyā yi tāyā yi / nā yi hotā / sā tsā yi bā au ho vā / hī ṣī //

(GG 1.1)

The oblique bar ("/"), used to demarcate the portions of this chant, has a specific meaning: each portion (*bhakti*) should be sung with one breath. Meaningless syllables, such as *au ho vā*, are called *stobhas*. They inspired Faddegon to speak of "Ritualistic Dadaism" (1927). While the majority of the melodies (sāman) are based upon verses (ṛk) of the Ṛgveda, some derive from other sources, and others have no source at all. The latter consist entirely of stobhas, sometimes interspersed with bits and fragments of mantras. An example is one of the songs that accompany the consecration of the "Space-Filler" bricks of the first layer (Part II, page 444; see also Table 15):

agnoṃ / agna ho agna ho agna hā ā vu vā / ē jyotiḥ //

(AG 25.32)

This is a composition on the name Agni with *jyotiḥ*, "light", added in the

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finale as illumination or embellishment. Such pieces are common in the *Araṇyegeyagāna*, "Songs to be Sung in the Forest," from which the above song has been taken.

The structure of the Sāmaveda is complex. The mantras that underlie the the melodies are listed in the *Ārcika*, "List of Verses," and the melodies are listed in the *Grāmageyagāna*, "Songs to be Sung in the Village," and in the Araṇyegeyagāna. The same melodies recur in the *Ūhagāna* and *Ūhyagāna* (which the Nambudiris call *Ūṣāṇi*), but other verses are added, and the material is arranged in the form and order required in the ritual. Some of the principles underlying this arrangement will become apparent in the course of the following description. The texts of the Jaiminīya will be described in a separate note (below, pages 276–278).

A few of the melodies of the Sāmaveda are based upon mantras from the Atharvaveda. The Atharvaveda itself, though perhaps as ancient as the Ṛgveda, has an entirely different background and was added only later to the "three Vedas." It has been introduced into the classical ritual to a very limited extent. On the whole, it may be characterized as *yajñānupayuktaḥ*, "not employed in the ritual" (Madhusūdana, in Renou 1947, 214; cf. Renou 1955a).

The Yajurveda provides principles of organization that will enable us to establish some order in the mass of rites that constitute the classical ritual, and in the mass of texts that describe and interpret these rites from different points of view. The classification of rituals will be taken up in the next section (The Śrauta Rituals). The classification of texts reflects, to a large extent, the subdivision of the Vedas into schools (*śākhā*). Like the classical ritual, and in close connection with it, these schools developed primarily in Yajurvedic circles. The Yajurveda is divided into two domains: the (older) Black (*Kṛṣṇa*) Yajurveda and the (later) White (*Śukla*) Yajurveda. The Black Yajurveda comprises four schools, each with its own saṃhitā. Each saṃhitā contains a mixture of two types of passages: mantra and brāhmaṇa. In general, mantra passages are in verse and are recited during rites, but they also comprise *yajus* formulas; brāhmaṇa passages are in prose and describe or elucidate the mantras and their connection with the rites. Both are accented. From the standpoint of Yajurveda, and from the ritual point of view, the Ṛksaṃhitā consists entirely of mantras. So does the one saṃhitā of the White Yajurveda, the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*.

Let us now return to the subdivision of each of the Vedas into several portions, of which the saṃhitā is the first. There are three other categories: Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka, and Upaniṣad. It is to be noted that there is therefore an ambiguity in the term brāhmaṇa, as applied to Vedic texts. On the one hand, it means a prose passage that describes or interprets rites. When used in this sense, I shall write brāhmaṇa without capital. On the other hand, "Brāhmaṇa," with capital, denotes the second category of subdivision of each of the Vedas, which is often a collection of brāhmaṇa passages. The

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two senses remain distinct even where they are coextensive.

In the Black Yajurveda, one of the four schools (the most important one for most of this book) is called *Taittirīya*. The four subdivisions are called after it: Taittirīya Saṃhitā (TS), Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (TB), Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (TA), and Taittirīya Upaniṣad (TU). The name Taittirīya is derived from *tittiri*, "partridge," traditionally taken to refer to a teacher. The suggestion that it was originally the name of a totemistic clan is without foundation. Like the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka consist of a mixture of mantra and brāhmaṇa passages, both accented. Among the other schools, mention may be made of the *Maitrāyaṇī*, since this is the school with which Tsuji deals in Part III, Volume II. In the case of the White Yajurveda, the two schools may be regarded as two recensions of the same text. The Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (VS) of the White Yajurveda, as we have seen, is in verse and consists of mantras. Its important brāhmaṇa, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB), "Brāhmaṇa of the Hundred Paths," will be quoted frequently.

In the case of the Ṛgveda, two schools are referred to, but their distinction is largely theoretical with respect to the Ṛksaṃhitā, and becomes apparent only from the Brāhmaṇa onward. The two Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda, the *Kauṣītaki* and the *Aitareya*, are in prose and are not accented. In the case of the Sāmaveda, many schools are referred to, but for all practical purposes they fall into two groups: the *Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya* and the Jaiminīya.

Table 1 provides a survey of the names of the principal subdivisions and schools of the Vedas.

In later times, the entire Vedic corpus of recitations is referred to as śruti, "what is heard," i.e., "what is revealed." It is regarded as apauruṣeya, "of nonhuman origin." Numerous other texts were attached to this sacred revelation, many of which deal with more specialized topics, viz., phonetics (treated in the prātiśākhya literature, already referred to), ritual, altar construction (involving geometry), grammar, etymology, metrics, and astronomy. Together with others, these manuals are considered *smṛti*, "what is remembered." They are accordingly less authoritative than śruti. This implies that in case of conflict between śruti and smṛti, śruti prevails. Many of these manuals are written in a particular style, the sūtra style, which is formulaic and aphoristic and tends to brevity. The sūtra style initiates a new development, characterized by analysis and a more logical, philosophical, and scientific approach. Because of their brevity, the sūtra works are often obscure and require commentaries (*bhāṣya*, *vṛtti*, *ṭīkā*) for their elucidation.

In the present context the only sūtras that are relevant are the ritual sūtras. These are of two types: śrauta sūtra and gṛhya sutra. The former, which are generally older (though not in the case of the Atharvaveda), deal with the śrauta rites, rites "based upon śruti." In French these are called *les rites solennels*. The latter deal with the gṛhya rites (from *gṛha*, "home, house"), domestic or life-cycle rites such as the ceremonies performed at the

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	Schools:	Saṃhitā:	Brāhmaṇa:	Āraṇyaka:	Upaniṣad:	Śrauta Sūtras:
Ṛgveda	Śākala Vāskala	Ṛk	Aitareya Kauṣītaki or Śāṅkhāyana	Aitareya Kauṣītaki or Śāṅkhāyana	Aitareya Kauṣītaki	Āśvalāyana Śāṅkhāyana
Yajurveda	Kṛṣṇa (Black) Taittirīya	Taittirīya	Taittirīya	Taittirīya	Taittirīya	Baudhāyana Vādhūla or Bādhūla Bhāradvāja Āpastamba Hiraṇyakeśin Vaikhānasa
	Kāṭhaka Maitrāyaṇī	Kāṭhaka Maitrāyaṇī	Kaṭha	Kaṭha	Kaṭha Maitri	Kāṭhaka Mānava Vārāha
	Śukla (White): Mādhyaṃdina Kāṇva	Vājasaneyi	Śatapatha		Īśā and Bṛhadāraṇyaka	Kātyāyana
Sāmaveda	Kauthuma- Rāṇāyanīya	Sāma	Pañcaviṃśa Ṣaḍviṃśa		Chāndogya	Lāṭyāyana Drāhyāyaṇa
	Jaiminīya or Talavakāra		Jaiminīya		Kena or Talavakāra	Jaiminīya
Atharvaveda	Śaunaka Paippalāda	Atharva	Gopatha		Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, etc.	Vaitāna

TABLE I

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occasion of a birth, initiation and investiture with the sacred thread (Upanayana), marriage, or death. As we have already seen, there are several general and formal differences between the two kinds of ritual. For example, the śrauta rites require three fire altars and the services of several priests, whereas the gṛhya rites require only one fire (the domestic fire) and one priest (the *purohita*). While the function of the domestic rites is fairly straightforward, the significance of the śrauta rites is not obvious. This constitutes one of the main problems and attractions of the study of the śrauta ritual. The śrauta ritual exhibits the unhampered development of ritual construction and creativity. As we have already seen, there are śrauta rituals that last a thousand years, which shows that these rites were not always performed, but were sometimes purely theoretical. These theoretical constructions are important, for they help us to understand the concept of ritual structure (as dealt with, for example, in Part III, pages 127–134). The rituals that will be referred to in this book are all śrauta rituals.

The śrauta sūtras are known by different names and are attached to the various Vedic schools. They are listed in Table 1. It is clear from this table that ritual flourished especially in the Yajurveda. "Avec le Yajurveda on accède à la tradition la plus importante, celle qui est au centre même du culte et que viennent alimenter des textes considérables" (Renou 1947, 137). The reason why there are so many different texts, reflecting different schools, is partly ritual. The larger celebrations require the collaboration of four groups of priests, one for each of the four Vedas. Each group evolved its own manual. Such manuals complement each other, like the music printed for different instruments that together make up one orchestra. With the development and further differentiation of the ceremonies, problems arose within the same Veda. Various solutions to such problems were adopted by different groups of ritualists, which led to a differentiation into branches or schools, in due course reflected in different śrauta sūtras. Even within a śrauta sūtra, other opinions may be incorporated, or listed as options (as is done, e.g., in the *Dvaidha* section of Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra), which later develop into separate traditions.

Later, works were composed that deal with a single ritual by combining the contributions of the different groups of priests; some of these works are called prayoga or *paddhati*. This has been carried further by modern scholars, e.g., Hillebrandt (1880: Full- and New-Moon Rituals), Schwab (1886: animal sacrifice), Caland and Henry (1906: Agniṣṭoma). Such works are like the conductor's score, but include in addition other recensions and options.

Most of the sciences treated in the early sūtra literature are similarly differentiated according to Veda and śākhā, "branch" or Vedic school. The prātiśākhyas, attached to each of the Vedic branches (as their name indicates: "one for each branch"), deal with the phonetic characteristics of their own branch. These phonetic treatises are therefore typically confined to the analysis of a specific corpus of utterances. The exception is grammar, which

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pertains to all the Vedas. The oldest work of grammar that is preserved intact is the grammar of Pāṇini. This work is not a catalogue of facts about a particular text, but a grammar of Sanskrit that provides rules for the derivation of linguistic forms, and in so doing expresses a general theory of langauge (for the contrast with the prātiśākhya literature, see e.g., Staal 1967, Chapter 2; 1972, 140–141; 1974). After centuries of domination by the Vedic schools, grammar came, therefore, as a liberation (Renou 1947, 213). This universalization signalled the breakdown of the edifice of the Vedic schools and of Vedic culture itself, and led to entirely new developments. The Upaniṣads contributed to these events in a similar way: their affiliation to the Vedic schools became increasingly academic, and all later Upaniṣads were attached to the Atharvaveda by fiat.

Specimens from the śrauta sūtras are given in Part IV of this book, and in one contribution of Part III. With the exception of the late Vaikhānasa, the period of the śrauta sūtras is roughly from 700 to 300 B.C. The earliest author of a śrauta sūtra, Baudhāyana, is the inventor of the sūtra genre, which has remained one of the chief vehicles for the expression of Indian scholarly and scientific culture. The sūtra style is ideally suited to concise and factual description, pushing condensation to the extreme by the use of nominal composition, and eliminating all interpretation and speculation. While Baudhāyana's Śrauta Sūtra marks the origin of sūtra composition, Pāṇini's grammar is its apogee. Baudhāyana's style is still, in some respects, reminiscent of the Brāhmaṇa literature, and in this respect constitutes a transition. Baudhāyana's work was called *pravacana*, a term that probably underlines its explicit character, as distinct from the esoteric tendencies of the Brāhmaṇas (Renou 1963, 180; for a slightly different interpretation see Gonda 1977, 514–515). Much later, the sūtra style was characterized as *viśvatomukha*, "facing in all directions," viz., fully perspicuous. This applies very well to the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, which is the most detailed and explicit of the śrauta sūtras.

Caland took pravacana to mean "oral teaching." Writing in fact became known during the later part of the sūtra period, but it remains unclear to what extent it may have been used in the śrauta literature. The sūtra style, with its formulaic character, is very suitable for memorization, even more so than the Vedic recitations themselves (cf. Renou 1947, 33–34, 222–223; 1963, 199). Though Western scholars, used as they are to reading and writing, have found it hard to believe, sūtra composition may very well have been an oral exercise, like the composition of the Vedas themselves.

Just as each brahmin belongs by birth to one Veda, he belongs, within his Veda, to one school. This implies that he should perform rituals in accordance with the sūtras of his own school. But since the larger śrauta rituals require participation among priests belonging to different schools, cooperation among the different schools becomes necessary. The system of Vedic schools is therefore a structure of fixed units, which, however, are inter-

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dependent and complement each other.

In this sense, the organization of the Vedic schools is similar to the social organization of the brahmin community: brahmins are endogamous with respect to caste, but exogamous with respect to *gotra* (a kind of clan to which a brahmin also belongs by birth). Vedic affiliation and marriage alliance are independent of each other: a brahmin need not marry within his Veda. The organization of the Vedic schools is also, in some respects, similar to the structure of sects in later Hinduism. This has been generally misunderstood by foreigners, including most Western scholars. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, for example, are not rival religions enjoining a belief in Śiva and Viṣṇu, respectively, nor are they rival options. They are separate traditions. Such affiliations are largely determined by birth, and have little to do with private preference or individual option. Conversions must have occurred when the Vedic nomads began to interact with the indigenous population. Though a movement of conversion in the opposite direction appeared in Jainism and Buddhism—a late retaliation to the invasion by the Vedic nomads—conversion remained alien to classical Hinduism. There have been periods of intense religious strife, but for political rather than religious reasons. Moreover, in Vedic religion as well as in Hinduism, it is relatively unimportant what a person privately thinks or believes; what counts are his public and cooperative activities. Hence the emphasis on orthopraxy, "right activity," rather than orthodoxy, "right opinion" (Staal 1959).

The overall picture that arises from the ritual texts indicates, in the words of Heesterman (1962, 2):

> . . . that Vedic religion did not relate itself to differing forms of religion. The antithesis is between more or less effective rites, or of old, superseded (*utsanna*) versus new rites, all of which are viewed within the framework of the same religion. Moreover, the ritual texts are concerned with orthopraxy, not with orthodoxy. Where an orthodoxy may open the possibility of conversion, orthopraxy, being indifferent to conversion, will stress purification (cf. also Renou 1955a, 439, note 3).

Without the affiliation system of the Vedic schools, which is based upon birth, Vedic ritual and the Vedas themselves would not have survived over the millenia and in spite of all later developments. The ensuing restrictions, however, might also be responsible for the final disappearance of the ritual. The Vedic traditions of the Nambudiri brahmins, to which I shall return in Chapter 6, offer a case in point. The Nambudiri performance of Vedic rituals is on the verge of extinction primarily because of the increasing rarity of qualified Sāmavedins, due to the lack of interest of the younger generation. In a desperate effort to preserve the ritual, a few Ṛgvedins suggested some years ago that their sons and grandsons be trained in the difficult art of

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chanting the ritual chants of the Sāmaveda. Though similarly concerned, the Sāmavedins have been unwilling to teach them. One reason is that the Ṛgvedins, at the time of Upanayana, are not initiated in the same manner as the Sāmavedins. One characteristic of the Nambudiri Sāmaveda Upanayana is that the initiated boy should wear the same cloth for the duration of one full year, washing and cleaning it over and over again. This is not required in the Ṛgveda Upanayana, which therefore does not qualify a Ṛgveda boy to learn Sāmaveda. Such facts indicate that, for a brahmin, it is just as unthinkable to change his second birth as to change his first birth or his body.

THE ŚRAUTA RITUALS

THOUGH THE DETAILS vary, almost all parts of the Yajurvedic corpus presuppose a particular classification of śrauta rituals. This becomes explicit in the śrauta sūtras, in which the rituals are arranged in a sequence in which each ritual presupposes the previous one. Moreover, a later ritual in the hierarchy can only be performed by a person who has already performed the earlier ones. A list of the main śrauta rituals is given in Table 2. This is not complete, and the following description is even less complete.

The simplest śrauta ritual is the agnihotra. It consists of an oblation of

THE ŚRAUTA RITUALS

Agnyādheya (= Agnyādhāna)
Agnihotra
Darśapūrṇamāsa
Cāturmāsya

Paśubandha

Agniṣṭoma
Ukthya
Ṣoḍaśin
Atirātra
Aptoryāma
Atyagniṣṭoma
Vājapeya

Agnicayana

TABLE 2

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milk, offered every evening and morning. The rites are performed by the adhvaryu priest, who belongs to the Yajurveda, on behalf of a yajamāna, "sacrificer" or "patron of the ritual," generally accompanied by his wife, the *yajamānapatnī*. The yajamāna may also perform the ritual on his own behalf. Yajamāna and yajamānapatnī may belong to any of the three twice-born classes: brahmins, chieftains or soldiers (*kṣatriya*), and tribesmen or farmers (*vaiśya*). The adhvaryu, and all other priests who officiate in śrauta rituals, are brahmins. This accords with the fact that only brahmins have been trained in the Vedic recitations that accompany the rites.

The Agnihotra is performed inside a ritual enclosure within the home of the yajamāna. Three fires are required: the *gārhapatya*, "belonging to the householder," which I shall refer to as domestic fire;[1] the *āhavanīya*, "in which the oblations are offered," which I shall refer to as offering fire; and the *dakṣiṇāgni*, "southern fire," which I shall refer to as such. The fires are installed on fireplaces or altars made of clay. The domestic altar is round and is located near the western end of the ritual enclosure, the offering altar is square and is located near its eastern end, and the southern altar is semi-circular and is located on its southern side. These positions are indicated in Figure 1, where the customary places of the yajamāna (Y) and his wife (P) are also marked.

In all śrauta rituals there are three basic elements: dravyam, the substance of the oblation; devatā, the deity to whom the oblation is offered; and tyāga, the formula pronounced by the yajamāna at the time of the oblation, by which he renounces the benefits or fruits of the ritual in favor of the deity (it can also refer to the oblation itself). The oblations are generally prepared on the domestic fire and are offered into the offering fire. In the case of the Agnihotra, the substance of the oblation is milk, but certain vegetable substances may be adopted as substitutes. In the evening Agnihotra, a first oblation is offered to Agni and a second to Prajāpati. In the morning Agnihotra, the first oblation is for Sūrya and the second again for Prajāpati. The tyāga formulas, uttered by the yajamāna, are of the form: "this is for Agni not for me" (*agnaye ideṃ na mama*, and analogously for the other deities). Increasingly, tyāga is seen as the essence of ritual. The term was to have a great future in Hinduism. In the Bhagavad Gītā, tyāga means abandoning and renouncing of the fruits of all activity, and is advocated as the highest goal of life (see above, page 5).

Though the Agnihotra is the simplest of the śrauta rituals, it comes after the *Agnyādheya* or *Agnyādhāna* ritual, during which the three fires are installed, and which is therefore presupposed. Installing fire involves *agnimanthana*, "making fire by friction," a method that is resorted to several times again in the course of subsequent rituals. There are different opinions PLATE 1

[1] I am not concerned here with the gṛhya fire, which has also been called "domestic" fire.

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PLATE I

Making Fire (*Agnimanthana*)

C.V. Vasudevan Akkitiripad, the yajamāna's eldest brother, on whose behalf the Atirātra-Agnicayana ritual was performed in 1955, pulls the strings that cause the churning stick (mantha, Malayalam: iṭattaṇṭŭ) to rotate in a hole in the lower kindling block (adharāraṇi). The pratiprasthātā pushes the stick down with the help of a half coconut shell. The upper kindling block (uttarāraṇi) lies to the left of the lower one. During the 12-day Atirātra-Agnicayana, new fire has to be made seven times. The plate shows fire being made for the animal sacrifice for Vāyu on the first day (Episode 2: below, page 303).

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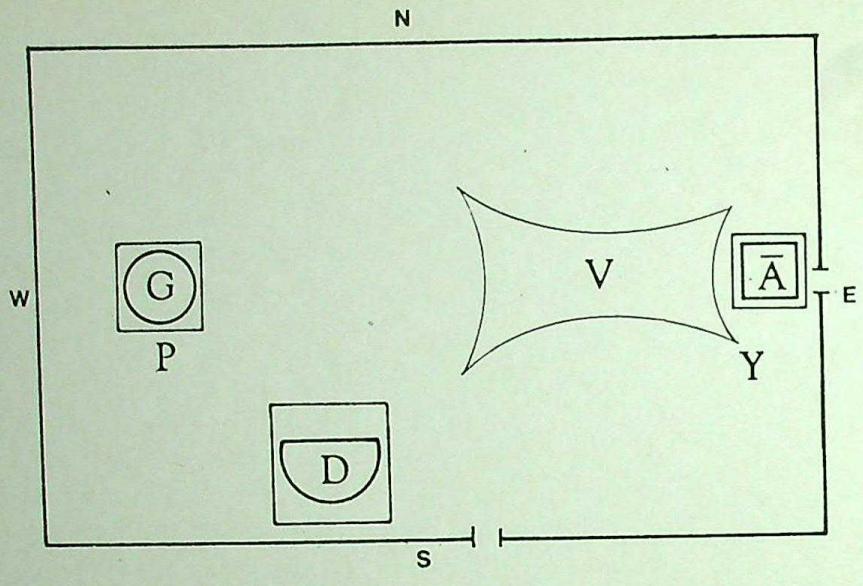

Figure 1—The Ritual Enclosure

G: *gārhapatya*, domestic fire
D: *dakṣiṇāgni*, southern fire
Ā: *āhavanīya*, offering fire
V: *vedi*, receptacle for ritual implements and substances of oblations
Y: customary place of the Yajamāna
P: customary place of the Yajamānapatnī

with regard to the keeping of the fires. Either the three fires are kept alive in the house of the yajamāna throughout his life as a householder, or the domestic fire is kept alive, and the other two are lit from it at each Agnihotra performance. If the fires have not been kept or have gone out, they are reinstalled during the *Punarādheya* ritual. A brahmin who keeps the three sacred fires is called *āhitāgni*, "who has installed the fire," or *agnihotrin*, "who performs Agnihotra."

The features of the Agnihotra so far mentioned are nothing but its skeleton. The śrauta sūtras specify a great deal of additional detail: restrictions on eligibility of the participants, time, preparation of the altars, fires and oblations (e.g., the precise manner in which the Agnihotra cow is milked), implements used, movements gone through, options, and all the accompanying recitations. Instead of pursuing these specifications, and before reviewing other śrauta rituals, we may ask what reality has corresponded, and still corresponds, to such descriptions. There is a general answer that is applicable to all the ritual works. At the time of their composition, the descriptions of the śrauta sūtras reflected existing and earlier practice, but—once formulated—they determined later and future practice. The ritual literature, which was at least partly descriptive in origin, became in due course entirely

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prescriptive, and came to be regarded as the final codification of the ritual.

At the present time, rituals are performed, theoretically, in accordance with the statements of the śrauta sūtras, which are interpreted as rules. It does not follow that brahmin ritualists consult the sūtras and then act accordingly. Śrauta performances in recent times range from the academic and revivalistic to the traditional. While in and around academic circles, rites may be reconstructed from texts with or without the assistance of traditional practitioners, there are inaccessible places where rituals are still performed without scholarly aids and in accordance with a living tradition. Such a living tradition need not be entirely oral. It may involve the consultation of manuscripts, often of later date, and sometimes written in one of the modern Indian languages. Though such later works (which are generally unpublished) may be ultimately traced to the śrauta sūtras, a chain of intermediate works has intervened, the earlier ones in Sanskrit (like the Prayoga and Paddhati texts), and the later ones in modern languages. Since local traditions may have been incorporated, and other changes may have taken place, the original sūtras are in fact no longer authoritative: the living tradition prevails. Revivalistic performances are therefore more faithful to the manuals, whereas living traditions exhibit greater variety.

It would be unwarranted to assume that, in the past, śrauta traditions were always handed down from father to son and from teacher to pupil without fresh consultation of the ancient manuals. Revivalistic performances are not confined to the present century, but have taken place several times in the past, when orthodox brahmins (for example, adherents of the philosophical system of the Mīmāṃsā) were concerned about the weakening of their Vedic heritage. In North India, during the Gupta dynasty, in the fourth and fifth century A.D., there was a large-scale revival of Vedic culture, and numerous śrauta performances took place. At Varanasi (Banaras), the origin of the Daśāśvamedha ghat, which marks the place where, according to tradition, ten Aśvamedha rituals were performed, may be traced back to this period. In South India, the empires of Chola (IXth through XIIth centuries) and of Vijayanāgara (XIVth through XVIth centuries) marked other revivals of Vedic culture, that included ritual performances and the composition of ritual works.

How much śrauta culture survives in the present century can be seen from the number of āhitāgnis or agnihotrins. In 1958, Kashikar estimated, "There are about a hundred āhitāgnis in the whole of India, and one half of these are in Tanjore District (Madras) alone" (Kashikar 1958, 62). In an unpublished report of 1971, I ventured to guess that "there are some 50 agnihotrins in Andhra, which is more than in Tamilnad and Kerala together" (Staal 1971, 12). These estimates are put in proper perspective by the results of the investigations by Parpola and Kashikar, published below in Part III, pages 193–251. From this we learn that "in recent times" (i.e., during roughly the last hundred years) there have been and are almost 600 āhitāgnis in In-

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dia. Of these, 200 alone are in Andhra Pradesh, and approximately 125 each in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Kashikar and Parpola also provide more specific information on recent performances of the rarer śrauta rituals. Nambudiri information supplements this in another section of Part III (pages 252–255).

I shall now review some of the other śrauta rituals. There are three main categories. The first is called iṣṭi or *haviryajña*, rituals in which the oblation is of rice or barley; the second are animal sacrifices; the third are Soma rituals. In the first category, we have already met with Agnyādheya, Punarādheya, and Agnihotra. Two others are Darśapūrṇamāsa and *Cāturmāsya*. The Cāturmāsya, "four-monthly" or "seasonal" ceremonies, are an extension of the former.

The Darśapūrṇamāsa, the full- and new-moon ceremonies, incorporate recitations from two Vedas, Yajurveda and Ṛgveda, and require the services of four priests: the adhvaryu of the Yajurveda, the hotā of the Ṛgveda, the brahman, and the āgnīdhra. The hotā recites from the Ṛgveda. The brahman sits by the side of the yajamāna and supervises the rites, in general without participating. When mistakes have been made, he determines what should be done and prescribes, if necessary, expiation rites (*prāyaścitta*). In larger rituals he is attached to the Atharvaveda, but this is arbitrary. He need not belong to that Veda, and rarely does. He is said, in fact, to officiate "with the three Vedas," viz., Ṛg-, Yajur-, and Sāmaveda (Aitareya Āraṇyaka 3.2. 3.6; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.5.8.7; etc.). The āgnīdhra (or agnīdh), "kindler of fire," is attached to the Atharvaveda in a similarly arbitrary manner.

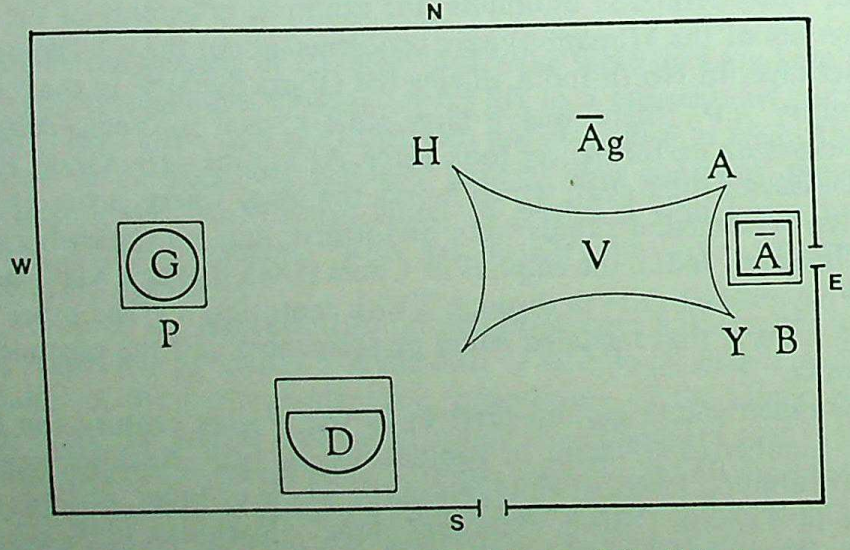

Figure 2—Customary Positions of the Priests

A: Adhvaryu of Yajurveda
H: Hotā of Ṛgveda
B: Brahman
Āg: Āgnīdhra

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His principal task is to shout: *astu śrauṣaṭ* "Be it so! May he hear!" in response to the adhvaryu's exclamation: *o śrāvaya* "Make (him) hear!" These exclamations call the deities down to earth to be present at the ritual and partake of the oblations. The four officiating priests generally occupy the positions shown in Figure 2.

The Darsapūrṇamāsa ritual exhibits the basic pattern of the iṣṭi rites; it is their paradigm. These rites are characterized by a dialogue between the participating priests, which culminates in an offering. The scene is set as in Figure 2. First the adhvaryu tells the hotā to address the deity, e.g., Agni, by saying: *agnaye'nubrūhi* "Address Agni!" The hotā recites verses from the Ṛgveda that sometimes extol, or at least refer to, qualities and virtues of the deity in question, viz., Agni. These verses lead up to the *yājyā* or "offering verse," and are called *anuvākyā*, "invitations," *puro'nuvākyā*, or *yājyānuvākyā*. Then the adhvaryu exclaims: *o śrāvaya*, and the āgnīdhra shouts his answer: *astu śrauṣaṭ*. The adhvaryu thereupon tells the hotā to recite his main recitation, the yājyā. He says to the hotā: *agniṃ yaja* "sacrifice to Agni" or "say the yājyā for Agni." The hotā begins by murmuring: *bhūr bhuvaḥ/ ye yajāmahe* "Earth! Air! We who sacrifice . . ." or "We who say the yājyā. . . ." The yājyā consists again of Ṛgvedic mantras and ends with the exclamation: *vauṣaṭ* "may (Agni) lead (the offerings to the gods)!" At the -ṣaṭ of vausat, the adhvaryu makes the offering by throwing or pouring it into the offering fire. At the same time the yajamāna recites his tyāga: *agnaye idaṃ na mama* "This is for Agni, not for me (cf. page xxviii)."

I shall translate iṣṭi as "offering". Even if it is for another deity (e.g., Prajāpati), the offering is almost always made into the fire, and it is Agni who is the implicit subject of the vauṣaṭ call. Though Agni may also be the deity to whom the rites are addressed, as above, he is, in all cases, the intermediary through whom the offerings are made.

The iṣṭi offering is also called *yajati*, "he recites the yājyā," which therefore refers to the task of the hotā. It is characterized by the vauṣaṭ call and by the fact that the adhvaryu generally stands when making the offering. A second, similar ritual act is always distinguished from the iṣṭi offering. It is called *āhuti* which I shall translate as "oblation." It is also called *juhoti*, "he makes an oblation" or "he pours." This refers to the adhvaryu, generally seated during the oblation, at which time he calls: *svāhā*! The adhvaryu stands, however, during the "Full Oblations" (*pūrṇāhuti*), when a full ladle is entirely emptied.

The principal offerings of the Darśapūrṇamāsa are introduced and followed by numerous other rites. An important preceding rite is the placing of sticks of firewood (*samidh*) on the altar by the adhvaryu, which act is accompanied by the recitation of *sāmidhenī* verses (from the Ṛgveda) by the hotā. This is followed by two *āghāra* oblations of butter, five *prayāja* or preliminary offerings, and two *ājyabhāga* butter offerings for Agni and Soma. Then come the principal offerings, followed by an offering for Agni Svi-

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PLATE 2

ṣṭakṛt, "Agni-to-whom-the-proper-offering-is-made," and *Iḍāhvāna*, "call of Iḍā," during which the adhvaryu puts rice cakes in the right hand of the hotā and in the iḍā-receptable, which are subsequently touched by the yajamāna. This is followed by three *anuyāja* or after-offerings. The yajamāna's *dakṣiṇā* is an offering presented to the priests, formerly taken to be merely a sacrificial fee. According to some, it is more than that: it strengthens the ritual and makes it complete "by integrating it into the cosmic circulation of wealth" (Heesterman 1959; Gonda 1965, 19–20; Malamoud 1976). At the Full- and New-Moon Ceremonies, the fee consists of *anvāhārya* rice, rice left after preparing rice cakes for the offerings. It is cooked on the southern fire, which is therefore sometimes called *anvāhārya-pacana*.

The Paśubandha, paradigm for the animal sacrifice, modifies the pattern of the Full- and New-Moon ceremonies in several important respects. The services of a second priest from the Ṛgveda, the *maitrāvaruṇa*, are required. Holding a staff, he generally stands to the right (i.e., to the south) of the hotā, who sits facing the offering fire. In the Paśubandha, as in all sub-

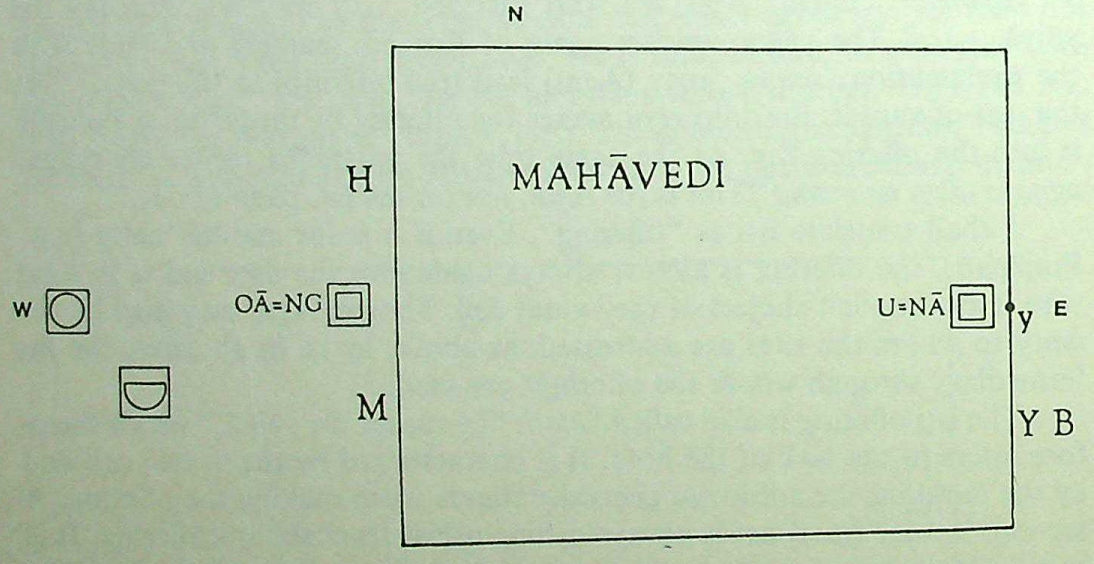

Figure 3—Ritual Enclosure for the Animal Sacrifice

OĀ: old *āhavanīya* (old offering altar)
= NG: new *gārhapatya* (new domestic altar)
U: *uttaravedi*
= NĀ: new āhavanīya (new offering altar)
y: *yūpa* (sacrificial pole)
H: Hotā of Ṛgveda
M: Maitrāvaruṇa of Ṛgveda
Y: Yajamāna
B: Brahman

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sequent śrauta rituals, there is a transformation of the offering fire, which has moved further east. A new ritual enclosure, the *mahāvedi* or Great Altar space, is constructed and consecrated to the east of the old offering enclosure with its three fire altars. At the eastern end of this new mahāvedi, a new offering altar, the *uttaravedi*, is constructed. The old offering altar becomes the new domestic altar and the fire is carried (Agnipraṇayana) from here to the new offering altar. The ritual is then performed around the two new fire altars, as in Figure 3.

In the Paśubandha, the animal that is sacrificed, called *paśu*, is generally a goat. It is tied to a sacrificial post (*yūpa*), which is erected immediately to the east of the uttaravedi, on the eastern boundary of the mahāvedi. The animal is killed by choking it to death. This task is performed by the *śamitā* or "pacifier," generally a nonbrahmin, and it takes place outside the enclosure and without being observed by the priests. The basic dialogues of the *iṣṭi*, which take place when parts of the animal are offered into the offering fire, are modified by the participation of the maitrāvaruṇa priest. The adhvaryu starts by instructing the maitrāvaruṇa to tell the hotā to address the deity. After the maitrāvaruṇa has done this, the hotā continues as before. The deities to whom the paradigm animal sacrifice is dedicated are Indra, Agni, Sūrya, or Prajāpati. The Paśubandha should be performed every year or every six months.

We have now come to the Soma rituals, which presuppose and incorporate all previous rituals, but add numerous and significant new features. As their name indicates, the Soma rituals incorporate the preparation and offering of the Soma juice, which is extracted from the Soma plant. In addition, there are also two or more animal sacrifices, and numerous offerings and oblations of clarified butter, rice cakes, and other vegetable substances. The principal characteristic of the Soma rituals is a sequence of chants (*stotra*) from the Sāmaveda, sung by a chorus of three priests, and a corresponding sequence of recitations (*śastra*) from the Ṛgveda, each rendered by a single priest. These chants and recitations are combined with Soma rites in sequences that I shall call *Soma sequences*, each consisting of a stotra chant, a śastra recitation, Soma offering to the deities, and Soma drinking by the yajamāna and his main priests.

The Soma ceremonies require more priests and several sacrificial enclosures. In these rituals, the following sixteen priests officiate:

(Atharvaveda)
1. Brahman (also in Agnyādheya, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Paśubandha)
2. Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin
3. Āgnīdhra or Agnīdh (also in Agnyādheya, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Paśubandha)
4. Potā

(Ṛgveda)
5. Hotā (also in Agnyādheya, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Paśubandha)

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PLATE 2

Iḍā

After the hotā has invoked the goddess Iḍā, the adhvaryu places pieces of sacrificial puroḍāśa cakes, also called iḍā, in his right hand and in their wooden receptacle (iḍāpātram). They are touched by the yajamāna. This occurs in the middle of each iṣṭi offering. On the plate, the iṣṭi is the Introductory Offering (prāyaṇīyeṣṭi) on the fourth day (Episode 8): the yajamāna wears the turban he has received during his consecration (Episode 4) and will discard during the purchase of Soma (Episode 8).

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6. Maitrāvaruṇa (also in Paśubandha)
7. Acchāvāka
8. Grāvastut

(Sāmaveda)

9. Udgātā
10. Prastotā
11. Pratihartā
12. Subrahmaṇya

(Yajurveda)

13. Adhvaryu (also in Agnihotra, Agnyādheya, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Paśubandha)
14. Pratiprasthātā
15. Neṣṭā
16. Unnetā

Finally there is one optional priest:

17. Sadasya.

I have added the names of the four Vedas between parentheses because the affiliation of the priests to them is somewhat artificial, as we have already seen in connection with the assignment of the brahman and the āgnīdhra to the Atharvaveda. In practice, there are two groups, the Sāmavedins and the others.

In addition to the yajamāna, ten among these priests are called "cupbearer" (*camasin*) because they have their own Soma cup (*camasa*). They are: hotā, maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, potā, neṣṭā, acchāvāka, āgnīdhra, brahman, udgātā, and sadasya. Each of the cupbearers has an assistant (*camasādhvaryu*), who makes Soma oblations from the cupbearer's cup. The śastra recitations are performed by the first three and the sixth cupbearers, one at a time. Each of the śastra reciters has his own fire hearth, called *dhiṣṇya*. When he recites, he sits to the west of it, facing east. The āgnīdhra also has a hearth, on the northern boundary of the Mahāvedi. The three stotra chanters have their designated places to the west of the śastra reciters. The three chanters face north, west, and south.

In the Soma rituals, the ritual enclosure is extended by constructing inside the mahāvedi, between the new domestic altar and the new offering altar, two new enclosures, one for the chants and recitations, and one for the Soma. The first is the *sadas* or hall of recitation, in which all but one of the stotras are chanted, in which all the śastras are recited, and where the śastra reciters have their hearths. The second is the *havirdhāna* or *havirdhānamaṇḍapa*, a shed (*maṇḍapa*) with two havirdhāna ("oblation-receptacle") or Soma carts, where the preparation of the Soma takes place. The ground plan of the resulting structure is given in Figure 4.

There are several categories of Soma rituals, but we shall only be concerned with those that are called *ekāha*, "one-day." They are characterized by the fact that the pressing or pounding of the Soma takes place three times in the course of a single day. The three pressings are called morning pressing (*prātaḥ-*

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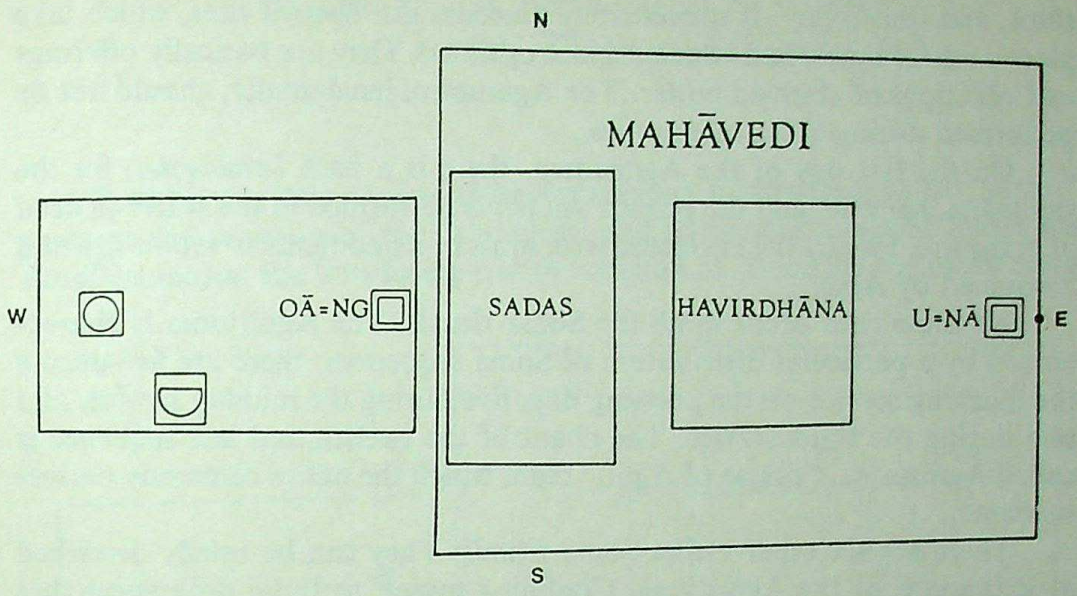

Figure 4—Ritual Enclosures for the Soma Rituals

OĀ: old āhavanīya (old offering altar)
= NG: new gārhapatya (new domestic altar)
U: *uttaravedi*
= NĀ: new āhavanīya (new offering altar)
Sadas: hall of recitation
Havirdhāna: hall for preparation of Soma, or Soma hall

savana), midday pressing (*mādhyandina-savana*), and (not evening pressing but) third pressing (*tṛtīya-savana*). This terminology suggests what in practice is a fact, namely that the multitude of accompanying rites and ceremonies may prevent the three pressings from being completed within a single day.

All Soma rituals, even those of the ekāha variety, last for several days because of numerous introductory, preparatory, and accompanying rites. The prototype and paradigm of these rites, the Agniṣṭoma, lasts five days, the three pressings taking place on the last day or "pressing day" (*sutyā*). During this last day there is also an animal sacrifice. The rites that occur on earlier days include consecration (*dīkṣā*) of the yajamāna, the ritual purchase of Soma stalks (*somakrayaṇa*), the worship of Soma as a king, the consecration of the mahāvedi and its various contents, the carrying forth of Agni (*agnipraṇayana*) from the old offering altar (= the new domestic altar) to the new offering altar, the carrying forth of Agni and Soma in similar fashion (agnīṣomapraṇayana); and many others. There are also optional rites. The most important among these is the Pravargya, a pastoral ceremony in which offerings of boiled goat's and cow's milk are made to the Aśvin twins, divine young men who ride the wind. When this option is selected, the Pravargya rite takes place in the morning and evening during the second,

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third, and fourth day. It immediately precedes the *Upasad* rites, which take place at these times, and which are not optional. They are basically offerings and oblations of clarified butter. The Agnihotra, incidentally, should not be performed during these ceremonies.

On the last day of the Agniṣṭoma, there is a bath (*avabhṛtha*) for the yajamāna, his wife, and the priests. An *iṣṭi* is performed in the water instead of in the fire. Finally the enclosure with most of its contents is set on fire and consumed by Agni.

All these rites occur in all the Soma rituals. The Agniṣṭoma is characterized by a particular distribution of Soma sequences: there are five during the morning service on the pressing day, five during the midday service, and two during the third service. The chant of the twelfth and last sequence is called Agniṣṭoma, "praise of Agni," from which the entire ceremony derives its name.

There are six other ekāha Soma rituals. They can be briefly described as extensions of the Agniṣṭoma. Confining myself to those differences that relate to Soma sequences, I shall very briefly characterize three of these rituals, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, and Atirātra (the names of the other three are given in Table 2).

In the Ukthya ritual (from *uktha*, an old name for the śastra recitation, in particular during the third service), three Soma sequences are added to the two Soma sequences of the third service of the Agniṣṭoma, bringing the total to fifteen, equally distributed among the three services.

In the Ṣoḍaśin ("sixteenth") ritual, which is dedicated to Indra, a sixteenth Soma sequence is added. It is shrouded in mystery and considered dangerous.

In the Atirātra ("overnight") ritual, three nightly rounds (*rātriparyāya*) are added, each consisting of four Soma sequences. This is followed by a final sequence, the twenty-ninth, which should be over before dawn. The last chant belonging to this sequence is called the *sandhi-stotra* "twilight chant." The accompanying śastra, called *āśvina-śastra*, is addressed to the Aśvin twins and consists of a thousand verses.

We are now in a position to approach the Agnicayana. This ritual is always combined with a Soma ritual. In the Agnicayana, a special role is played by a ritual vessel, the ukhā pot, made from clay and subsequently fired. The main characteristic of the Agnicayana is that the offering altar of the uttaravedi is constructed by piling up (*cayana*) fired clay bricks. There are five layers (*citi*), and the resulting altar can have various shapes, the most well known being the shape of a bird of prey (*śyena*). The new domestic altar is square and is also made of five layers of fired bricks. The construction of these altars involves numerous other rites.

When the Agnicayana is combined with the Atirātra Soma ritual, it is called Atirātra-Agnicayana or *Sāgnicitya-Atirātra*. This is the ritual that the Nambudiris celebrated in 1975.

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Chapter 3. A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE AGNICAYANA

THE BRICK OFFERING altar of the Agnicayana, often simply called "Agni," assumes the function of the uttaravedi, and is therefore located inside the ritual enclosure, the bird facing east (see Figure 5). Since the enclosure has a

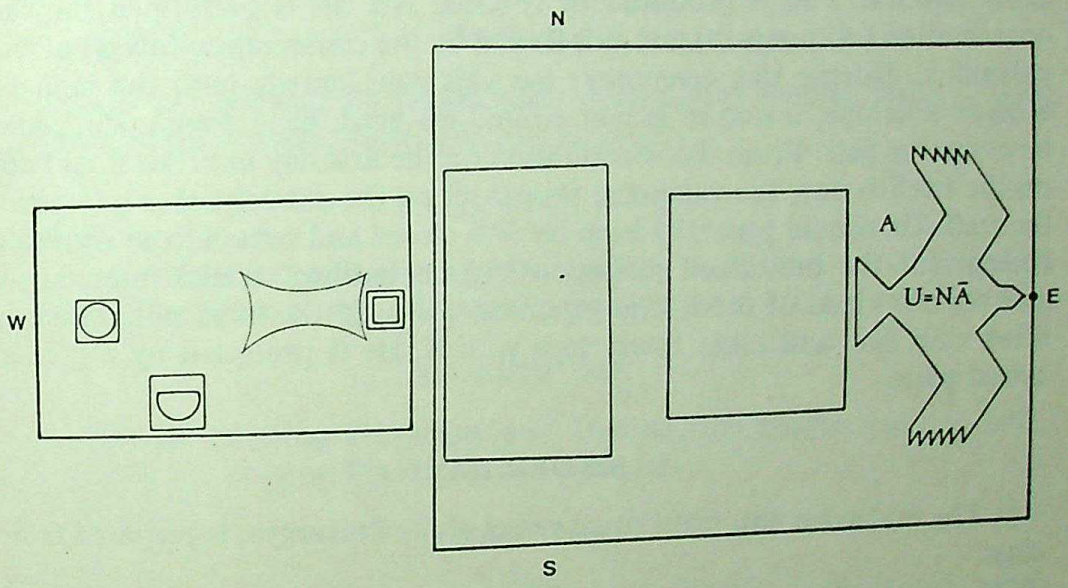

Figure 5—Ritual Enclosures for the Agnicayana

(for details, compare Figures 1–4)

roof that is about 15 feet high, and the span of the wings of the altar is about 40 feet, it is difficult to obtain a bird's-eye view of the altar. This is nevertheless what we shall try to do in the following pages. The description in this chapter will be based upon the classical manuals and not upon the 1975 performance. However, when options are mentioned in the texts, I have selected the option that was adopted in 1975, or the one closest to Nambudiri practice. This applies in particular to the duration of the ritual and to the distribution of rites over particular days. In the classical manuals this distribution is not always clear. The ceremonies described in the manuals sometimes last much longer than in the Nambudiri tradition. Some rites may be extended over a year. The 1975 performance lasted for twelve days. I shall describe the ritual day by day and concentrate on the main ritual moments without specifying any of the recitations or innumerable subordinate rites.

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Part I The Agnicayana Ritual

FIRST DAY

The yajamāna and his priests enter the ritual enclosure, carrying the yajamāna's three sacred fires in pots. The ukhā pot, main ritual vessel of the Agnicayana, is prepared from clay, along with the heads of a horse, a man, a bull, a ram, and a he-goat, as well as a few of the bricks that will be used for the piling of the altar. An animal sacrifice is performed for Vāyu. The five chief priests (adhvaryu, brahman, hotā, udgātā, and sadasya) are officially selected. Fire is produced by friction. An iṣṭi is performed for the consecration (*dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi*) and is followed by the consecration (*dīkṣā*) of the yajamāna. During this ceremony, the yajamāna crawls onto the skin of a black antelope, a turban is tied around his head, he is given a staff, and he closes his fists. From the consecration on the first day until the final bath on the twelfth day, the yajamāna should sit on the antelope skin and carry the staff. He should generally keep his fists closed and refrain from speaking (except for the prescribed recitations), from bathing, sexual intercourse, and certain kinds of food. The yajamāna picks up the ukhā pot, which is filled with fire, and takes three steps with it. He is protected by a golden breast plate.

SECOND DAY

The mahāvīra pot, main ritual vessel of the Pravargya, is prepared from clay.

THIRD DAY

A tree is cut and a sacrificial pole is made from it. To the east of the old enclosure, in which the three altars have already been made, the measurements of the mahāvedi and of the bird-shaped offering altar are laid out.

FOURTH DAY

In the place of the old offering altar, the new domestic altar is constructed from bricks. The adhvaryu consecrates each brick on behalf of the yajamāna with mantras. The offering fire is installed on the domestic altar, and fire from the ukhā pot is added to it. An introductory iṣṭi (*prāyaṇīyeṣṭi*) is performed. Outside the enclosure, Soma stalks are purchased from a Soma merchant. They are measured, placed on a bullock skin, and transported on the Soma cart. King Soma is installed on a throne (*āsandī*) to the south of the new domestic = old offering altar, and a guest iṣṭi (*ātithyeṣṭi*) is performed in his honor. All priests, excluding the chanters, and the yajamāna sprinkle the Soma. The subrahmaṇya priest recites for the first time his invitation to Indra, gods, and brahmins, urging them to attend the forthcoming Soma pressing on the sutyā day. The first Pravargya and Upasad are performed.

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3. A Bird's-Eye View of the Agnicayana

Now the ground is prepared for constructing the offering altar. It is plowed and seeds are sown. Several items are buried in the ground, including a live tortoise, the ukhā pot, a golden image of a man (*hiraṇmaya-puruṣa*), and the five animal heads. The bricks, of various shapes and sizes, are placed on the ground in specific order, making up the first layer of the bird altar. A "naturally perforated" or "porous" brick or stone (*svayamātṛṇṇā*) is placed in the center. All bricks are consecrated by the adhvaryu on behalf of the yajamāna. The Pravargya and Upasad follow.

FIFTH DAY

After the morning Pravargya and Upasad, the second layer is laid, followed by the evening Pravargya and Upasad.

SIXTH DAY

After the morning Pravargya and Upasad, the third layer is laid, with svayamātṛṇṇa in the center, followed by the evening Pravargya and Upasad.

SEVENTH DAY

After the morning Pravargya and Upasad, the fourth layer is laid, followed by the evening Pravargya and Upasad.

EIGHTH DAY

After the morning Pravargya and Upasad, the fifth layer is laid, with svayamāṭṛṇnā in the center. The yajamāna wishes the bricks to turn into cows. A long continuous oblation of milk, sesame seed, and other substances is made for Rudra and the Rudras on the westernmost brick of the northern wing of the bird. The udgātā sings chants around the bird, and a strong man pours a continuous stream of water from a pitcher three times around the altar. The evening Pravargya and Upasad follow.

NINTH DAY

After morning and evening Pravargya and Upasad, the mahāvīra pot and other implements used in the Pravargya are put down on the new offering altar in the shape of a man. Agni is carried forth from the new domestic to the new offering altar and is installed in the center of the bird altar or "Agni." A long, continuous oblation of clarified butter is made into the sacrificial fire through a large ladle (*praseka*). This oblation is called "flow of wealth" (*vasor dhārā*). It is followed by numerous other offerings and oblations. The sadas, the hall of recitation, is prepared along with its hearths. Now Agni and Soma are carried forth and the *Agnīṣomīya* animal sacrifice is performed. The subrahmaṇya priest, standing between the yajamāna and his wife, chants for the last time his invitation to the Soma pressing.

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TENTH TO TWELFTH DAY

The tenth day is the sutyā or pressing day, and from now on ceremonies will continue throughout the next two days and nights. After the hotā's morning recital (*prātaranuvāka*), which starts long before sunrise, the morning pressing of Soma begins, and the first Soma oblations are offered. The prastotā and pratihartā chanters join adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, udgātā, brahman, and yajamāna, and all crawl in snakelike procession (*sarpaṇam*) onto the altar, where they make an oblation into the offering fire. They then move to a place to the north of the altar, the *āstāva*, where the three chanters sing their first chant, "the outdoor chant for the purified Soma" (*bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*). Numerous rites are performed, many simultaneously, overlapping and/or temporarily interrupted by others. Fires are installed on the hearths in the sadas. Eleven animals are sacrificed for Agni, Sarasvatī, Soma, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra, the Maruts, Indra-Agni, Savitā, and Varuṇa.

All priests, except the Acchāvāka, enter the sadas where the Soma juice is drunk. Soma offerings are made. The acchāvāka priest enters, and the hotā recites his first śastra recitation. The first Soma sequence over, four others are executed, each consisting of a stotra chant, a śastra recitation, Soma offering, and Soma drinking. From now on, all chants and recitations take place in the sadas. Soma offerings are made into the offering fire, and Soma is drunk in the sadas.

At the midday pressing, the grāvastut priest enters and recites, blindfolded with cloth in which the Soma was wrapped, Ṛgveda verses in praise of the pressing stones (*grāvan*). Five Soma sequences are gone through. Then the priests are offered dakṣiṇa, and the yajamāna is anointed (*abhiṣeka*) as in royal consecration.

After the third pressing, the remaining fourteen Soma sequences of the Atirātra are gone through. This takes up all of the eleventh day and night and is completed by dawn on the twelfth day. On this last day, the unnetā priest makes two copious Soma offerings for Indra. Ancestral and expiation rites are performed. The yajamāna, his wife, and the priests take the avabhṛtha bath, a concluding iṣṭi (*udayanīyeṣṭi*) is performed, and a final goat is sacrificed for Mitra-Varuṇa. The yajamāna returns home with his wife and the three fires, and he installs the fires on his altars so as to perform the evening and morning Agnihotra for the rest of his life as a householder.

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Chapter 4. TRADITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE AGNICAYANA

A COMMON BUT naive assumption about ritual is that ritual activities are always symbolic activities that refer to something else. This assumption is born from the observation that ritual is not always clearly functional or, in simple terms, that it often does not seem to make any sense. The difference, for example, between putting on clothes and tying a dhoti or buttoning a waistcoat in a special manner is a difference between a clearly functional activity and more or less ritual activities. While the ritualistic and obsessive attention to clothes is secular, it acquires mysterious significance as soon as religious overtones are added. When the adhvaryu spins around once before making a certain oblation, this is expected to have special significance. Yet it may be meaningless on any particular occasion. Such meaninglessness does not imply that rites have never had any meaning, do not have a cause, or do not possess significance in a wider context. But the cause need no longer be operative when the ritual is performed, and the original significance may be lost. This situation is similar to that in the realm of the etymology of words. Every word has an etymology, but it does not follow that the etymology is part of the meaning or function of the word. Moreover, words are often used without conveying any meaning.

The problem of the ritual act (karman) and its interpretation in terms of knowledge (jñāna, vidyā) has a long history in Indian religion and philosophy. In the classical ideal of the ritual texts, the two are closely connected. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.4.3.9, for example, says, with regard to the Agnicayana, "This fire altar is knowledge (vidyā) and this fire altar is act (karman)" (cf., Heesterman 1964, 22, note 40). In the Upaniṣads, karman and vidyā or jñāna are clearly distinguished. The main purport of the Upaniṣadic teachings is that karman by itself is ineffectual, and that jñāna or vidyā is all that counts. Accordingly, the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are contrasted as *karmakāṇḍa*, "the part of śruti that relates to ritual," and *jñānakāṇḍa*, "the part of śruti that relates to knowledge," respectively. This contrast continues to play an important role in Indian philosophy. The Mīmāṃsā, for example, emphasizes ritual activity in conformity with the Śrauta Sūtras (which describe it) and the Brāhmaṇas (which interpret it), just as the Vedānta emphasizes knowledge in conformity with the Upaniṣads.

In asking for interpretations of the Agnicayana, we should be clear about whose interpretations we are seeking. I shall distinguish between interpretations by the present-day performers, traditional interpretations as offered in the classical texts, and modern interpretations by scholars who look for origins and significance in terms of history, society, religion, philosophy, or in similar perspectives. The present chapter deals with the first two kinds of

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interpretation, with special emphasis on the traditional interpretations found in the classical texts. The next chapter, Chapter 5, will be concerned with modern interpretations.

The present-day performers, when engaged in ritual, are totally immersed in the proper execution of their complex tasks. They concentrate on correctness of recitation and of act. There are no symbolic meanings going through their minds when they are engaged in performing ritual. But even when not actually engaged in the performance of a ritual, they do not feel that the ritual stands in need of a special interpretation. Like the reciters of the Veda, they are not concerned with meaning. They are interested in ritual meaning, or viniyoga, viz., in knowing what recitations and what acts should be combined when and where. Beyond this, there is a sense of occasion that expresses the general social, religious, and cultural function of the performance, cements the community of performers more closely together, and confers a degree of status and prestige on its members. There is also awareness of the discharge of a responsibility to the ancestors, who have preserved the ritual through their past performance. For an eligible brahmin to break the chain of transmission would result in a feeling of failure if not of guilt. Furthermore, there are, or rather there used to be, economic incentives (to which I shall return in Chapter 6, with special reference to the Nambudiri community). In short, for the performers, the meaning of the ritual lies in its celebration, which strengthens the present position of the community, its ties with the past, and its promise for the future. Finally, there are those special ritual qualities that induce people all over the world to immerse themselves in the correct execution of ritual in the appropriate place and at the appropriate time, and in such a manner as to derive satisfaction from it. Like the child in its playpen, man feels secure and enjoys being in the separate world of his sacrificial enclosure. But this is not the place to elucidate these qualities, which await analysis in a general theory of ritual.

Just as in the case of the Vedic recitations, there is a simple reason for treating rituals in modern times as almost meaningless: their original meaning has long been lost, and their religious, social, and economic function in Hindu society is no longer what it used to be during the Vedic period. Moreover, an interpretation of Vedic ritual in terms of contemporary Hinduism is not easy. Though the performers are practicing Hindus, Vedic ritual has no close links with the Hinduism that developed in post-Vedic times, e.g., worship of images of deities, temples, pilgrimages, ascetic practices. Present-day performances show at most that Hindu practices and the Vedic heritage can coexist (see the Preface to Volume II). Thus, during the 1975 performance, some of the Nambudiri priests started their daily office with a simple act of worship in front of a lamp, placed inside the sacrificial enclosure. This is a prominent feature of Hinduism in Kerala. It is also Nambudiri custom not to enter upon the performance of a Vedic ritual without first making offerings in temples to Hindu deities such as Dakṣiṇāmūrti and

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Gaṇapati. The Vedic brahmins in Tanjore District (Tamilnad) have gone one step further in regarding Vedic ritual as the worship of a deity called Yajñeśvara, "God of Ritual." Before the performance of an Atyagniṣṭoma (one of the seven varieties of Soma rituals), which took place in Tanjore District in 1962, a printed announcement was distributed inviting the orthodox to witness the ritual and obtain the blessings (*prasāda*) of Śrī Yajñeśvara. Thus the ritual is incorporated into the structure of Hinduism. Similarly, villagers who came to see the Nambudiri performance of 1975 wished to make a circumambulation and offerings to receive the blessings and to obtain *darśan*, "a glimpse," of the presiding deity.[1]

The aura of mystery that pervades ritual is often due to the fact that its meaning is not known, or is no longer known. This leads in turn to postulating a mystical knowledge that unravels the mystery by finding access to its essence. Such attitudes can be traced back at least as far as the Brāhmaṇas, which frequently assert that he "who knows thus" (*ya evaṃ veda*), or who, "knowing thus" (*evaṃ vidvān*), performs rites, shall obtain results (cf. Edgerton 1929, 99). This suggests that there were brahmins who did not know thus. It also paved the way for the Upaniṣads, which sought to provide this special kind of secret knowledge.

At least one ancient ritualist, Kautsa—first mentioned in the Nirukta (a work on etymology of approximately the sixth century B.C.)—took the bull by the horns and declared the mantras meaningless. This should not be interpreted in terms of scepticism, positivism, or behaviorism. It is a purely ritualistic move that limits the function of mantras to their ritual use. In order to understand Kautsa's position one should visualize an actual ritual performance. When the blindfolded grāvastut priest recites his Ṛgveda verses at the midday pressing, he is, in fact—and as his name indicates—addressing the pressing stones. But how, asked Kautsa, can a person in his right mind address inanimate objects? In point of fact, mantras do not merely address stones and herbs; they also refer to things that do not exist (e.g., a being with four horns, three feet, two heads, and seven hands); they are redundant and self-contradictory (e.g., one mantra asserts: "There is only one Rudra, there never was a second", and another refers to "the innumerable thousands of Rudras"); and lastly there is a tradition for mantras to be learned by heart, but there is no corresponding teaching of their meaning.

Kautsa concluded from these observations that mantras are meaningless (*anarthakā mantrāḥ*) and are only meant to be recited (see, e.g., Mīmāṃsā Sūtra 1.2.4.34–38). Though Kautsa's views were criticized in the Nirukta, in the philosophical system of the Mīmāṃsā, and elsewhere, they are not so very different from the perspective of orthodox Hinduism. The philosopher Śaṅkara, for example, approvingly quotes a Brāhmaṇa text that declares: "he who teaches a mantra or officiates at a ritual with mantras without

[1] A fact that was grossly misunderstood by an American anthropologist. See Paul 1978, Staal 1979b and Volume II, page 474.

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knowing the composer-seer (ṛṣi), the meter, the deity, and the brāhmaṇa, will run his head against a pole or fall into a pit" (Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya 1.3.30). It is to be noted that knowledge of meaning is not required here. All that is demanded are certain formal data that are transmitted together with the recitations. The brāhmaṇa itself, which provides the traditional interpretation and viniyoga, is merely another recited text. Kane, who quotes this passage from Śaṅkara, arrives at a view that is not inconsistent with it: "It appears that from ancient times the Veda was only committed to memory and most men learned in the Veda never cared to know its meaning" (Kane 1941, II, 358).

The Vedic tradition is therefore, in theory and practice, consistent with the popular view that ritual is magic and that mantras are mysterious gibberish: *Il s'est ainsi accrédité l'idée d'un lien entre le* mantra *védique et la magie, et dans l'usage populaire le* mantra, *quelle qu'en soit l'origine, est avant tout un abracadabra* (Renou 1960, 21). It is useful to bear this in mind when engaging upon the study of mantras as aids to meditation (*dhiyālamba*), one of their primary functions in later times, e.g., in Tantrism (cf. Staal 1975, s.v. *Manrta*).

While the idea that mantras and rituals are meaningless expresses an important feature of ritual, its explicit formulation has always been rare. This is as it should be, for it would be misleading to conclude that there is no point in performing ritual. Ritual has significance, but its significance is generally quite different from what it is said to be. This will become more apparent in the next chapter, but it is visible even in the ritual interpretations of the classical texts. The śrauta sūtras are not part of this tradition. As we have seen, they do not interpret the ritual. They presuppose its interpretation and confine themselves to its description. In later times this trend continues in the Mīmāṃsā, which is concerned with ritual primarily in terms of a system of duties (*dharma*), classified as obligatory and optional (see Subrahmanya Sastri on Agnicayana in the Mīmāṃsā, in Part III, pages 177–192).

The Vedic works that are primarily concerned with ritual interpretation are the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, and the early Upaniṣads. The authors of these works were probably more scholars than performers, though it is obvious that, in most cases, they had a thorough knowledge of ritual practice. The rituals themselves had become increasingly complex. This kept the performers busy and provided plenty of material for ritualists with a speculative bent of mind. It led to a great variety of imaginative intrepretations, and it is not surprising that the Upaniṣads, the last link in this chain of interpretation, are also the beginnings of Indian philosophy.

The realm of ritual interpretation and speculation is a labyrinth, and if we do not want to get lost, we shall have to follow a thread. I shall therefore, from now on, become more specific and confine myself to interpretations of the Agnicayana. It will be helpful to review briefly the relevant texts. In the Ṛgveda, the Agnicayana is not mentioned. By the time of the Yajurveda,

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at most a few centuries later, it has become the most inclusive of all rituals. The Taittirīya Saṃhitā devotes approximately two of its seven *kāṇḍas* to it, and the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā eight *adhyāyas* out of forty. The mantra section of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, which deals with the Agnicayana (kāṇḍa 4 and some sections of kāṇḍa 5), contains most of the mantras that are recited during its performance in the Taittirīya tradition. The corresponding brāhmaṇa sections (most of kāṇḍa 5) offer observations on the meaning of the mantras and of ritual activities that accompany the mantras. Since these are the earliest traditional interpretations of episodes of the Agnicayana, I shall illustrate them with two simple examples.

When the ukhā pot is made, it is addressed with the mantra: "You are the head of Makha" (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.1.5.31). The corresponding brāhmaṇa explains this by informing us that Makha is the ritual, and the ukhā pot its head (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.1.6.10). Similarly, during the preparation of the ukhā pot, breast-shaped protuberances are made around its periphery. The brāhmaṇa (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.1.6.17–19) explains their number: two breasts are to give milk to sky and earth; four breasts to give milk to cattle; and eight breasts to give milk to the meters (of which there are eight kinds).

Most interpretations found in the brāhmaṇa sections of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā are of this kind. They are piecemeal, ad hoc, and not very illuminating. One looks in vain for an interpretation in a broader context or of larger units, or for an explanation of their structure and interrelationships. Such interpretations are sometimes given in the Brāhmaṇas, and particularly in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. This work is attributed to a sage, Yājñavalkya, who is often mentioned in its first five kāṇḍas, and again in the later kāṇḍas. The intervening kāṇḍas—6 through 10, which seem to be of later date (see below, page 98), and which constitute more than one third of the work—are attributed to another sage, Śāṇḍilya. These kāṇḍas deal with the interpretation of the Agnicayana. The tenth kāṇḍa is called *Agnirahasya*, "the secret of Agni," i.e., the secret of the Agnicayana according to Śāṇḍilya. This has, in some respects, the character of an Upaniṣad, which is in turn consistent with the fact that a traditional interpretation of the term upaniṣad is *rahasya*, "secret (teaching)."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is of later date than the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and belongs to a different branch of the Yajurveda. There is no guarantee, therefore, that its interpretation is also implicit in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. Keith (1914, cxxv-cxxxi) has attempted to distinguish between the Agnicayana doctrines of the two texts, but such an attempt is bound to remain speculative because of their difference in character, and also because the Taittirīya Saṃhitā does not offer any explicit doctrine. However, given the ready availability of Keith's translation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (first published in 1914 and reprinted in 1967) and the importance of this text for the Agnicayana, a word of caution is in order.

In Keith's translation, many portions of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (mantra

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as well as brāhmaṇa sections) read like the babblings of a child or the ravings of a madman. This impression is strengthened by Keith's treatment of the text as if it were precisely that. Keith's introduction and notes, though exceedingly useful, also abound in remarks such as, "the aridity of constant quibbles and meaningless explanations is relieved only by occasional, and always very brief, references to real life" (clviii). One wonders why so much effort was spent on such a thankless task by the tireless Sanskritist and "eminent authority on the British Commonwealth and Indian constitutions" (as Nehru called Keith in Chapter VIII of *The Discovery of India*).

In point of fact, the character of Keith's translation is partly due not merely to peculiarities of his archaic style but also to mistakes. This was demonstrated by Caland in a review that appeared in 1924, and concluded: "From all that has been said it is clear that this translation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā can only be used with extreme criticism" (*Aus all dem Gesagten geht hervor, dass diese Übersetzung der Taittirīyasaṃhitā nur mit der schärfsten Kritik zu benutzen ist*: Caland 1924, 31). I shall give five examples of Keith's erroneous interpretations, translating from Caland's German text.

According to Keith, TS 2.6.2.4 means: "The ox feeds with the first half, the cow feeds with the second half." Caland translates: "The use of the ox lies in its front half (which pulls carts), the use of the cow in its back half (which yields milk)." Similarly, TS 2.5.7.3: "Seed is deposited in front, offspring are born at the back" (Keith), versus "Seed is deposited in the forward direction, children are born in the reverse direction" (Caland). TS 5.4.7.6: "From the half filled Prajāpati created the creatures" (Keith), vs. "from the empty (womb) Prajāpati created the creatures" (Caland). TS 6.5.6.4: "Therefore the raw milks the cooked" (Keith), vs. "Therefore the raw (material, viz., the cow) yields the matured (viz., milk)" (Caland). TS 6.5.6.5: "From that which is not depressed offspring are produced (Keith), vs. "From the erected (penis) children are born" (Caland). No wonder that Keith—deploring the absence of "references to real life," but himself unable to recognize even the basic facts of life—comes up with statements like: "The *Taittirīya* cannot be credited with any intelligible theory of the nature of the supreme deity. . . . On the other hand the Śatapatha shows a really developed theory of the nature of mind. . . ." (Introduction cxxix).

As a matter of fact, the intelligibility of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa doctrine of the Agnicayana is largely due to Eggeling, who translated the text of this Brāhmaṇa in the Sacred Books of the East Series (1882–1900, reprinted 1963, second edition 1966), and who summarized its interpretation of the Agnicayana in the Introduction to his fourth volume (1897, xiii-xxvii). Eggeling's outlook was hardly more favorable than Keith's. Speaking of the Brāhmaṇas in general, he says: "For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterized by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere" (I, ix). And yet, Eggeling made a lot of sense of it. Gonda (1960, 191, note 16 = 1965,

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17–18, note 36) sums up a lengthy scholarly controversy by pointing out that Oldenberg's criticism of Eggeling's basically intelligible views has for a long time, and in spite of Keith, prevented an adequate interpretation of the Agnicayana. I shall be guided by Eggeling in the following sketch of Śāṇḍilya's interpretation of the Agnicayana.

According to Śāṇḍilya's teaching in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the construction of the Agnicayana altar is essentially the restoration of Prajāpati, the creator god, who created the world through self-sacrifice, viz., through his own dismemberment. Since Prajāpati became the universe, his restoration is at the same time the restoration of the universe. Thus, piling up the altar means putting the world together again. Just as Prajāpati was the original sacrificer, Agni is the divine sacrificer, and the yajamāna is the human sacrificer. The designation of the fire altar as Agni indicates the identity of Agni and Prajāpati. Agni, Prajāpati, and the yajamāna are all identified with each other, with the offering altar, and with the fire installed on it. The ukhā pot also represents the fire altar: it is made when the bricks are made, and fire is carried in it by the yajamāna, just as fire is installed on the offering altar.

Prajāpati is also identified with the man (*puruṣa*) in the sun, which is also both the man in the (right) eye and the golden man (hiraṇmayapuruṣa) buried under the first layer, who represents Agni-Prajāpati and the yajamāna. Above this golden man are the "naturally perforated" (svayamātṛṇṇā) pebbles, in the first, third, and fifth layers, which enable him to breathe, and which represent the three worlds (earth, air, and sky) through which he will have to pass on his way to the fourth, invisible world of immortality. All the bricks of the altar are animated by Prajāpati putting breath in them. Thus the bird comes to life, and with the restoration of Agni-Prajāpati, the yajamāna gains immortality.

The Brāhmaṇa proceeds with more identifications, following the doctrines of Śāṇḍilya. Prajāpati is the sacrifice and food of the gods; Soma is the supreme oblation; hence Prajāpati is Soma. Soma was brought from heaven by a bird of prey (śyena). Accordingly, Prajāpati and Puruṣa, both generally conceived of in the shape of a man, also assume the shape of a bird. This is further explained by the doctrine of the original seven seers (ṛṣi), identified with the "vital airs" (*prāṇa*), i.e., with life, each in the shape of a puruṣa. These seven puruṣas were combined into one Puruṣa, which is Prajāpati and has the shape of a bird. These seven-and-a-half constituents are clearly visible in one form of the fire altar (Figure 6, after Eggeling 1894, III, 419.)[1] Each of these seven areas is called puruṣa, a term that acquires geometrical meaning in the context of altar construction (see Seidenberg in Part III, pages 95–126). The four squares in the middle are together called *ātman*, "body"

[1] The dotted lines in the wings and tail were probably put in by Eggeling, interpreting Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.2.1.1–8. But this text might refer to the bend in the wings we find in the Śulva sūtras (see, e.g., Figure 7; A. Seidenberg, personal communication).

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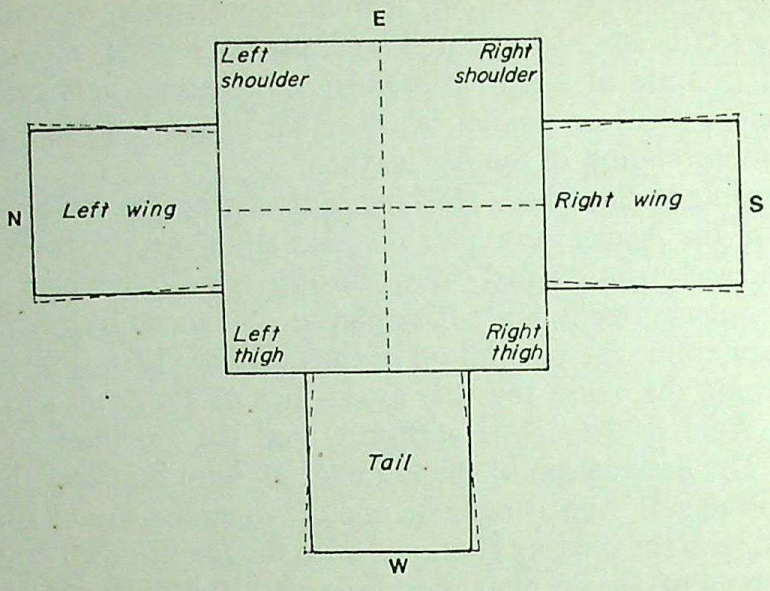

Figure 6—Fire Altar of the Agnicayana

The seven-and-a-half *puruṣa* squares
according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
(after Eggeling)

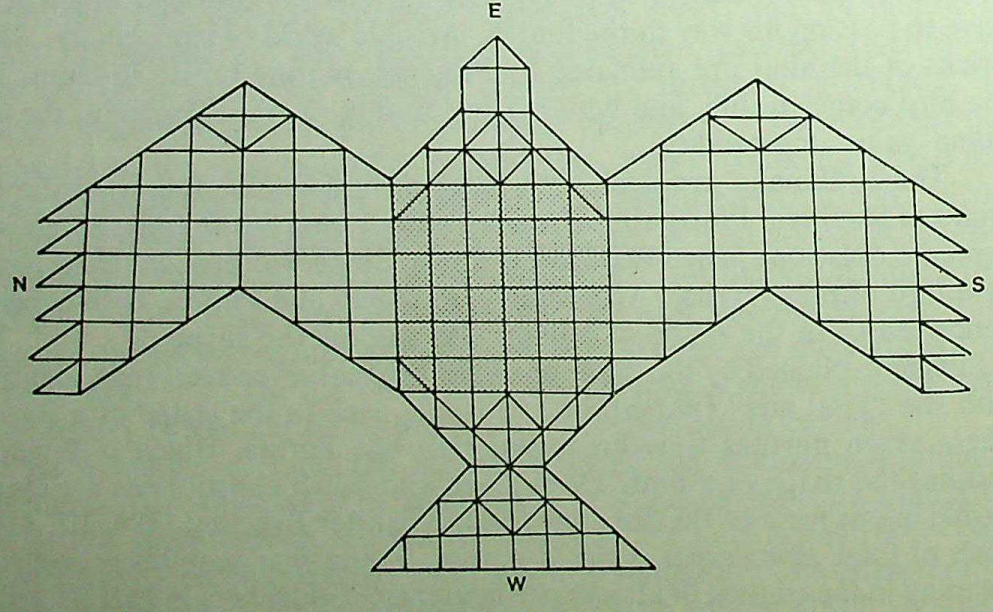

Figure 7—Bird-Shaped Fire Altar of the Agnicayana

The largest square within the altar
is its *ātman*, "body", or "self."

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or "self." The term also refers to the largest square within the bird-shaped form of the fire altar, the shaded area in Figure 7.

The identifications that Śāṇḍilya presents to us may baffle us, but—*pace* Eggeling and Keith—they are not any more meaningless, dogmatic, or flimsy than the constructions found in other religious traditions that conceive of a deity in different forms. Moreover, these theological constructs are not entirely arbitrary. There are rules to the game, and their presumed neglect may lead to differences of opinion and interpretation. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for example, mentions ancient authorities who adhered to the view that the altar has the shape of a bird in order to carry the yajamāna to heaven. Śāṇḍilya disagreed with this and insisted on a more roundabout interpretation: the vital airs became Prajāpati by assuming the shape of a bird; by assuming that form, Prajāpati created the gods; by assuming that form, the gods became immortal; "and what thereby the vital airs, and Prajāpati, and the gods became, that indeed he (the yajamāna) thereby becomes" (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.1.2.36).

Prajāpati has many other forms. One of his animal manifestations is the tortoise, which represents juice (*rasa*; cf. below page 121). When the tortoise is buried under the altar, juice is bestowed on Agni, and rain and fertility are induced. But Prajāpati also possesses abstract features. He is time, and is in particular identified with the year. Hence the Agnicayana takes a year to complete. After the yajamāna has generated Agni in the womb of the ukhā pot, he carries him around for a year before he is born on the sacrificial altar. The yajamāna himself is also in the womb (he closes his fists like an embryo), and the domestic altar is a womb. The sand strewn on it is the seed of Agni Vaiśvānara, "Agni common to all men." When carrying Agni from the domestic to the offering altar, the yajamāna enters the world of the gods, is reborn in heaven, and gains immortality.

These interpretations take us from the Agnicayana to the Soma rituals, and illustrate the embedding of the former in the latter. In the Soma rituals, the original enclosure with its three fires represents the world of men, and the mahāvedi, newly constructed to its east, is the world of the gods. All principal śrauta rituals are provided with such interpretations in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the other Brāhmaṇas, though none with anything as sweeping as Śāṇḍilya's metaphysics of the Agnicayana. It would take us too far to even sketch some of these intrepretations of other śrauta rituals. Let me only mention that the stotra chants and śastra recitations of the Soma rituals are regarded as the weapons of Prajāpati (the word śastra is a homonym which may be derived from *śaṃs-*, "recite" or from *śas-*, "cut down"). According to the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (2.69, quoted in Gonda 1960, 196) Prajāpati himself became immortal only after he understood the mystical connection between the stotra chants and śastra recitations.

Though many of the interpretations of the Agnicayana found in the Brāhmaṇas, and especially in the Śatapatha, are obvious rationalizations,

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they continue to inspire scholars (e.g., Silburn 1955, 64–71; Malamoud 1975). In India, they were further developed in the Upaniṣads. As Ikari has shown, the five layers of the altar are connected with the five "sheaths" of the soul in the psychology of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (Ikari, personal communication). Śāṇḍilya's doctrines were destined to have a great future in the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta. The yajamāna's identity with Prajāpati and with the fire altar, the center of which is called its "body" or "self" (ātman: see Figure 7), was generalized into the identity of ātman and brahman in every human being, which is one of the cornerstones of Indian philosophy. A sage called Śāṇḍilya, possibly the same Śāṇḍilya discussed above, makes a brief appearance in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (3.14) to proclaim the identity of ātman and brahman, and to give a characterization of brahman in positive terms, which contrasts with its negative characterization by Yājñavalkya in other Upaniṣads. In these contexts there is no longer mention of the Agnicayana, but the Agnicayana is still the background against which Śāṇḍilya formulates his doctrine toward the end of the Agnirahasya (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.6.3.1–2, in Eggeling's translation):

> 1. Let him meditate upon the 'true Brahman.' Now, man here, indeed, is possessed of understanding, and according to how great his understanding is when he departs this world, so does he, on passing away, enter yonder world.
>
> 2. Let him meditate on the Self, which is made up of intelligence, and endowed with a body of spirit, with a form of light, and with an ethereal nature, which changes its shape at will, is swift as thought, of true resolve, and true purpose, which consists of all sweet odours and tastes, which holds sway over all the regions and pervades this whole universe, which is speechless and indifferent;—even as a grain of rice, or a grain of barley, or a grain of millet, or the smallest granule of millet, so is this golden Puruṣa in the heart; even as a smokeless light, it is greater than the sky, greater than the ether, greater than the earth, greater than all existing things;—that self of the spirit is my self: on passing away from hence I shall obtain that self. Verily, whosoever has this trust, for him there is no uncertainty. Thus spoke Śāṇḍilya, and so it is.

Later Upaniṣads carry these ideas further, and the Agnicayana is still referred to occasionally. The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad of the Black Yajurveda opens with the statement: "The piling (of the fire altar) by the ancients is a brahman-ritual; therefore the yajamāna, having piled these fires, should contemplate the self (ātman)" (*brahmayajño vā eṣa yat pūrveṣāṃ cayanaṃ tasmād yajamānaś citvaitān agnīn ātmānam abhidhyāyet*). Van Buitenen, who has provided an ingenious analysis of the composite character of this Upaniṣad, translates the first line as: "The laying of the fire by the ancient (*sic*)

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was a brahman-sacrifice" (Van Buitenen 1962, 37, 123). According to him (37; cf. 14, note 3), "the *cayana* is as the context in 6.33 ff. and the plural *agnīn etān* ('these fires') show not the great Agnicayana ritual but the *Agnyādhāna*, to which much of the Agnicayana symbolism is transferred." But cayana, "piling up," in the context of altars, is always used for brick altars, and the term agni frequently refers to the fire altar of the Agnicayana and not to the Agnyādhāna or Agnyādheya. The plural *agnīn*, "fires," may denote many Agnicayanas, but it is also consistent with one Agnicayana, for, as we have seen, the ritual is always combined with a Soma ritual, and involves several altars, of which two are piled up from bricks. Moreover, if the reference were to anything else than the Agnicayana, it would be necessary to assume that not only the *symbolism* of the Agnicayana but also its bricks and many other specific characteristics were transferred. When substance and meaning are both transferred to something else, we had better abandon the hypothesis of transference itself and accept the fact that it is the Agnicayana that is referred to. The substance of the Agnicayana, in addition to its symbolism, is clearly referred to in Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 6.33, which van Buitenen translates as follows:

> This fire, made of five bricks, is the Year. Its bricks are spring, summer, rains, autumn, winter. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail: (thus) this fire is like a man. This earth is Prajāpati's first laying. Having thrown up the yajamāna with its hands, it proffered him to Wind.
>
> Wind equals Prāṇa. This fire is prāṇa. Its bricks are prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna, udāna. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail. (Thus) this fire is like a man. The atmosphere is Prajāpati's second laying. Having thrown up the yajamāna with its hands, it proferred him to Indra.
>
> Indra is yonder sun. This fire is the sun. Its bricks are Ṛc, Yajus, Sāman, the Atharvāṅgirasas, the epic and purāṇa. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail. (Thus) this fire is like a man. This sky is Prajāpati's third laying. With its hands it makes an offering of the yajamāna to the ātman-knower. The ātman-knower, having thrown him up, proffered him to the Brahman. There he becomes blissful, joyful.
>
> (van Buitenen 1962, 148)

This passage abounds in references to the *Agnicayana* that do not fit any other ritual. Agni "made of bricks" is not fire, but the fire altar. Apart from bricks (*iṣṭakā*), there is mention of *citi*, which means "layer," not "laying." The five bricks stand for the five layers of the altar, and the three citis of Prajāpati are the first, the third, and the fifth layer, which are identified with the three worlds. All the other identifications are well known

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correspondences with which we are familiar from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and elsewhere. If a single proof were needed that this Agni is the fire altar of the Agnicayana, the information that it has "a head, two wings, a back, and a tail" should be sufficient. The fire altar occurs also in other Upaniṣads of the Black Yajurveda. Harold Arnold has drawn my attention to the second vallī of the Taittirīyopaniṣad, where we find a person (puruṣa) with two wings and a tail.

According to Bodewitz (1973, 278–283, 322), Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 1.1 and 6.33 do not refer to the "actual" Agnicayana or Agnyādhāna but to the Prāṇāgnihotra and/or to Agnicayana speculations, or the "mental" Agnicayana. I shall leave the Prāṇāgnihotra aside. Since it is the special topic of the second part of Bodewitz' book, the author is predisposed to see it everywhere. However, the reference to the Agnicayana is not very clear. According to Bodewitz (278), "the actual piling of the fire does not seem to form the aim of this upaniṣad. It was the symbolism of the fire altar and the speculations vaguely connected with it (as e.g., found in ŚB) which interested the author of the text." But this goes without saying. The actual performance of śrauta ritual is always dealt with only in the śrauta sūtras. Interpretations and speculations are taken up in brāhmaṇas and upaniṣads. This does not imply that such interpretations do not refer to "actual" ritual activities, but that they do so indirectly since they presuppose such activities.

If it is true that in these passages of the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, Agni refers to the Agnicayana, this has further implications for the interpretation of this Upaniṣad, and casts doubt on some parts of van Buitenen's analysis. According to van Buitenen, Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 1.2–5.2 existed originally as a separate text that was later incorporated into another text, the result being the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad as we know it. The inserted portion consists essentially of two parts: the Bṛhadratha Instruction, which is "obviously Buddhistic in tone" (van Buitenen 1962, 78), and the Vālakhilya Instruction, "of proto-Sāṃkhyan provenance" (80). According to van Buitenen, neither of these fits naturally into the framework of what he has called the Vulgate.

While this may be true of the Bṛhadratha Instruction, it is much less clear in the case of the Vālakhilya Instruction. This portion of the text (2.3-3.2, omitting what van Buitenen regards as still later interpolations) starts with Prajāpati being asked to explain brahman-knowledge (*brahma-vidyā*). More specifically, he is asked to explain why this body (*śarīra*), which is without intelligence, is furnished with a foundation (*pratiṣṭhāpita*), acquires intelligence (*cetanā*), and finally, who sets it into motion (*pracodayitā*). Prajāpati's basic answer is that it is he, Prajāpati, seeing everything (*viśvākṣa*), who as Puruṣa enters into each body: "This intelligent being furnishes a foundation to the body, so that it has intelligence, and he sets the body in motion" (2.4)

Next, Prajāpati's creation is described in more detail. Prajāpati created many beings, but saw that they remained unconscious like stones and

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without breath like tree trunks. Thereupon, having made himself as the wind, he entered them. He did not enter as one. He divided himself into five. These five are further specified in what van Buitenen regards as a later insertion: they are the five breaths, *prāṇa, apāna, samāna, udāna,* and *vyāna.* Finally this Prajāpati, who has entered the body, is declared to be ātman, and when he is in the body, he is called *bhūtātman,* "the incarnate self."

Though some of these formulations sound more recent, the doctrine of the Vālakhilya section taken as a whole is similar to traditional speculations about Prajāpati in the Agnicayana. Let me illustrate this with the help of references to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Prajāpati is mortal and immortal: his body (śarīra) is mortal and his breaths (prāṇāḥ) are immortal (10.1.4.1). His five breaths—prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, and samāna—are the five layers of the altar (10.1.4.2–6). Thereby these parts of him become immortal.

Elsewhere it is said that the breaths departed from Prajāpati after he had created. Hence some of the bricks are called *prāṇabhṛt,* "supporters of breath" (8.1.1.3). Specific bricks, thus animated, are further identified with the five breaths (8.1.3.6). When Prajāpati wants to become everything, he becomes breath, in particular that breath which blows here, viz., the wind, which manifests his sight (*dṛṣṭi*) (11.1.6.17). The breath that went out of him is the wind (7.1.2.5; similarly 6.2.2.11, 8.3.4.11 and 15). In 6.3.1.12, Prajāpati is supplied as the subject for the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā 11.1: "Harnessing first the mind (*manas*)." Prajāpati is also the meter of the mind (8.5.2.3). Without Prajāpati there is no firm foundation; he is the foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) (7.1.2.1-2). Lastly, for the connections with ātman and brahman and their intelligence aspects, I need merely refer to 10.6.3.1–2 from the Agnirahasya, already quoted (above, page 68).

Some of these similarities are not literal and verbal, which might displease a philologist. However, notwithstanding the demands of lower and higher textual criticism (van Buitenen, 14), one should be allowed to do some thinking. I am not interested in trying to show that any parts of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are also constituents of the text of the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad. What is clear from these similarities, however, is that the Vālakhilya Instruction, in spite of apparent proto-Sāṃkhyan features, fits quite naturally in a treatise on the brahman-ritual of the Agnicayana. Just as Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 1.1 and 6.33, the Vālakhilya Instruction exhibits features that belong to the complex of traditional interpretations of the Agnicayana. Therefore, different parts of the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad fit together much better than van Buitenen has made us believe. And finally, the plurality of animated bricks is just as undeniable as the plurality of animated bodies, so why could the pluralistic philosophy of the Sāṃkhya not be directly grafted upon the bricks of the fire altar?

If van Buitenen has gone too far in his dissecting activity, the blame should not primarily go to him but to his uncritical acceptance of philology, and to philology itself. He unhesitatingly accepts its credo: "From the point

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of view of style and composition the Vālakhilya Story constitutes a separate and independent text. It is prima facie evident that whenever two instructions by different persons in different circumstances are found together in one text, at least one of them, and probably both, existed independently before it, or they were combined; we cannot assume that SM (the Southern Maitrāyaṇī) had one author who wrote up the entire text as an original composition" (73).

This looks straightforward, but only at first sight. After a little reflection it becomes absurd. Homer has told the stories of many heroes, each of them given to a great deal of speech-making. Does this imply that we should postulate the prior existence of independent Achilles and Hector Instructions? And should we assume that there were originally separate texts dealing with Alyosha, Father Zossima, Albertine, and Baron de Charlus that Dostoyevsky and Proust have put together?

The famous German phenomenologist of religion, Rudolf Otto, has attempted to give more credence to his phenomenology by erecting it on the solid foundation of the science of philology. With such scholarly aids he has attempted to show that the Bhagavad Gītā was derived from an original *Ur*-Gītā, to which materials from eight different lost treatises were subsequently added. But even philologists cannot all be deceived. Emile Senart noted in the introduction to his translation of the Gītā: "Efforts have been made to distinguish pieces of different origin; attempts that are ephemeral as well as arbitrary." I have elsewhere drawn attention to the absurdities that have resulted from the uncritical application of these allegedly scientific methods to the text of the *Yogasūtra* (Staal 1975, 86–91). The moral is simple. Philology has to be used, but with caution.

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Chapter 5. ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AGNICAYANA

IN THIS CHAPTER I shall be concerned with what are regarded as indisputable facts on the one hand, and with speculative and sometimes controversial theories on the other. "And perhaps by looking at the two side by side, and rubbing them against each other, we may cause justice to blaze out as from the two kindling sticks" (*ἐκ πυρείων*: Plato, *Republic Δ* 435 a 1–6).

AGNI

In order to understand the Agnicayana it is first of all necessary to gain some insight into Agni.[1] About 200 of the 1,028 hymns of the Ṛgveda are addressed to Agni, who in this respect comes second only to Indra. Agni's name is clearly Indo-European: compare Latin *ignis*, Russian *ogon'*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, etc. Though considered a god, he is never disconnected from his element, fire, until later Hindu mythology, where he appears in more anthropomorphic terms. In the Ṛgveda, Agni is brilliant, golden, has flaming hair and beard, three or seven tongues, his face is light, his eyes shine, he has sharp teeth, he makes a cracking noise, and leaves a black trail behind. He is fond of clarified butter (*ghṛta*, or *ājya* when used as an oblation), but he also eats wood and devours the forest. In fact, he eats everything (*viśva-ad*). He is in particular a destroyer of demons and a slayer of enemies.

Though old, Agni is also ageless and permanently young. Himself fertile, he is the son and manifestation of victorious strength (*sahas*; Gonda 1957). He gives long life. He is born from the kindling blocks (*araṇī*), from heaven (where he is lightning and the sun), and from earth, where he resides in plants and woods. He is also born from water, celestial as well as terrestrial. This at first surprising origin is connected with clouds and with the firewood that comes from plants and trees, themselves born from water. It reflects the image of the sun rising out of the eastern ocean and setting in the western ocean; and it also indicates that Agni, as generative power, is the male principle, which enters the female waters as it enters the earth.

Agni is intimately connected with the home, the clan, the tribe, and with rituals. He is installed in the home as the domestic fire; he guards and lights the home; he is a guest, a friend, chief of the clan or tribe (e.g., of the Aṅgirases or the Bharatas). But he is also the domestic priest, the hotā or adhvaryu priest, and the sacrificer of the gods. He has a triple seat (the three altars).

[1] For this section I have made use of Geldner (1957) 3–34; Gonda (1959) 79–96, (1960) 67–73; Hillebrandt (1927) I. 71–193; Keith (1925) 154–162; Renou and Filliozat (1947) I. 325–326.

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He is clever, in fact, wise and omniscient: he is a seer, inspired and inspiring. He takes the offerings to the gods, but he also brings the gods down to earth to partake of them. He is the messenger between gods and men. He is common to all men (*vaiśvānara*). This appellation is traditionally taken to refer to the sun, to the sacrificial fire, and—in later times—to the "fire of digestion" (but see below, pages I:161–162). There are also suggestions that Agni as Jātavedas is identified with the domestic fire, and as Naraśaṃsa or Tanūnapāt, with the southern fire (Findly, unpublished). Agni also has close relations with several other deities. His ritual function becomes increasingly important in the Yajurveda and in the Brāhmanas.

Here is a typical hymn addressed to Agni (Ṛgveda 5.11):

1. Guardian of the people, the vigilant, the clever; Agni was born for new prosperity. Face touched with butter, he shines bright with great sky-touching flame for all the Bharatas.
2. On the triple altar men have kindled Agni, banner of the sacrifice, first domestic priest. Let him ride the chariot with Indra and the gods; let him be seated on the sacred grass for the sacrifice as a skilful hotā.
3. Impure, you are born of your parents; bright, you came up as the joy-bringing seer of Vivasvant. With butter they made you strong, Agni, to whom the offering is made.
4. Agni . . . may he come at once to the sacrifice; Agni, whom men carry in every house; Agni became the messenger, the bringer of offerings; Agni they are choosing, choosing one with a seer's power.
5. For you, Agni, these sweetest words; for you may this prayer be a blessing to the heart. You are the one these songs fill with power, as the great rivers fill the Indus, you are the one they make strong.
6. The Aṅgirases found you in a secret place, Agni, resting in every wood. So are you born, when stirred up with great force; you are the one they call "Son of Strength," O Aṅgiras.

जनस्य गोपा अजनिष्ट जागृवि-
रग्निः सुदक्षः सुवि॒ताय॒ नव्यसे।
घृतप्रतीको बृहता दिविस्पृशा
द्युमद् वि भाति भरतेभ्यः शुचिः॥
यज्ञस्य केतुं प्रथमं पुरोहित-
मग्निं नरस्त्रिषधस्थे समीधिरे।
इन्द्रेण देवैः सरथं स बर्हिषि
सीदन्नि होता यजथाय सुक्रतुः॥
असंमृष्टो जायसे मात्रोः शुचि-
र्मन्द्रः कविरुदतिष्ठो विवस्वतः।
घृतेन त्वावर्धयन्नग्न आहुत
धूमस्ते केतुरभवद् दिवि श्रितः॥
अग्निर्नो यज्ञमुप वेतु साधुया-
ऽग्निं नरो वि भरन्ते गृहेगृहे।
अग्निर्दूतो अभवद्धव्यवाहनो-
ऽग्निं वृणाना वृणते कविक्रतुम्॥
तुभ्येदमग्ने मधुमत्तमं वच-
स्तुभ्यं मनीषा इयमस्तु शं हृदे।
त्वां गिरः सिन्धुमिवावनीर्महीरा पृणन्ति शवसा वर्धयन्ति च॥
त्वामग्ने अङ्गिरसो गुहा हित-
मन्वविन्दञ्छिश्रियाणं वनेवने।
स जायसे मथ्यमानः सहो महत्
त्वामाहुः सहसस्पुत्रमङ्गिरः॥

It is not possible to understand Agni's role in the Ṛgveda except in relation to other gods, powers, and ideas. Let me merely mention that Agni is close to Indra, though Indra is a warrior god and hero, whereas Agni always stays close to fire. In other respects, Agni complements Soma who is a god, a plant, and the juice extracted from that plant, and is therefore simi-

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larly devoid of anthropomorphic traits. Agni and Soma, though both gods, do not merely reside in heaven or in the sky, from where they have to be brought or called down to earth. They also are already here, concrete, visible, amenable to touch and taste, and present in the hands of men. According to Renou, following Bergaigne, the entire Vedic mythology was reshaped, or at any rate reorientated, as a setting for Agni and Soma, and all the other divinities became counterparts or reflections of them (Renou 1953, 14). Agni and Soma, the sacred fire and the sacred drink, are in any case the main deities of the Vedic ritual. While all the deities of the Vedic pantheon are addressed and invoked in the course of ritual performances, and heaven is mentioned as the fruit of rituals, the ritual itself creates a sacred world within the sacrificial enclosure by means of priestly activities that take place here and now. Here lies the most probable explanation for the fact, stressed by Renou (1953, 16), that the most important episodes of Vedic mythology, which reflect cosmogonic events, are not reflected or used in the ritual. All features of Vedic religion find expression in ritual, but generally through the mediation of Agni and Soma.

In later Hinduism, Agni's character changes. Though a few temples have been dedicated to his worship, Agni becomes a minor deity and a mythical figure. His change in position is already indicated in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, where the gods, puzzled by Brahman ("What sort of specter can this be?"), send Agni to find out. On Agni's arrival, Brahman asked him: "Who are you?" Agni replied: "I am Agni." "If that is what you are, what is your power?" "I can burn everything on earth." Then Brahman put a blade of grass before him: "Burn that." Agni came at it with all his force, but he could not burn it.

In the epic and the Purānas, "Agni is an unscrupulous seducer of women and an adulterer, qualities that cause him to be identified with Śiva" (O'Flaherty 1973, 91, in the chapter entitled *Agni, the Erotic Fire*). In later mythology, it is Śiva who gives the gods a blade of grass that they are unable to burn up. Apart from sexual fire, Agni is also the fire of *tapas*, "ascetic heat," another link with Śiva. In a legend that is found in many versions, Agni falls in love with the wives of the seven sages. The story offers also an explanation of Agni's association with the ritual call svāhā (above, page 47). As told in the *Mahābhārata* and summarized by O'Flaherty, the legend deserves to be quoted:

> Once when Agni saw the beautiful wives of the great sages sleeping in their hermitage, he was overcome by desire for them. But he reflected, "It is not proper for me to be full of lust for the chaste wives of the Brahmins, who are not in love with me." Then he entered the household fire so that he could touch them, as it were, with his flames, but after a long time his desire became still greater, and he went into the forest, resolved to abandon his corporeal form.

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> Then Svāhā, the daughter of Dakṣa, fell in love with him and watched him for a long time, seeking some weak point, but in vain. When she knew that he had gone into the forest full of desire, the amorous goddess decided to take the forms of the wives of the Seven Sages and to seduce Agni; thus both of them would obtain their desire. Assuming the form of each of the wives in turn, she made love with Agni, but she could not take the form of Arundhatī, the wife of Vasiṣṭha, because Arundhatī had such great powers of chastity. Taking Agni's seed in her hand each time, she reflected, "Anyone who chances to see me in this form in the forest will falsely accuse the sages' wives of committing adultery with Agni," and so to avoid this she took the form of the Gāruḍī bird and left the forest. She threw the seed into a golden lake on the peak of the white mountain guarded by Rudra's hosts. The seed generated a son, Skanda, and some time later the six sages' wives came to Skanda and told him that their husbands, thinking that Skanda had been born of them, had abandoned them. They begged Skanda to let them dwell for ever in heaven, and by his grace they became the constellation of the Kṛttikās, considered the mothers of Skanda. Then Svāhā married Agni (O'Flaherty 1973, 94–5).

Agni's intermediary position is retained in another legend, which sheds light on the psychology of libations. Though Pārvatī is Śiva's spouse, she is unable to bear the fiery energy of Śiva's seed. Agni cooperates by drinking the seed, sprinkling the Ganges with it (or with his own seed), after which Pārvatī drinks it, receives the seed thus suitably diluted, and gives birth to Skanda (O'Flaherty 1973, 103–107; Plate 9; see also O'Flaherty 1975, 104).

The sexual symbolism of fire is also connected with the analogy between the action of the two kindling woods and the sexual act, an association which is found all over the world. Ṛgveda 3.29.1–3 compares *manthana*, "kindling of fire by friction," to procreation: Agni is hidden in the kindling blocks (araṇī) as the seed (*garbha*) is well kept inside pregnant women (*garbhin*). "Put it down into the supinely stretched, you attentive (priest). When impregnated she gave birth to the male (Agni)."

In Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad 6.4.21—a section sometimes left without translation, which incorporates verses from Ṛgveda 10.184 and Atharvaveda 5.25—the association is reversed:

> He spreads her thighs. Let heaven and earth be spread! Uniting with her, placing his mouth upon hers, stroking her three times in the direction in which the hair grows, he says:
>
> Let Viṣṇu prepare the womb,
> Let Tvaṣṭṛ shape the forms,
> Let Prajāpati discharge,

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Let Dhātṛ place the seed in you.
Place the seed, Sinīvālī,
Place the seed, goddess with flowing hair!
Let the Aśvin twins place the seed in you,
The two lotus-garlanded gods.
Golden are the kindling woods
Which the Aśvins use to make fire.
We invoke that seed for you
To bring forth in the tenth month.
As earth is pregnant with Agni,
As heaven is expecting Indra,
As wind is the seed of the skies,
I place the seed in you.

In later Hinduism, Agni remains closely connected with the burning of forests. In the Māhābhārata, Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna have a picnic on the banks of the Yamunā river. Their girl friends dance, sing, quarrel, and drink wine. "The epic will present us with few if any moments more suitable for a scene of ease and pleasure" (Hiltebeitel 1976, 209). But now there appears "a strange looking brahmin of gold complexion, yellowish brown beard, radiant and splendid. . . . It is Agni in disguise. Thus begins one of the oddest and most grisly segments of the epic, the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest." In this story, Agni, for reasons that need not detain us, has come to consume the forest with all its creatures. He proceeds to do so. The noise is deafening, the water from Indra's clouds cannot reach the ground because of the heat, and only six people survive. Hiltebeitel ends his study of the mythological significance of this conflagration with the remark "that the story itself can begin to make sense as a story, whether or not it also makes sense as history" (ibid., 224). In what follows I shall be primarily concerned with the opposite: Agni, Soma, Indra, Viṣṇu, and many elements of the Vedic ritual have mythological and spiritual significance, but they also make sense as history and prehistory.

FIRE

In order to gain a better understanding of Agni we have to go far beyond the Ṛgveda, in fact, back to the earliest history of man.[1] This early history accounts for many features of Agni and of fire rituals such as Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, and Agnicayana.

Though the use of fire has been attributed to a subhuman man-ape (*Australopithecus prometheus*), prevailing scholarly opinion ascribes it only

[1] For this section I have made use of Eiseley (1954); Fewkes (1920); Forbes (1958); Frazer (1958); Gilbert (1947); Harrison (1954); Heizer (1963); Hough (1926, 1928); Lippert (1931); MacLeod (1925); Oakley (1955, 1956, 1958, 1961); Peake (1933); Sauer (1961); and Wilbert (1967).

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to men. With the exception of some insects, birds, and the Philippine tarsier (a nocturnal animal that picks up hot embers from campfire sites), most animals have a strong dislike of fire. Man took a long time to overcome his fear of fire, but he eventually tamed and then domesticated it. Four stages can be distinguished in this evolution: (1) a fireless age, evinced by an early man or hominid, Zinjanthropus, of the Olduwan culture in East Africa, some 1,750,000 years ago; (2) an age during which fire was used, i.e., collected, as exemplified by the hearths of Peking man, at least 250,000 years ago; (3) an age during which fire was produced and kindled, as exemplified by the Neanderthal about 50,000 years ago, and by Homo sapiens during the last 20,000 to 15,000 years; (4) an age during which fire was domesticated, roughly overlapping with the Neolithic age, beginning in different regions at different times within the last 10,000 years.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these time scales. For most of his history, man kept out of the way of fire and watched it from a distance. Finally he started to collect it carefully from fires that resulted from natural conflagrations. Sauer believes that the volcanically active lake country in the mountainous interior of East Africa may have provided man with his first fire, though fire could have been obtained from lightning as well as from spontaneous combustion, e.g., through contact between air and certain kinds of coal (such coals were located not far from the Choukoutien area where Peking man was found). Throughout the hundreds of thousands of years during which fire was collected but could not yet be made, man was continuously concerned with its safe and proper preservation, for it was not known how long it would take before fresh fire could be obtained again. It is not farfetched to suppose that man's sense of continuity was inspired by his experience with fire.

Fire was carried over long distances, enabling man to move into the colder regions of northern Europe and Asia, and therefore much ingeniuty must have been expended on the development of reliable methods for its preservation and transportation. And now we observe a remarkable fact. When man at last discovered how to make fire himself, he continued to take extreme precautions to preserve and transport it, and kindled fresh fire only rarely. This tendency can only partly be explained by the fact that it might save fuel and labor, be necessary in a wet climate, keep the carrier somewhat warm, or be useful during hunts when fire must be at hand. The universality of the practice of keeping fire suggests that it is largely a custom that survived from the earlier fire-collecting age. Since ritual activities are activities that are performed even though they are not, or are no longer, necessary or even functional, the custom of preserving and carrying fire became one of the earliest ritual activities that we know of. It led man to think of himself as inseparable from his fire, and vulnerable without it. It is not surprising that fire and life were connected at an early stage, and that the preservation of fire came to be regarded as the preservation of life. Thus arose the idea that a

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long-lasting fire gives a long life. Its counterpart is the custom of extinguishing the fires when somebody has died. The fear of losing fire and the custom of preserving it prevail to the present day among a variety of people all over the world. Though most contemporary nomads and seminomads, for example, can produce fire in less than a minute, they take fire with them on most of their trips or hunts that cover long stretches of time.

Hearths developed during the period in which fire was collected. Originally they were shallow depressions lined with stones or clay. Burnt-clay fireplaces have been found in many different regions. Many are circular, possibly because of the placement of fuel around the fire. Hearths were also made from stone or sand. A later invention was to raise the fuel above the fire-bed, to promote combustion by increasing draught. This could be effected by piling the fuel on a few large stones, a method that eventually developed into stone altars and into the earliest stoves. Even among contemporary tribes there are some who do not use such methods. Among the Warao of former British Guiana, for example, the hearth is simply "a big lump of clay, about one meter in diameter and about 30 cm. thick, which is packed by women onto the manaca beams of the kitchen house" (Wilbert 1967, 9).

The earliest fuel was most probably wood, and the combustible qualities of different kinds of wood were learned early. Other early kinds of fuel are charcoal, dung, bones, and fat. The constant search for fuel, a very time-consuming activity, led to deforestation in many areas (and continues to do so), and has been related to various features of social organization, including slavery. Settlements and villages had to move when the supply of firewood was used up. The New England Indians assumed that the English appeared on their shores because the firewood supply in their own land had been exhausted. Ritual elements entered into the gathering of fuel. Among the northern Paiute, girls undergoing puberty rites had to collect five piles of firewood each day. The Vestal Virgins of Classical Antiquity were given similar tasks.

The transportation of fire over short distances could be effected with the help of a smoldering or flaming brand, or a few hot embers, carried on a flat or hollow stone. For long journeys use had to be made of the smoldering properties of substances when deprived of a free supply of air: e.g., decaying wood, bark, and fungus. Fire was transported (and is still transported by the Tierra del Fuegians) on clay spread on the floor of canoes. With the development of ceramics, clay pots became the preferred containers for the safe transportation of fire over long distances. A vivid description occurs in Xenophon's account of one of the expeditions of Agesilaos, king of Sparta (401–360 B.C.):

> It was then that Agesilaos won credit by a trifling but timely expedient. For since no one among those who carried provisions for the regiment had brought fire, and it was cold, not only because

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> they were at a high altitude, but also because there had been rain and hail towards evening—and besides, they had gone up in light clothing suitable to the summer season—and they were shivering and, in the darkness, had no heart for their dinner, Agesilaos sent up not less than ten men carrying fire in earthen pots (*χύτραι*). And when these men had climbed up by one way and another, and many large fires had been made, since there was a great deal of fuel at hand, all the soldiers rubbed oil on themselves and many of them only then began their dinner (*Hellenica* IV.v.4; translation by C. L. Brownson, with one modification).

When fire is transported over long periods, it has to be installed on a temporary hearth for the night, or whenever a stop is made. Special precautions have to be taken that it will not go out. This is referred to, for example, by Homer who describes the falling of night after Odysseus had been washed on the shores of the island of Ogygia:

> Like a man who hides a brand in the black embers on a distant isolated farm, saving the seed of fire so that he will not have to seek elsewhere, so did Odysseus cover himself with leaves (*Odyssey* V. 488–91).

All over the world, when the fire goes out in a village house, it is borrowed from a neighbor, often by carrying a few embers on a potsherd. Later this responsibility was taken on by the state. Charlemagne ordered a fire to be kept burning in each inhabited house. Up to the eighteenth century in Europe, bells were rung when the evening fell. This was called *cur-few* ("cover-fire," French: *couvre-feu*, Italian: *copri-fuoco*). Originally the term curfew referred to a brass implement, like a candle extinguisher but larger, with a handle and perforations, which was put over the coals and embers in the fireplace to keep them alive throughout the night.

The tending of fire required careful planning, and it has been suggested that it developed man's sense of the future and of time in general—a suggestion that seems to underrate man's sensitivity to the passage of day and night and of the seasons. Whereas collecting firewood, and later kindling fire, were by and large male occupations, tending the fire was mostly done by women. Most archaeologists and anthropologists agree that the first homes developed around hearths, and that family life was greatly influenced by the tending of fire. Even at present, when large groups of people live together in communal huts or houses, each family keeps its own fire. The earlier sociologists described this domestic association in colorful terms, as, e.g., Lippert in 1887:

> Tending the fire is a woman's affair. It formed the center of the

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> sphere of life which woman dominated. It made the woman's domestic establishment more stable and to some extent more onerous than it had formerly been, but it likewise made it much more permanently attractive to the men than when her intermittent sexual charm had been the sole allurement. Those who had previously sought the company of women only for limited periods were now bound permanently to her hearth, and soon no longer as mere guests but by ties of reciprocal duties and obligations. About the hearth there arose the home in every sense of the word (Lippert 1931, 131).

Several of the important uses of fire are touched upon in Xenophon's account: warmth, cooking, and light are among the most basic. Much older is the use of fire that made cave dwelling possible by keeping dangerous animals out. At a very early period, spear points were hardened in fire. After the Stone Age, the blacksmith became one of the earliest specialists. Fire drives were used to stampede game, and the resulting conflagrations expanded grasslands (e.g., in America). Fires led to new vegetation and a new fauna. Manmade fires for stampeding game may have contributed to the extinction of large animals such as the mammoth. In much later periods, such new pastures were used for grazing herds, and the ashes for fertilizer. Forest clearing by fire is an important step toward agriculture. In all these respects fire is like man: a ruthless force that disturbs and transforms the ecology.

Cooking may have originated relatively late, possibly not long before Neanderthal man. Eiseley has an eloqent, though specifically American, eulogy on meat:

> Meat, more precious than the gold for which men later struggled, supplied the energy that carried man across the world. Had it not been for fire, however, all that enormous source of life would have been denied to him: he would have gone on drinking the blood from small kills, chewing wearily at uncooked bone ends or masticating the crackling bodies of grasshoppers (Eiseley 1954, 55).

Another early use of fire was in connection with the dead: the counterpart, as we saw, of its connection with life. Fires were lit over the bodies of the dead Neanderthal. Excavations in the ancient Pueblo cemeteries still show masses of charcoal and ashes appearing as a layer in the earth above the skeletons. Cremation was common in the Bronze and Iron ages, and remained widespread throughout the world. The exceptions appear very much later, especially in Judaism and Christianity, and culminated in a decree of Charlemagne of 785, which made cremation a capital offense.

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Part I The Agnicayana Ritual

The invention of means for making fire remains shrouded in mystery. It may have taken place more than once. Among our contemporaries, only the Andaman islanders are presumably ignorant of the art. Even if this is true, it is more likely that they forgot it than that they had never known it in the past. The two oldest methods for fire making are percussion and friction; it is not known which one came first. Percussion or strike-a-light methods are mainly achieved with the help of pyrites and flint. The oldest use of pyrites has been documented for the Neolithic and Bronze ages, and is referred to in the old Testament. This method continues to be used in various parts of the world, especially in northern Asia. A unique method, confined to southeast Asia, is the production of sparks by striking bamboo with a piece of porcelain. The percussion methods of producing fire have led to at least one imaginative etymology:

> The Eskimo, who still in Greenland use the flint-and-pyrites method of kindling, call fire *ignek*. Among the Western Eskimo, who live in and near Alaska, the word is *knik, knok, knákhk, k'núk, kanuk* or *ik'nuk*. This represents very clearly the sound of flint striking a lump of pyrites. . . . These words for fire among the Eskimo remind us of the series of Aryan words . . . *agni, ogni, ugnis* and *ignis*. Is it possible that these, too, indicate the sound of the flint and pyrites nodule (Peake 1933, 54–5; quoted approvingly by Oakley 1955, 44).

Even if this improbable etymology is to be taken seriously, the difficulty remains that the Indians did not use the percussion method.

The other ancient method for making fire is through friction of wood. There are several types, including the fire-saw, fire-drill, pump-drill, and fire-plow. The fire-drill is probably the most universal, Polynesia being the only region from which it is absent. In Europe, it probably dates from Neolithic times; in Asia, it is older and not yet obsolete. As in all methods that use friction, there are two pieces of wood, the lower of which rests on the ground, and is called the "hearth." In the fire-drill, a cylindrical or tapered drill held vertically is rotated between the two hands, which, at the same time, press the stick downwards into a shallow pit in the hearth. The fire is caught in a small heap of tinder, consisting, e.g., of fungus or dead leaves. The process takes generally less than a minute. The vertical and horizontal parts are often called active and passive, or male and female, respectively, as we have already seen in the previous section.

A special kind of fire-drill is the thong-drill, in which the vertical cylinder is rotated by a cord passed round in a loop. The thong is pulled in such a way that the rotation changes its orientation repeatedly. The pole is pressed down with the help of another piece of wood, bone, stone or a coconut shell. At present, this method is found among the Eskimos, in northern

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Asia, India, and Indonesia. It has led to another colorful, if improbable, etymology:

> It has been suggested that the Greek word for fire, πῦρ, represents the sound of the whirring of the fire-drill (and similarly for English *fire*, German *Feuer,* French *feu*, etc.: Peake 1933, 54).

Whatever the merits of this etymology, it is a fact that English "pure" is related to Greek πῦρ.

The making of fire is often accompanied by rites and songs. In an Irish saga:

> Fionn took from his tunic the two sacred fire-sticks that he carried, and turned them one upon another while Usheen sang the fire-chant:
>
> Golden Bird
> Hawk of the Sun
> Shake loose a feather,
> A feather of flame.
>
> Fire leaped between the sticks, and soon the hearth was blazing. (Young 1929, 133).

It is likely that both methods, percussion and friction, were accidentally discovered when men worked with tools. Sawing and drilling are themselves not attested before the Upper Palaeolithic. Lucretius explained that kindling by friction originated when people observed the branches of a tree lashed against each other by the wind until they caught fire. Though this hypothesis was adopted by several historians, it refers to a rather uncommon event, and the hypothesis that the fire drill was discovered when drills were being used, and mutatis mutandis for the other techniques, is more plausible. Whatever their origin, these practices readily explain the belief that fire resides in wood, just as the actual collection of fire from lightning confirms the belief that fire comes from heaven. Underlying these notions is the general idea that fire is not made, but is rather extracted or released. Lucretius still expresses what must have puzzled man for thousands of years: "If in logs flame lurks hidden, and smoke and ash, it must need be that the logs are composed of things alien in kind, of alien things that rise up out of the logs" (*De Rerum Natura* I.871-872). The Warao Indians similarly deny that fire is made. It existed from time immemorial, and elaborate mythologies explain that some trees contain fire and others do not (Wilbert 1967, 21).

In the domain of religious speculation, the most basic ritual distinction is between two kinds of fire, "perpetual fire" and "new fire." These two kinds

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represent the two main periods in the history of fire, the early age of fire collecting and the later age of fire production. As we have seen, the carrying around of fire became a ritual activity as soon as it was no longer necessary, viz., as soon as methods for kindling fire had been discovered. The permanent installation of fire on hearths and altars, in homes and temples, took on similarly ritualistic overtones at the same time and for the same reason. This ritualization also explains why the "perpetual fire" is generally considered more pure than the "new fire," which is nothing but an upstart in the evolution of man. Thus "pure" fire has often to be obtained from a sacred place where it has been kept since time immemorial.

The distinction between different kinds of fire is no longer sensed by modern man. We feel that fire is fire, and if we prefer a hearth fire to central heating, we attribute our preference to such things as the bright motion of flames or the smell of burnt wood. During most of the existence of our species, however, when the day was over and it began to be cold and dark, we were eager to welcome our own fire as a dear friend upon whom we could count. To ancient man, fires had the same individualities we reserve for some people and animals. We do not easily understand ritual fires made on different occasions and obtained from different places, kept separate or mixed carefully. We ourselves do not feel that if we expect our friend, anybody else would do just as well. The ancients and several contemporary tribes treat fires with the same kinds of consideration.

Fire, especially perpetual fire, was jealously guarded and surrounded with extreme concerns for its purity. In the Roman temples of Vesta, fire had to be tended by virgins (if it went out, the Vestal maidens were flogged by the Pontifex Maximus). The Jews prohibited "foreign fire," and Siberian tribes on the Amur river were reported unwilling to part with any of the fire in their huts. When new fire was made, the event was surrounded with awe. Generally, all existing fires had to be put out first. Ritual fire making was sometimes done by means of the strike-and-light method (the altar fires referred to in the Old Testament were installed in this way). The most common method for ritual fire making, however, is the method of kindling by friction. Sir J. G. Frazer has reported it for all of Europe, and W. H. Gilbert for the Americas.

Most myths about fire attribute its origin to heaven, which would seem to support the view that fire was originally obtained from lightning. Many ancient myths relate that fire was brought from heaven by a bird. This bird was often considered a thief, and the legend of a human fire thief is also widespread. Its prototype in Western culture is the myth of Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven and gave it to mankind. Zeus punished him by chaining him to the Caucasus mountains, where an eagle picked out his constantly growing liver. Prometheus is regarded as the inventor of human civilization, the emblem of rebellion against tyranny, and in the final resort the symbol of mankind itself. In Aeschylus' "Prometheus Bound" (436–471, 467–506) Prometheus boasts of his inventions:

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5. Origin and Significance

> I found men witless and gave them the use of their wits and made them masters of their minds. . . . They did not know of building houses with bricks to face the sun; they did not know how to work in wood. They lived like swarming ants in holes in the ground, in the sunless caves of the earth. . . . It was I who first yoked beasts for them in the yokes and made of those beasts the slaves of trace chain and pack saddle that they might be man's substitute in the hardest tasks; and I harnessed to the carriage, so that they loved the rein, horses, the crowning pride of the rich man's luxury. It was I and none other who discovered ships, the sail-driven wagons that the sea buffets. . . . Beneath the earth, man's hidden blessing, copper, iron, silver, and gold—will anyone claim to have discovered these before I did? No one, I am very sure, who wants to speak truly and to the purpose. One brief word will tell the whole story: all arts that mortals have come from Prometheus (translation David Grene 1959, 327–329).

The Greek name *προμηθεύς* is generally interpreted as "prudent, with foresight," related to the verb *προμηθέομαι*, "foresee." Mayrhofer's Etymological Dictionary relates it to Sanskrit *pra-math* from *math*, "steal, rob, take away." In Ṛgveda 3.38.5, *vastra-mathi* is used in connection with a thief who steals clothes (*vastram*), and in 8.66.8 *urā-mathi* is applied to a wolf who takes away sheep (*urā*). The last term occurs once more, in Vādhula Śrauta Sūtra 28a, where it is applied to the seasons who take away ritual.

Since ancient times the verb *math* has been confounded with *manth*, "stir, churn," to which it may not be etymologically related. This term is used in the Hindu myth of the churning of the world ocean. The churning activities of gods and demons resulted in the salty water yielding milk, butter, wine, poison, and finally Soma, elixir of immortality (see, e.g., Gonda 1954, 128–129; O'Flaherty 1975, 273–280; etc.). The noun *manthana* is used not only to refer to churning, but is also the general term for kindling fire by friction. In a commentary on the *Kātyayāna Śaruta Sūtra*, its derivative *pramanthana* is defined as "the piece of wood that comes forth from the upper kindling block (*uttarāraṇi*), with which the fire is churned." In his book on the descent of fire and the divine beverage (*Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks:* 1859, 15–18), Adalbert Kuhn has connected pramanthana with the name Prometheus, thus regarding Prometheus not only as representing the theft of fire from heaven (which corresponds to the age of collection), but also the kindling of fire by friction (the age of production). Unfortunately, this etymology is hard to maintain. The proper connection is with *mathnāti*, "steals," as Johanna Narten (1960) has shown.

While fire marks the origin of civilization, and ritual fire the beginnings of religion, ritual fire is also connected with athletics. After the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.), when the Greeks defeated the Persians, Apollo ordered the consecration of a fire altar for Zeus, the Deliverer. As Plutarch tells us

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in his *Life of Aristides* (ch. xx), all existing fires had been polluted by the Persian barbarians and had therefore to be extinguished. A fresh and pure fire had to be obtained from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, at a distance of more than 60 miles. A young athlete, Euchidas, volunteered to go. He left at dawn, ran, naked, to the altar of Apollo at Delphi, where he "purified himself by sprinkling himself with holy water and crowned himself with laurel." He took the sacred fire on a torch, ran back and arrived at Plataea before sunset. There he handed the sacred fire to his countrymen, collapsed from exhaustion, and died (cf. Séchan 1951, 2–3).

While the torch race (*λαμπαδηδρομία*), often run in relays, became a prominent feature of the Greek games, it also acquired symbolic significance. Plato (*Laws* 776 b) says that parents procreate and feed children, "handing over life like a torch" (*καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας*). In ancient India, similar practice must be assumed to account for similar metaphors. At the core of Buddhism is the doctrine that there is rebirth and transmigration without anything transmigrating. In the second century B.C., the Greek king Menander (Pāli: Milinda) carried on the Greek dominion in Bactria founded by Alexander the Great. Puzzled by the Buddhist doctrine, he posed the question to the sage-monk Nāgasena, and asked him to give some illustrations. Nāgasena began his answer by saying that rebirth takes place without anything transmigrating in exactly the same way in which a flame is lit from another flame without any fire being transmitted (Milindapañha 71.16).

As we shall see in the section on Soma (page 111), the Vedic Indians believed that fire was brought from heaven by a bird of prey (*śyena*), who also brought Soma, the elixir of immortality, down to earth. Connections between fire, a bird, and immortality are found all over the world, but they take very different forms. The Egyptian sun bird *benu* and the phoenix of western classical antiquity, subsequently adopted in Christianity, represent a distinct type, in which death and rebirth are at the core of the myth. Both birds are connected with life after death. In classical sources, emphasis was laid on the spontaneous generation of the bird. In Christianity, the phoenix became a symbol of resurrection. The connection with fire is not known from Egypt, but developed in the west. According to this tradition, the phoenix bird, knowing that the time of its death is approaching, burns together with its nest, ignited by the heat of the sun. From its ashes a new phoenix arises (Van den Broek 1972, chapter VI).

The Chinese *feng* 鳳 or *feng huang* 鳳 凰 has been called a phoenix, but has almost nothing in common with its western counterpart. It does not cremate itself, and no new bird arises out of the ashes of the old. In very early times, *feng* was a wind bird, and its name is related to the Chinese word for "wind," *feng* 風. Later it became a bird of good omen, subsequently identified with the symbolic "red bird" of the south. Finally, it turned into the fantastic bird of art and decoration (Edward Schafer, personal communi-

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cation; cf. Sowerby 1940, 21, 101).

None of these birds seems closely connected with the Sanskrit śyena, Avestan *saēna*, or other Indo-European relatives. It is possible, however, that there are historical connections with the shamanistic cult of the eagle, which is quite common in central and northern Asia. Among several Siberian peoples, the eagle is regarded as the master of fire, who gave fire to man. The eagle is also the founder of civilization (*er ist vorherrschend Kulturbringer*: Findeisen 1956, 79). The eagle is a totemistic bird, from which several tribes derive their origin (e.g., the Yakuts). It is regarded as the first shaman by the Buriats and the Yenisei Ostyaks. Only a person who is a descendant of an eagle may perform certain fire rituals. Similar ideas are found in the Americas, e.g., in Peru (Sternberg 1930, 192, 132–133, 142–143; Findeisen 1956, 74–80; Anisimov 1963, 191).

As totem, the eagle is inviolable. To kill an eagle is a capital sin (Sternberg 1930, 132). This is reminiscent of the vow (*vrata*) that has to be observed by any performer of the Agnicayana, Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.7.6.1 states: "If the piler of the fire (*agnicit*) were to eat of a bird, he would be eating fire and go to ruin. He should observe this vow for a year, for no vow goes beyond a year." Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.1.4.13 is more lenient:

> They say: "He who has built the fire altar must not eat of any bird, for he who builds the altar of fire assumes a bird's form. He might become ill. Therefore the agnicit should not eat of any bird." Nevertheless, one who knows this may safely eat. For he who builds an altar assumes Agni's form, and all food here belongs to Agni. One who knows this will know that all food belongs to him.

Some mention should be made of early imitations of birds, which have a technical as well as a religious aspect. I am not referring to aeroplanes, but to the art of kite flying. It has often been stated that the kite was invented by the Greek philosopher Archytas of Tarentum, but this is an old error (see Chadwick 1931, 487, note 4). Kites were probably invented in China. Though there may be earlier references there, the first unambiguous mention of kite flying is of the second century B.C. In China, kites were used for signalling and to test the behavior of winds (Needham 1959 III, 477; IV. 2, 576–579). At an early period, kite flying became a sport. Often tabooed to women, it continues to be practised not only by children but also by adults, e.g., in Central Asia: "The shopkeepers of Yarkand are said to be fond of flying kites as they sit outside their shops" (Chadwick 1931, 483, after E. Breck). Kite flying is common in China, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. In Polynesia, the religious functions of the kite are combined with its uses in meteorology and navigation. The kite represents the soul of the kite flier. Kites were sent to heaven as a religious rite, to the accompaniment of kite songs. In New Zealand, members of the

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important Tawhaki family are described as ascending heaven on kites. Rehua, god of the highest heaven, is referred to as a sacred bird and ancestor of the kite. Throughout the Pacific, birds are regarded as means of communication between gods and men. Kite flying is a form of religion that enables man to gain access to heaven (Chadwick 1931).

In India, kite flying is still practised by people of all ages. The season begins in the latter half of November and continues up to the middle of January. Many kinds of kites are mentioned by Mujumdar (1950, 71–77).

Against such a varied, worldwide background, it is not surprising that the Agnicayana altar was constructed in the shape of a bird of prey (śyena). Yet, as we shall see (page 124), the altar represents a cosmic man, and might therefore be expected to be built in the shape of a man. There are traces of this in descriptions of the altar that mix features of a bird with those of a man (cf. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.4.5.2; Van Buitenen 1962, 30; Dumont 1951).

The dictionaries give a variety of translations for Sanskrit śyena and the related Avestan saēna. Mayrhofer, for example, lists: "bird of prey, eagle, falcon, hawk." In most of this book I have retained the translation "eagle" or "bird of prey." It seems likely that the Vedic Indians had a more specific bird in mind. The one scholar who has given serious attention to the identification of śyena is Schneider (1971, 31–37). Basing himself upon the Ṛgveda, especially 4.26–27 (see below pages 111–113), he feels that the bird was characterized in the first place by speed, because it came toward the Soma in a rapid descent. It also knew fear (4.26.5; cf. 1.32.14), and it probably drank the blood of its prey, since it nibbled at the Soma stalk and drank some of its juice. In the Ṛgveda, moreover, it is never called strong or large, and so could not have been either of these ("Sicher kann man daraus den Schluss ex silentio ziehen": page 33). Schneider has concluded from these observations that śyena could not have been a "miraculous bird" (Wundervogel) or eagle, but was probably a falcon. He ends his analysis with a reference to falconry, which was very probably known in India at a very early period. The expressions *iṣitaḥ* "discharged" (Ṛgveda 9.77.2 and 10.11.4) and *asarji* "shot forth" (4.26.5) are reminiscent of a falcon let loose.

I think these observations are excellent, yet the conclusion need not follow, and other evidence points in another direction. Why not make the assumption that the shape of the bird-shaped altar of the Agnicayana preserves some features of the shape of the original bird? It at least provides a picture, which is more than can be said of any text. Looked upon as a schematized representation of a real bird, the diagram of the altar (Figure 7, page 66) has three characteristics: the tail is small, the wings are large, and the wings are as broad at the tip as they are at the base.

Now let us take a look at birds of prey, or *Falconiformes* (if we exclude owls). These include buzzards, eagles, falcons, harriers, hawks, and vultures (Lloyd 1971, 4). Confining attention to wings and tails, we find that eagles and falcons have long tails and either narrow wings or tapered, narrow-tip-

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ped wings. Long, narrow-tipped wings enable them to fly very quickly in pursuit of prey; long tails enable them to turn quickly. The only birds characterized as a group by short tails and long, broad, untapered wings are vultures. They cannot turn quickly, but "soar easily and then glide for great distances with very little flapping" (Lloyd, 23). The reason is that they may fly more than two hundred miles a day in search of dead animals, and they need not pursue fast-moving prey. They are equipped for long-distance flights, not for short-distance pursuits.

In Ṛgveda 4.26–27, the Soma had to be captured quickly, but, being a plant, it did not have to be followed in rapid pursuit. A vulture is eminently equipped for such a task. It has the properties that Schneider has enumerated, which are in fact common among *Falconiformes*: speed, and the capacity for fear and for drinking the blood of its prey. Finally, some are large and some are small. But unlike Schneider, I don't think the *argumentum ex silentio* proves anything. Moreover, the Iranian saēna was definitely large (Martin Schwartz, personal communication).

To narrow down the possibilities, we have to take geography into account. The Department of Ornithology at Berkeley has provided me with a list of fifty-five species of *Falconiformes*, now living in or near northwest India or Central Asia. According to Mercedes S. Foster and Steve Bailey, members of the staff of the Berkeley Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, it is impossible to make an accurate determination of the species involved from the diagram of the Agnicayana altar of Figure 7. There are six species, however, that they consider the most likely candidates:

Gyps bengalensis	Indian White-backed Vulture
Gyps indicus	Indian Griffon
Gyps himalayensis	Himalayan Griffon
Gyps fulvus	Griffon Vulture
Sarcogyps calvus	Indian Black Vulture
Aegypius monachus	European Black Vulture.

Though we are dealing only with probabilities, it is possible to reduce this list further. The śyena brought fire and Soma down from heaven, and should therefore be expected to move long distances and live at high altitudes. These requirements are met by griffons, which are "large vultures that live in colonies in mountainous country." Among the four griffons on the above list, the *fulvus* occurs from Spain to northern India, while *bengalensis* and *indicus* live mostly in India, Burma, and Malaysia. The visually outstanding species is the *himalayensis*. It is native to Asia and is the second-largest bird of prey in the Old World. Like other large vultures, its life span may extend to sixty years. These birds outdo human nomads by far in the distances over which they migrate. Many birds of prey migrate yearly from northern Asia to India and Southeast Asia. They cross the Himalayas in autumn and return in spring (Lloyd 1971, 8, 18, 87–88).

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The Himalayan Griffon is "a huge brownish-white bird with a wing span of about nine feet" (Lloyd 1971, 22, 87). To see such a bird fly across Himalayan skies must be an awe-inspiring sight. It is likely that the Harappans saw it, and possible that their sign , with its broad wings and short tail, refers to it (cf. Parpola, c.s., 1970, 29). It is even more likely that the Vedic nomads saw it, when they crossed the western Himalayas. Until better evidence is forthcoming, I would be inclined to believe that the Vedic śyena was originally *Gyps himalayensis*.

VEDIC NOMADS

THE DISCOVERY THAT many of the languages of India (including Vedic and Sanskrit) are related to most of the languages of Europe (including Greek, Latin and its Romance derivatives, Germanic, and Slavic) has led to the establishment of a family of languages, the Indo-European family. The languages of this group have become more widely diffused than those of any other linguistic family. Before 2,000 B.C., Indo-European languages were spoken by seminomadic people who wandered the steppes that stretch from Poland to Central Asia. These nomads had tamed the horse, which they harnessed to light chariots with spoked wheels. Around the end of the third millenium, they began to move west, south, and east, and entered parts of Asia and Europe closer to the river deltas and oceans. Some of these areas, in particular in the Middle East, were inhabited by sedentary people who had evolved a much more advanced level of civilization. The Indo-European languages were established and came to flourish in Europe, Iran, and India. An Indo-European language, Tocharian, was preserved in Chinese Turkestan until the eighth century A.D., when it was finally replaced by Turkic languages. (See map A.)

I shall use the term "Vedic nomads" to refer to people who spoke an Indo-European language, who came from Inner Asia, and who entered the Indian subcontinent around 1,500 B.C. We have no unambiguous material evidence that such an invasion actually occurred, and there may have been more than one wave. But the Vedic language of the Ṛgveda, which was composed around 1,200 B.C. in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent (possibly as far west as what is now Afghanistan), is clearly Indo-European, and this fact by itself constitutes sufficient proof for the view that such a migration took place. Though Vedic is related to the other languages of the Indo-European family, it is sepecially close to Avestan, which was spoken in Eastern Iran during the period between 1,000 and 500 B.C., and to Old Persian, the language of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings (ca. 500–330 B.C.). Apart from these linguistic facts, we know little about the anthropology and identity of the people who spoke Vedic. We don't know exactly where they came from, nor whether they came in loosely related

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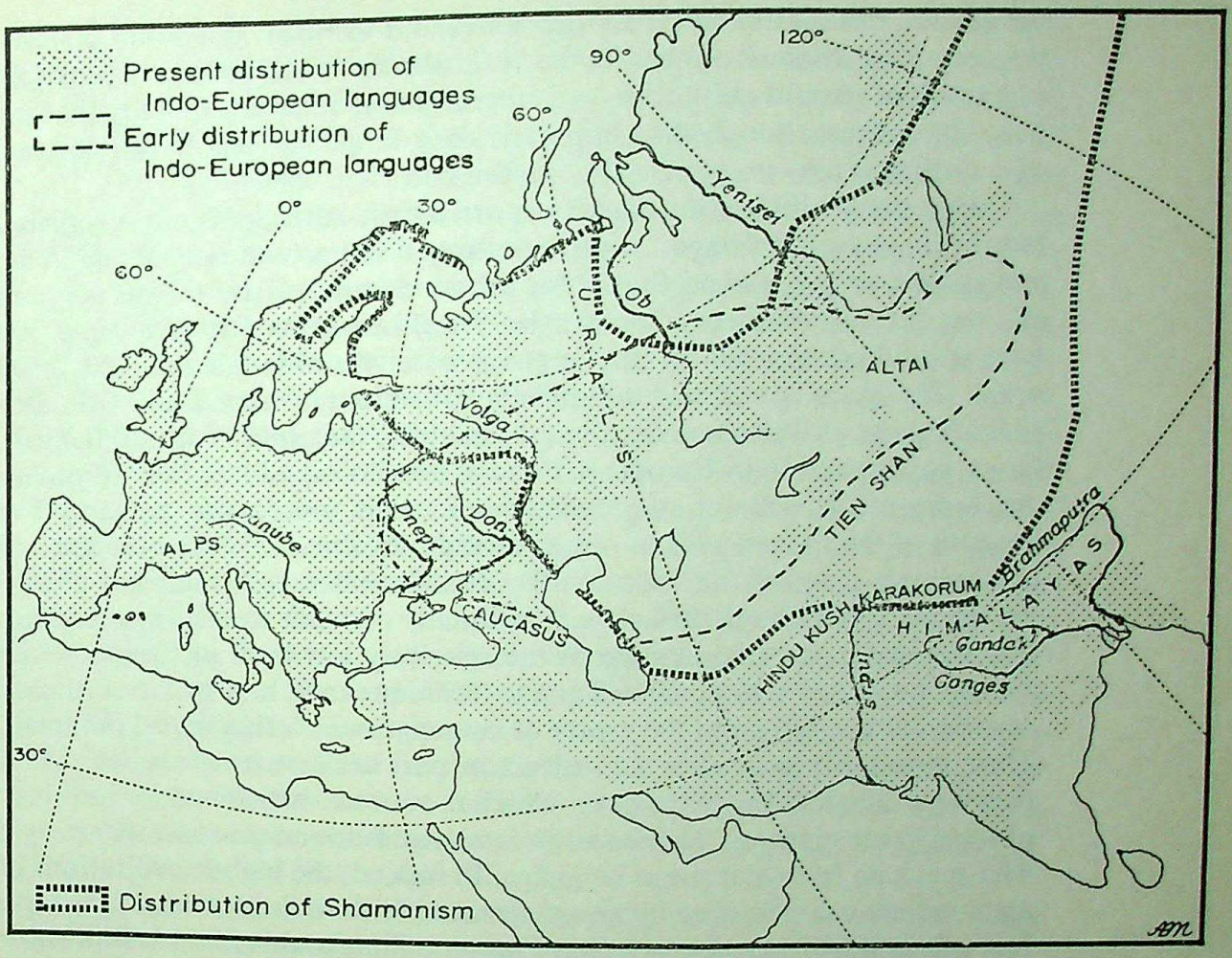

Map A

groups during a relatively short period, or separately and repeatedly during different periods. Correlations between linguistic and archaeological data are only beginning to be traced (see Parpola and Thapar in the beginning sections of Part III).

The culture of the Ṛgveda shares features with other Indo-European cultures, but it also possesses features in common only with the Iranians, and other features not found elsewhere in the Indo-European family. It has been customary to refer to these last features as "Indian," and there is no harm in doing so, provided this does not evoke the wrong associations (as it often does). The vision of tall, blond, blue-eyed Aryans, importing their culture into a backward area inhabited by dark and snub-nosed natives, comforting as it has been to some Western scholars, has been largely reversed. We now know, especially after the excavation of Harappā, Mohenjo-daro, and numerous other sites, that long before 1,500 B.C. a highly evolved city culture flourished in the northwestern part of the subcontinent, as it did in

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the Middle East. Although the larger cities and towns of this Indus civilization may have disappeared before the advent of the Vedic nomads—probably as a result of natural calamities—it is therefore more accurate to say that the Indo-Europeans, though they imported their language, met with remnants of a civilization in many respects superior to their own.

That the semibarbaric nomads imported their language is not surprising, but the impact of this importation is nothing if not astounding. While Vedic was spoken only in the northwest for a few centuries, Sanskrit was adopted all over the subcontinent. Codified by the grammarian Pāṇini around 500 B.C., it established itself as the language of civilization for the next 2,500 years. The languages that subsequently arose in northern India (Middle–Indic Prakrits as well as modern Hindi, Panjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Oriya, etc.) are all Indo-European. It is not easy to explain this extraordinary development. No doubt, the nomadic invaders were good fighters. The strength of the Indus civilization was already broken, and "the peaceful and conservative cities of the Indus Valley could neither withstand nor absorb the invaders" (Basham 1954, 29). It is equally relevant to take into account that the Vedic nomads, in spite of the relatively low level of their material culture, possessed very advanced poetic techniques and had an extraordinary devotion to language and the power of language, which they called bráhman. Their superiority was accepted at least in part because it was believed that they were influential with the gods, which in turn was attributed to the power of their Vedic mantras. This belief in language is found among other people who speak an Indo-European language. In fact, all the higher civilizations of mankind are characterized by an exaggerated faith in the power of language. In Vedic culture, there seems to have been no limit to this faith. It is possible that the cult of language comes from Central Asia. The magical power of songs is still very pronounced in Shamanism (see, e.g., Eliade 1964, 201). Whatever its origin, subsequent developments strengthened the belief in the supernatural qualities of Vedic and Sanskrit and in their superiority over other languages. This conviction is retained in Hinduism, which is pervaded by the belief in the efficacy of mantras, often allegedly Vedic. It also played a role in the spread of Hinduism throughout the Indian subcontinent. This has been noted not only by scholars, who are already professionally obsessed by language, but also by British civil servants. Logan, Collector of Malabar, for example, speculated in his *Malabar Manual* of 1887 about the advent of the Nambudiri brahmins in the following terms:

> They posed before the rude chieftains with whom they came in contact as "God-compellers." Their sonorous mantrams and spells could compel the gods to take the wandering ghosts of even the worst of men directly to heaven (quoted in Padmanabha Menon 1924, I, 51–52).

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5. Origin and Significance

The close connections between the Vedic Indians and their contemporaries in Iran provides justification for setting up an Indo-Iranian subgroup within Indo-European. The existence of this group is primarily demonstrated by close linguistic similarities (in phonology, syntax, vocabulary, and style) between Vedic, Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Persian, and several later languages, without there being counterparts in other Indo-European languages. The existence of Indo-Iranian also rests on shared features of religion and civilization. In the area of vocabulary, we have, for example, Avestan *airya*, *haoma*, and *zaota* corresponding to Vedic *ārya*, *soma*, and *hotā*, respectively. Going beyond the correspondence of words, we find the Iranians refer to themselves as airya, "of noble birth" (from which "Iran" is derived), in the same manner in which the Vedic Indians refer to themselves as ārya (whence "Aryan"). The haoma belief and cult in the Avesta are in most respects similar to the corresponding Vedic concepts and ritual. The zaota is the chief priest at the haoma ritual. Though the hotā, in the classical śrauta ritual, is almost entirely concerned with recitation, and not with the performance of ritual acts, which is the province of the adhvaryu, this may have been different originally. The term hotā is derived from a verb *hu-*, "to make an oblation," not from *hū-*, "to invoke" (Renou 1947, 8–9; 1958, 59–60; cf. Minard 1949, 123, n. 346a). The same is true of zaota. It is possible that, at an early stage of development of the fire ritual, the hotā made the oblation into the fire that Agni transmitted to the gods. At a later stage of development, Agni became the messenger who brought the gods down to earth. The hotā therefore acted as invoker (Schneider 1971, 73).

The Iranian fire ritual is in many respects similar to the Vedic. Fires are installed on three altars. The domestic altar is circular, the offering altar, square. On the Iranian side there seems to be better evidence than in the Vedas for Dumézil's view that the three fires are connected with the three main subdivisions of society: farmers being represented by the domestic fire, priests by the offering fire, and soldiers by the third, which wards off evil influences. We are not surprised at this statement, for Dumézil often overshoots the mark (for a recent critique, see Gonda 1974). In Iran, fires were also transported. For example, in front of the army of the last Darius, in 331 B.C., embers were carried from a *Vərəthragna* fire (Boyce 1975, 459; Vərəthragna corresponds to Vedic *vṛtrahan*, "slayer of the demon Vṛtra," i.e., Indra).

Some of these structures are not only Indo-Iranian, but Indo-European. The Romans had a circular domestic altar for Vesta (*aedes rotunda*), and also *templa quadrata*. In Latin, *focus* or *foculus* (unlike *āra*) refers to an optionally movable fireplace. In Umbrian, the word for "movable fireplace" is *ahti* (Nagy 1974, 89–92).

In Iran, many features of the fire cult survived in later times, which is largely due to the fact that Zarathustra (around 600 B.C.?) retained and developed them. This contrasts to some extent with the Indian development,

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for remnants of the Vedic fire cult are confined to the homes of Brahmin āhitāgnis in relative isolation from the development of Hinduism. Even outside the brahminical tradition, however, oblations into the fire (*homa*) have remained common in India. In Iran there has been a tendency to identify each pre-Islamic temple as a fire temple. In point of fact, fire temples do not seem to be earlier than the fourth century B.C., and may have been built as a reaction against the temple worship of other deities represented by icons (Boyce 1975). Only much later, in the Sassanid period (226–650 A.D.), did fire temples become the main religious centers. They were square, with a dome-shaped roof, and made of stone. There were also movable altars. The king took his personal fire with him on such an altar when he went on a campaign (Widengren 1965, 273).

Throughout the development of the fire cult in Iran, fire was referred to as *ātur*. The āgnīdhra, kindling priest of the Vedic ritual, has for his Iranian counterpart the *ātravaxš* priest. The term agni may be present in Old Iranian in the personal name Ag-nu-par-nu (found in a letter addressed to Assurbanipal between 650 and 640 B.C.), and once again in Avestan *dāštayni*, of uncertain meaning, and therefore uncertain as a testimony (Wikander 1946, 35, 102–103).

The Iranian and Vedic fire rituals reflect the nomadic character of the Indo-Iranians. In contrast with the temples of later Hinduism and of the earlier Indus civilization (Wheeler 1968, 52–53; cf. Parpola, c.s., 1969, 5), there are no temples in the Vedic ritual. Vedic rites are performed inside temporary structures, constructed and consecrated at the beginning of the ritual, and burnt at its completion. Ritual implements are made of perishable materials such as wood and clay. These implements are also afterwards burnt, or else submerged in water. Caland observed that "the ritual was often metaphorically assimilated to a march, a voyage, an expedition, and involved in fact a large number of procession-like movements" (Caland and Henry 1906, 450; quoted by Wasson 1972, 14, who compares it to a "trip"). The name of the chief priest of the ritual, the adhvaryu, is also reminiscent of this nomadic background: it is related to *adhvan*, "way, road, course." The related word *adhvara*, "ritual," may originally have meant "ceremonial trip" (Mayrhofer: *feierlicher Gang*). These survivals of the nomadic way in India parallel the way of Taoism in China, which similarly incorporates remnants of the nomadic culture of Inner Asia (cf. Staal 1975, 204).

Like the nomadic invaders of Europe and the Near East, the Vedic nomads imported their horses and chariots as well as tools and weapons that were superior to those used in the sedentary civilizations they encountered. Whether they carried fire across the mountains of the Hindukush and the Western Himalayas is an open question to which archaeology has yet to provide an answer. Basham (1954, 27) has observed that:

> At Chanhu Daro, on the lower Indus, the Harappā people were

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replaced by squatters, living in small huts with fireplaces, an innovation which suggests that they came from a colder climate.

While the indebtedness of the Vedic nomads to the culture of their Indo-European ancestors is well-known, their links with cultural trends in Central Asia remain relatively unexplored. In the area of language there is evidence of contact between Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian, but its interpretation is controversial. In later times, Finno-Ugrian has borrowed a considerable number of words from Indo-Iranian (Burrow 1973, 24). As a glance at Map A shows, the present distribution of Shamanism (after Findeisen 1957) covers much of the same area where once Indo-European languages were spoken. It is not surprising to find links between Shamanism and the culture of the Vedic nomads. In the area of religion, several features of Vedic ritual have been characterized as shamanistic. Eliade (1964, 403ff.) has pointed out similarities in what he has called "ascensional rites." To reach heaven and the gods, the yajamāna climbs a ladder set against the yūpa, or sacrificial pole cut from a tree. When he reaches the top of the ladder, he spreads his arms as a bird spreads its wings. The Siberian shamans also climb trees and dispatch sacrifices by putting a tree or pole through the spoke hole of their huts. They are also compared to birds, in particular eagles. In either case, the pole represents the *axis mundi*. Though Eliade regards these rites as characteristic of Vedic ritual in general, they occur only in the Vājapeya ritual (and can be seen on van Buitenen's film of its 1955 performance), which does not, however, diminish the significance of the parellelism. The ecstatic flight occurs, furthermore, in Ṛgveda 10.136 (see Staal 1975, 197–198, 204–208), which has other shamanistic overtones.

Apart from the importance of the bird of prey for shamanistic and Vedic culture, the shamans also performed a horse sacrifice that may be related to the Aśvamedha or Vedic horse sacrifice (Eliade 1964, 199). Finally, there is an analogy in the function of some shamans and of one of the Vedic priests. The Ugrian shaman takes part in sacrifices only indirectly: "He confines himself to praying and guiding the victims' souls to the respective divinities. . . . Even when he takes part in sacrifices, the shaman plays more of a 'spiritual' role" (Eliade 183). This is reminiscent, as Eliade has observed, of the role of the Brahman priest in Vedic rituals (see above, page 46).

The similarities between Shamanism and Buddhism are more striking. I shall revert to them in the next section. The word shaman itself has been derived from a Prakrit derivative of Sanskrit *śramaṇa*, a term that denotes (non-Vedic) ascetics and monks, in particular Buddhist monks. This etymology remains controversial. There are also similarities between Shamanism and Yoga (see, e.g., Ruben 1940; cf. also Nölle 1953). It seems likely that many of these similarities can be explained in historical terms. However, for the time being, details of historical connections are lacking because most of the data on Shamanism are relatively recent.

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Let us return to the Vedic nomads and their adventures in South Asia. On Indian soil, the invaders continued their course in an eastern direction. During the later Vedic period, the predominant migration is from west to east: "From the west people go to the east, conquering lands" (*Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 26.2, quoted in Rau 1957, 13). This eastward move remained confined to the plains north of the Ganges, which was crossed only much later. To the present day, only the left bank of the Ganges is considered pure and holy. Every visitor to Varanasi (Banaras) will recall that across from the city, on the opposite shore of the river, there is an uninhabited wasteland. Not every tourist knows that, in the early morning, the orthodox cross the river in small boats to empty their bowels on this inauspicious side. Thus a gigantic public toilet commemorates the non-Aryanized lands of the past.

That the southward movement started only much later is consistent with the general inauspiciousness of the south, referred to in many Vedic sources. The south is the region of death and of the ancestors. The head of a corpse should generally point to the south (Caland 1896, 16, 39). Nirṛti, Goddess of Disaster, is propitiated to the south of the Old Hall (below, page 343). The *havis* offering may not be moved to the south (Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 2.1.3.4, quoted in Mylius 1972, 370). This orientation remains a characteristic of Hinduism and survives to the present day. Śiva as the divine preceptor (*dakṣiṇāmūrti*) faces south because the traditional teachings come from the north (Staal 1975, 145). In some nonbrahmin temples in south India, vegetarian deities and rites, which come from the north, are on the northern side, while nonvegetarian deities and rites are on the southern side (Dumont 1953, 264).

Moving to the east and then to the south is also moving with the sun. This is widely believed to lead to victory and all things auspicious. It is reflected in the clockwise circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) of a sacred area or object, which is kept to the right (*dakṣiṇa*) side of the wanderer. The term pradakṣiṇa occurs for the first time in the sūtra literature, and remains the predominant auspicious movement of Indian religion, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina (in contradistinction to the Tibetan Bön religion, where the auspicious circumambulation is counterclockwise). This clockwise movement has spread all over Asia and is also found elsewhere (see, e.g., Seidenberg forthcoming).

Ideally, man faces east. Hence Sanskrit dakṣiṇa, "south," means also "right"; *uttara*, "north," means also "left"; and *pratyañc*, "west," means also "behind." Ruben (1939, 288) has drawn attention to parallels from Central Asia. According to Thomsen (1924, 134), among the Turkic peoples, the principal direction is the east. Hence east is called "in front"; west, "behind"; south, "right"; and north, "left." This testimony from Turkic inscriptions in stone, found in Mongolia, is relatively late (8th century A.D.), and it is possible that it is a borrowing from the Indo-Iranians, like other vo-

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cabulary borrowings (see e.g., Burrow 1973, 24). Whether its origin is Turkic or Indo-Iranian, the Vedic nomads must have found that this orientation was in accordance with the direction of their migrations in the Indian subcontinent.

The eastward marches of the Vedic nomads were accompanied by battles, cattle raids, and the burning of forests. According to Kosambi, it would not have been possible to clear the land near the Ganges by burning: the riparian jungle was still too thick for agrarian settlement. "The main Aryan settlements therefore extended eastwards in a chain, a thin line along the Himalayan foothills to southern Nepal." The original expansion was limited to the foothills west of the Gandak river (Kosambi 1972, 90).

In the northern plain of the Ganges, the rivers flow roughly from north to south. This interrupted the burning of the forests by Agni. These events are referred to in a famous passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (1.4.1.14–17), in which the Sadānīrā is probably the same as the modern river Gandak:

> 14. Videgha Māthava was at that time on the river Sarasvatī. From there, he (Agni) went burning along this land, towards the east. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and Videgha Māthava followed him as he burned. He scorched all these rivers. The Sadānīrā, which flows from the northern mountain, that one he never burned. Of old, Brahmins never crossed it, thinking, "It was not burned by Agni Vaiśvānara."
> 15. But now, there are many Brahmins to the east of it. Then the (land) was wild, and swampy, untasted by Agni Vaiśvānara.
> 16. Now, it is cultivated, for Brahmins made Agni taste it through the rituals. But even in late summer, the river nearly rages, so cold it is, never burned by Agni Vaiśvānara.
> 17. Videgha Māthava then said (to Agni), "Where am I to live?" "Your home is to the east," he answered. Even now this river is the boundary of the Kosalas and the Videghas, for these are the descendents of Māthava.

Weber, who was the first to draw attention to this passage (1850, 170–172), has also argued that Śāṇḍilya, author of the Agnirahasya, "Secret of the Fire Altar" (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa book, X), belonged to the northwest. One reason he adduced is that books VI-X refer only as to the peoples of the northwest. Mylius (1972, 373) has confirmed this by drawing attention to Śatapatha Brāhmaṅa 9.1.2.26, which describes the climate as "freezing cold" (*praśīta*), a condition more easily applicable to the Panjab than to what is now called Uttar Pradesh. According to Weber, preoccupation with a fire cult is also more intelligible in the northwest, because of the relative proximity of the Iranians. In support of this view he referred to a term for

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measurement, *vitasti*, which is found in the Avesta and in book X of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Weber 1873, 266–267). This view may need qualification because of the subsequent excavations. The northwest was also the stronghold of the Indus civilization, and it is very likely that there was an indigenous fire cult there. Books VI to X of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are later than the other books (as shown by Minard 1936, 96, 104, extending earlier investigations by Brunnhofer). It would seem likely that this interpretation of the Agnicayana, composed in the northwest, was a response to an indigenous fire cult, with which it was partly integrated. We shall find detailed evidence in support of such a view (below pages 154–162). There is a further characteristic of the northwesterners to which Weber has drawn attention. When the nomadic tribes went further east, the caste system began to become more ramified. Later, the northwesterners were looked down upon precisely because they lacked the niceties of a sophisticated caste system (Weber 1850, 220).

One should not visualize these movements exclusively in terms of a large-scale invasion. There were frequent raids, which are reflected in the rituals, as Heesterman has shown. The rites of the "yoking offerings" (*prayujāṃ havīṃṣi*), for example, refer to the Kuru-Pañcāla people, known for their ritualistic zeal. They marched east during the cold season, seized the barley crop, fed their men and animals, and returned before the rains (cf. Rau 1957, 15; Heesterman 1957, 211; 1962, 15). It may be noted here that there is no reason to assume that the climate was very different from what it is nowadays (cf. Raikes and Dyson 1962 for the western region; Mylius 1972, 373–374 for the upper and middle Ganges plain).

Similar expeditions are reflected in the *Yātsattras,* Soma rituals that require the participants to move each day a *śamyā* throw (the śamyā is a wooden peg, used to fasten a yoke). Thus the invaders moved along the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, each time performing a ritual (Heesterman 1962, 34–35). They moved in a northeastern direction (Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa 2.297) and therefore upstream (*Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 25.10.12), since the Sarasvatī flows to the southwest. The havirdhāna and sadas sheds were moved on wheels. Since the term havirdhāna refers primarily to the Soma cart, and secondarily to the shed in which two Soma carts are installed (later more explicitly called: havirdhāna-maṇḍapa), this suggests that during these expeditions, Soma was generally transported on a cart. The Soma cart of the ritual is not a chariot with spoked wheels, but has solid wheels. Though the Vedic nomads knew spoked wheels, they adopted the best means of
PLATE 3 transport of the Indus civilization and of contemporary Sumer: a cart with solid wheels (Basham 1954, 29).

All nomads engage in raids, especially cattle raids. There is evidence for neolithic cattle raids in South India, and the stealing of cattle remained one of the great themes of the earliest Tamil literature (Allchin 1963, 172). That

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the Vedic nomads engaged in such raids is not surprising. What is interesting is that these raids, like the eastward movement of Agni, were reflected and preserved in the Vedic ritual.

A passage of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (2.299) shows that the nomads were not always victorious: during a Yātsattra, the leader was killed by huntresses (*vyādhinī*) of the Trikartas or the Salvas (tribes which lived in the region around what is now Lucknow). When members of the expedition lost heart, one of the priests admonished them: "Those who were killed went to heaven (for it was a sacrifice), and those who survived are now the most praiseworthy, for they had all been a wretched lot to begin with." As in later times and other lands, religion was at hand where worldly objectives failed.

The burning of forests creates pastures and paves the way for agriculture. The Vedas swarm with cattle and often mention agriculture (*kṛṣi*; for details, see Rau 1957, 25–26). The ritual also abounds in references to cattle: they constitute the best *dakṣiṇā*, and the bricks of the fire altar are expected to turn into cows. Agriculture is reflected in numerous rites, e.g., those which involve a plough (*sīra*). The field for Agni is ploughed before the altar is constructed. The ploughing rites are rich in symbolism that relates to agriculture, fertility, and sexuality (see e.g., Dange 1970, 73–74; 1971, ch.V, dealing with Ṛgveda 10.101). Just as fire can be installed after ploughing is over, there are many festivals where a bonfire is made after ploughing (for south India, see Allchin 1963, 133–135). Since the burning of forests leads to new pastures and agriculture, fire festivals are generally connected with cattle and fertility (for Europe and Iran, see Allchin 1963, 136–142; for Greece, Nilsson 1923).

Throughout the ritual we find expressions of the desire for space and the concern with lebensraum. In the Soma rituals, when Agni and Soma are carried forth in an easterly direction to the new offering altar, the adhvaryu recites: "This Agni must create space for me, he must go in front destroying the enemies; hotly roused he should conquer the enemies, at the booty winning he should conquer booty "(Taittirīya Saṃhitā 1.3.4.1 c, quoted by Heesterman 1962, 35). During this fire transportation (*agnipraṇayana*) other deities are also invoked. When the adhvaryu arrives at the offering fire, he offers a spoonful of clarified butter and recites: "Viṣṇu, make a wide step. Make wide space for us to live" (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 1.3.4.1 d). The same mantra is recited during the animal sacrifice when an offering is made for the sacrificial pole. The animal sacrifice itself is characterized in the following terms: "Those who perform the animal sacrifice, conquer all the worlds" (*Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* 7.1.1.). The terms for "wide" (*uru*) and "world" (*loka*) are often combined, from the Ṛgveda onward. The expression *uruṃ lokaṃ kṛ-* means: "to make wide space, room" (Gonda 1966, 23).

The term loka is Indo-European, the reconstructed original **louko* referring to a "more or less open space to which the light of day has access"

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PLATE 3

The Soma Cart

Soma is transported on a cart after it has been purchased and before it is installed on a throne and worshipped as King Soma. Though the Vedic nomads knew chariots with spoked wheels, the Soma cart has solid wheels.

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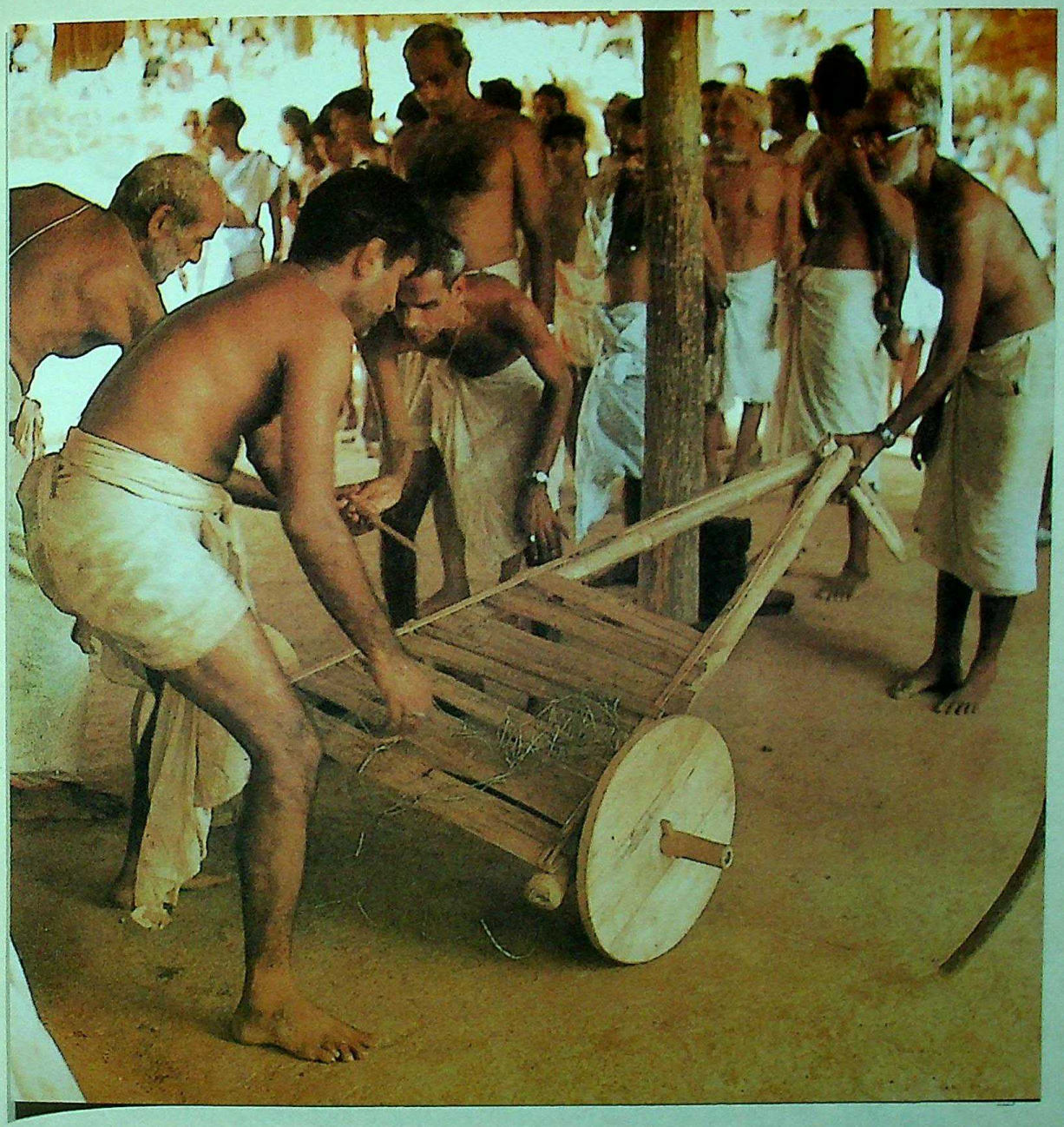

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(Gonda 1966, 9). In Latin, such a clearing was called *lucus,* which later came to mean "grove." The Romans and Umbrians placed fire in such a grove (Nagy 1974, 91). These terms are related to Latin *lux*, English "light," etc. According to Gonda, an intermediary in meaning may be Vedic *roka*, which means "light, lustre, brightness," and is also an attribute of Agni. May we go a step further and assume that it is Agni who was responsible for these clearings in the forest? Gonda does refer, in an accompanying footnote, to the making of clearings in the forest by burning, but this should presumably be read in conjunction with the solemn warning he had sounded a few pages earlier:

> At this point the question arises as to how far the importance of the Vedic *loka*-concept can be seen as a universalization of concrete social, economic, political and psychological situations in which either peaceful pastoral and cattle-breeding populations were threatened by inroads of nomadic tribes and deprived of their dwelling places, or nomads did not in endless jungles, forests and mountains succeed in finding sufficient Lebensraum for their increasing numbers. Although it may be readily conceded that the incessant struggle for means of subsistence, and especially for a sufficiency of fields and pastures can hardly fail to leave its imprint on the view of life of a community, one should guard against any exaggeration.

So far much of what I have said is summed up in the words of the Ṛgveda (1.93.6): "Agni and Soma! Strengthened by brahman, you have made ample space for the ritual." Geldner comments on this passage by saying that it reflects the spread of the Aryan cult (*das heisst sie haben den arischen Kult ausgebreitet*). Similar words are addressed to Indra and Viṣṇu (Ṛgveda 7.99.4). Gonda interprets these passages in a wider sense, stressing the general implication that the ritual should be successful (Gonda 1966, 21). This is no doubt the sense they acquired in the context of the ritual, which could not possibly have survived if it had only been a celebration of battles and raids. What we witness here, however, is a significant transition that is characteristic of ritual in general. We met with this transition in this book for the first time when we observed that the transportation of fire became ritual when it was no longer functional, because the art of making fire had been discovered. Similarly, there certainly was a time when the Vedic nomads went on expeditions that were accompanied by battles, cattle raids, forest burning, songs and recitations, ritual transportation of fire, and ritual celebrations of Soma. But when the nomads began to settle in the subcontinent and established lasting relationships with the indigenous inhabitants, the expeditions receded to the background and the accompanying activities lost their accompanying function. When the Soma also became increasingly rare (see

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next section), the ritual character of all these activities became predominant, and the success of the ritual itself became the primary concern of the participants. Thus ritual was the sole survivor and all other activities were ritualized.

Rituals tend to absorb everything that has gone before and has lost its original function. Earlier gods are also incorporated. The term uru, "wide," is found in frequent association with the all-pervading activities of Viṣṇu (Gonda 1954, 68–71). Viṣṇu has also been connected with a surveyor, and his three steps can be read into a Harappan inscription (Parpola 1976, 147–148). In the Ṛgveda, Viṣṇu is described as taking three steps, which may indicate that he was originally an independent third, and the connecting link between gods and demons and between heaven and earth (Kuiper 1962). Though he lost this function, the three steps survived in the ritual, where the yajamāna takes three steps at the end of his consecration. During the Vedic marriage ceremonies, the number is increased: bride and bridegroom take seven steps toward the northeast. The Buddha also took seven steps (immediately after he was born), and so do the shamans of Inner Asia (Eliade 1964, 405–406).

Soma is called *urugavyūti*, "with wide pasture" (Ṛgveda 9.90.4). But the god who is most closely connected with battle is Indra, the leading divinity of the Ṛgveda. With Viṣṇu, Indra shares the characteristic of "making room" (Gonda 1966, 21). Like Agni, he is aggressive and victorious. In the Soma ritual, before Agni and Soma are jointly carried forth (agnīṣomapraṇayana), Agni is carried forth by himself (agnipraṇayana), as in the animal sacrifice. During this procession the adhvaryu recites mantras for Agni, Indra, and other deities, asking strength and wealth for the yajamāna and expressing the hope that his enemies will be slain (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.6.3). If the Soma ritual includes an Agnicayana, another recitation is added during the carrying forth of Agni: the "second hotā" (one of the other priests: see Caland's note to Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 17.14.7) recites a long hymn to Indra, the *Apratiratha* or "Song to the irresistible warrior" (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.6.4). The verses of this Taittirīya recitation correspond to a large extent to a late hymn of the Ṛgveda (10.103), attributed to "Indra's son Apratiratha," which is, in Geldner's words, "a vigorous battle song addressed to soldiers leaving on a campaign" (*ein urwüchsiges . . . Schlachtlied, das den ausziehenden Soldaten nachgesungen wird*). The remainder of Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.6.4 is made up of verse from another Ṛgvedic hymn (6.75) that glorifies battle. In the Apratiratha recitation, the background of the agnipraṇayana ceremony becomes explicit. Indra is invoked as a victorious warrior or hero, "fond of slaughter, disturber of people," who—with the help of his arrows, chariots, and troups—destroys the enemies. When the second hotā recites: "Comrades, follow in Indra's footsteps!" he sounds less like an officiating priest than like a gang leader or commander-in-chief. This hymn of battle refers in passing to dakṣiṇā, sacrifice, and Soma,

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which were clearly associated with the expedition, side by side with cattle raids, the killing of enemies, and the provision of lebensraum ("Yours will be space wider than wide!").

If it is true that there was an earlier stage of development, during which battles and victories were real, and a later stage, by which time they had become ritual, it should be possible to determine—if not in absolute terms, at least with reference to our texts—when the first stage was completed and the second began. It would seem probable, for example, that the earlier Saṃhitā literature reflected real battles, which, by the time of the ritual sūtras, had become fully ritualized. However, this is not the case. What we find instead is an inextricable mixture. In the Saṃhitā we meet with phrases that in spite of their military bearing, are already ritualized. In the śrauta sūtras there are, side by side with ritual descriptions, passages that can only make sense in a warlike context.

An example of the former is the mantra of Taittirīya Saṃhitā 1.3.1.1 c: "He who hates us and whom we hate, here I cut off his neck." This is commented upon in several brāhmaṇas (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 6.1.8.4; cf. 6.2.10.2; 6.3.9.2), e.g.: "There are two persons: one whom he hates, and one who hates him. Surely, he should cut off the necks of both, successively." This mantra, which is frequently recited, has a purely ritual use: it is recited when the soil is prepared for sacrificial use with the help of a ritual implement, the wooden knife (*sphya*). This rite is put in perspective by another brāhmaṇa (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 2.6.4.3), which explains that the enemy has to be excluded from the altar, adding that the making of an altar is a cruel act.

Though the description of the śrauta sūtras is concerned with ritual, there are occasional references to enemies of flesh and blood. When the clay for the ukhā pot is being collected, the adhvaryu should recite, among others, a very innocent sounding mantra: "In the way of the Aṅgirases, we are going to fetch Agni hidden in the mud" (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.1.2.2 g). When should this mantra be recited? When an enemy (*dveṣya*) is met on the way (Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 16.2.6, with Caland's note; cf. Heesterman 1967, 37; Keith 1914, 290, note 5). Similarly, when the ground for the fire altar is being prepared, the adhvaryu casts lumps of clay around, turning clockwise, and taking the last lump from the direction of his enemy (Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 16.20.6; cf. Keith 1914, 318 note 9). Here the corresponding brāhmaṇa (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.2.5.6) merely states that the person who is in that quarter is hungry. Such references to enemies in the śrauta sūtras are not to ritual enemies or demons, as students of religion may be predisposed to expect. These enemies are real people, belonging to the original population. Heesterman has established the significance of several such passages, to which I shall return in a later section.

Rau (1957, 31) has some worthwhile things to say about many widespread prejudices with regard to the Vedic Indians. Life in those days was not

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easy, neither for the Vedic nomads nor for the people they encountered. The Vedic texts repeatedly assert that the greatest enemy of man is hunger. The struggle for land and lebensraum was a struggle for survival. Rau concluded that there is no evidence in support of the view that the Vedic Indians "lived in a land of plenty, and had nothing better to do than lie under trees in lovely natural settings, meditate on questions of metaphysics and kneel before lotus flowers as gentle and beautiful people" (*lebten . . . in einem Schlaraffenland and hatten nichts anders zu tun, als in landschaftlich lieblichen Gegenden, unter Baumen gelagert, den Problemen der Metaphysik nachzusinnen oder als schöne, stille Menschen vor Lotusblumen zu knien*).

It is not surprising that the ritual is not merely compared to a chariot, but that the ritual implements are considered weapons (Heesterman 1962, 35). As we have already seen, the ritual recitations from the Ṛgveda were called śastra, a term derived from the verbal śaṃs-, "recite," which is homonymous with śastra, "sword," from śaṣ-, "cut down." The Vedic nomads fought battles on many levels.

SOMA

So far we have met with Soma in a variety of contexts. We have seen that the Vedic Indians evolved a hierarchy of Soma rituals. In each of these, Agni and Soma are the chief dramatis personae. They also occur among the ancient Iranians. In India, an Agnicayana may be optionally built in the place of the offering altar for the āhavanīya fire of a Soma ritual. In this book, the Agnicayana will receive more attention than the Soma rituals, partly because of limitations of space, and partly because the prototype of the Soma rituals, the Agniṣṭoma, has been fully described by Caland and Henry. However, one cannot but agree with Wasson that "it cannot be gainsaid that Vedic culture with Soma unidentified is the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out" (Wasson 1968, 7).

We have seen that Soma is a god, a plant, and the liquid extracted from that plant. From the Brāhmaṇas onwards, the ritualists made use of substitutes for the original Soma. These include Ephedra, Sarcostemma, and other creepers and plants without particularly remarkable properties. There are now two serious theories regarding the identity of the original Soma: Wasson's theory that it was the hallucinogenic mushroom *Amanita muscaria*, or fly agaric (Wasson 1968), and Flattery's theory that it was the hallucinogenic plant *Peganum harmala*, or wild rue (Flattery, forthcoming). Wasson's book is widely available, and Mr. Flattery has given me access to the manuscript of his book prior to its publication. This is not the place to adjudicate between the two theories, which are both presented and argued with great skill and with considerable amounts of evidence (mostly Indian in the case

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of Wasson, and Iranian in the case of Flattery). Although Flattery's work may not be published before the present work appears, Wasson's has already been widely discussed. Wasson's identification has been accepted or regarded as probable by some Sanskrit scholars (Kuiper 1970, Ingalls 1971), and rejected by at least one other (Brough 1971), and he has replied to his critics (Wasson 1970, 1972). Wasson's thesis implies, but is not implied by, a weaker thesis, namely that the original Vedic Soma was a hallucinogenic plant. I regard this as the most important part of Wasson's hypothesis, the part, moreover, that has not to my knowledge been seriously challenged. It is certainly accepted by Flattery. I think, in fact, that the validity of this weaker thesis can be taken as established.

One of Wasson's arguments in support of the view that Soma was the fly agaric is the shamanistic use of the fly agaric as a hallucinogen in different parts of Siberia. Though Brough has ruled out the probative value of such parallels (Brough 1971, 332), it cannot be denied that circumstantial evidence of this type is obviously evidence too (as Brough accepts at least in practice). Moreover, in the domain of a historical hypothesis, we cannot expect anything like a final proof; we are dealing with degrees of probability. Flattery, too, has referred to parallels, without even ascribing possible historical connections. The chief active drug in *Peganum harmala* is harmine, which is also the main active ingredient in *Banisteriopsis*, the *yajé* of the upper Amazon (Flattery, §§ 36–38). The connections between the beliefs of the Vedic nomads and shamanistic beliefs, to which I have referred several times, add to the plausibility of Wasson's hypothesis, but they also support Flattery's theory: *Peganum harmala* is available, in fact conspicuous, throughout the "Greater Iranian area," viz., "west of China, north of India, east of the civilizations of Mesopotamia . . . , and south of the subarctic forests of Siberia" (Flattery, §§ 28, 42–45).

Like the use and worship of fire, the use and worship of hallucinogens takes us back to the prehistory and early history of mankind. Though archaelogical evidence for the use of hallucinogens is scarce, historical evidence from various areas is available, and anthropological evidence is plentiful. The sum of evidence points to a human experience almost as ancient and widespread as the experience of fire. That this has been discovered only recently is due to recent fashions, but also to the scarcity of material evidence in combination with the bias of our own culture, which regards material evidence as more patently obvious than psychological evidence.

The use of mushrooms is attested for the Neolithic (Boletes in the Swiss lake-dwelling cultures). We have already noted the ancient uses of fungi as tinder in the process of fire making. "Mushroom stones" from the Mayas, in what are now Mexico and Guatemala, constitute the oldest evidence for the cult of a hallucinogenic mushroom. The earliest of these stones date from the thirteenth to the tenth century B.C., the latest from 800–900 A.D.

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5. Origin and Significance

The Mayan mushroom stones generally represent a mushroom on top of an animal and are 20 to 35 centimeters high (Heim 1963, 206).

The idea of a herb of immortality, most probably a hallucinogen, is at least as old as the Sumerian Gilgamesh epic, which takes us back to about 2,000 B.C. Wasson has suggested that the Taoist belief in "magic mushrooms" constitutes evidence of systematic ritual use of hallucinogenic substances, and Needham has endorsed this view (Needham 1974, V, 121). Needham also suggests that the Taoists generated hallucinogenic smokes in their incense burners (ibid., 150–154). In recent times, the use of hallucinogens of plant origin has been found in all parts of the world, especially in the Americas (for a survey see Schultes 1969). Apart from mushrooms (see especially Heim 1963), these include cacti, shrubs, various leguminous trees, and seeds that are eaten, drunk, smoked, or sniffed. Many of these plants are considered sacred. The Mexican Indians regarded them as mediators with the gods. The Chontal Indians of Oaxaca call their hallucinogenic shrub "leaf of god," and the Aztecs refer to the sacred mushroom as "god's flesh" (Schultes 1969, 254; Wasson 1972, 47). In a characteristic reversal, the Christian invaders of Mexico called the Aztec *ololiuqui* (Morning Glory) a "diabolic seed" (Schultes 252).

One of the best arguments for the hallucinogenic character of Soma is the Vedic distinction between the effects of Soma and the effects of *surā*, a fermented drink. While Soma leads to "ecstasy," "happiness," or "rapture" (*mada*, *sumada*), surā produces "evil intoxication" (*durmada*). O'Flaherty refers in this connection to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 5.1.2.10: "Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and surā untruth, misery, darkness" (Wasson 1968, 95, 137, etc.). The surā beverage is used in some of the classical Vedic rituals, e.g., in the Vājapeya and in the Sautrāmaṇī.

In the Vedic rituals, Soma is introduced into the sacrificial enclosure at the ceremony of *somakraya*, "purchase of Soma." The Soma merchant and the adhvaryu (on behalf of the yajamāna) engage in ritual haggling about the price, but in the end the Soma stalks are taken away by force and the merchant is beaten with a stick and driven away. According to Renou, these ceremonies show that the traffic in Soma may at one time have been illegal. At the same time we are reminded of the fact that Soma, like Agni, was considered stolen from heaven, and again stolen back from the demons (O'Flaherty 1976, 99–104).

According to the Ṛgveda, Soma is the elixir of life, indispensable for both men and gods. It is *amṛtam*, the draught of immortality. This term is Indo-European: amṛtam (English "immortality") corresponds, for example, to the Greek *ἀμβροσία* (for the development of these and related words in Sanskrit and Greek, see Thieme 1952, 15–34). Indra is especially fond of Soma. Soma and Agni are in many ways connected, as we have seen. Soma has various properties in common with other Vedic gods. He is treated as a king and invoked as a fighting god, a valiant commander, a hero, and a

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destroyer of enemies (Gonda 1965, 52). Soma, in this respect again similar to Agni, was brought down from heaven by a bird of prey (śyena).

The Iranian evidence seems to suggest that the haoma was fairly common. According to the Ṛgveda, the Soma plant grew in the mountains, and the best Soma came from Mount Mūjavant (which probably corresponds to the Muñjavant of the later epic). The mountains referred to are presumably those of the Western Himalayas and the Hindukush. That Soma, according to the Ṛgveda, grew in the mountains is consistent with Wasson's hypothesis. Though the fly agaric grows at sea level in northern Eurasia, it is found south of the Oxus and in India only at a great height, around 8,000 to 16,000 feet (Wasson 1968, 23, referring to birches and conifers, with which the fly agaric grows in mycorrhizal relation). If we had some means of identifying the routes that the Indo-Iranians travelled, it would be worthwhile to look there, even at present, for *Amanita muscaria* and other hallucinogenic plants. Actually, we do have some evidence, provided we assume that the Indo-Europeans followed some of the same ancient trade routes that Buddhism travelled two millenia later in the opposite direction.

The relative ease with which Buddhism entered Central Asia and was accepted there may make us pause and reflect on the significance of these mountainous areas where the Soma grew. Vedic culture is generally approached from two perspectives: a linguistic perspective that stresses the Indo-European background, and a religious perspective that stresses the Hindu sequel. The history of India and Central Asia taken together shows that such labels are misleading and that the Buddhist migrations are part of the story. Not only Central-Asian Buddhism, but Buddhism in general, contains many elements that are shamanistic. It is becoming increasingly clear that the Vedic nomads introduced shamanistic elements into India. Though Buddhism is generally characterized as a reaction against the Vedic religion, this is a rather sweeping generalization. Closer inspection of the facts would show that there has been at least as much continuity as there has been opposition. The myths of Indra and the legends of the Buddha, for example, have many features in common. The techniques of immortality, which evolved in the Upaniṣads from a ritual background, are similar to Yoga and to Buddhist techniques. Many of these notions contain shamanistic elements that the Vedic nomads took from Central Asia to India, and that the Buddhists took back 2,000 years later. From the perspective of Central Asia, these shamanistic ideas and practices, which continued to exist in their original homeland, merely returned after a long holiday in India. The labels we attach to the major civilizations and religions of the area obscure the fact that the underlying reality is probably better described as a continuous exchange of people, goods, and ideas between India and Central Asia.

India is often pictured as an isolated country, separated from the rest of the world by a formidable barrier of mountains. Though this often leads

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to the unnecessary assumption that India is a land of mystery, there is some truth in the geographical observation. At the same time, it should not be exaggerated. The western route linking the Indus and the Oxus, passing through northeast Afghanistan, though long, is not very arduous. Further east, the valley of the upper Indus in what is now Ladakh (northwest India) and the Tarim basin in what is now Sinkiang (western China) are separated by about 250 miles of mountainous tracks. Even with a pass of 18,000 feet on the way, such a distance can be covered on foot in less than a month, at least during the summer.

Now let us follow the story of Soma after it entered the Indian subcontinent. The original Soma was soon lost. From the period of the Brāhmaṇas, it was replaced by substitutes, because the Vedic nomads had left the mountains (Wasson), or at any rate the "Greater Iranian area" (Flattery), and Soma did not grow in the Indian plains. It is significant that with the gradual disappearance of the original Soma the rituals became increasingly complex. Similar circumstances prevail elsewhere. The best Peyote comes from the Rio Grande Valley, where it also grows most abundantly. The Indians of the southern tribes go on ceremonial collection trips to get it. But the Indians of the northern tribes are further away, have to secure their supply through the mail, and incorporate less Peyote in their ceremonies. At the same time, they begin their ceremonies with purification by means of purges, sweat baths, and fasting. Fischer (1958, 401) has suggested that these additional ceremonies, together with the more limited quantities of Peyote, serve the purpose of producing an experience of similar intensity as that evoked solely by larger doses of Peyote. Heim (1963, 211) reports that the Mexicans perform two kinds of rituals in connection with their hallucinogenic mushrooms: in one, only mushrooms are consumed; in the other, mushrooms are consumed, but there is also a distribution of grains of maize. This second variety is *imprégné de processus magique*. Closer to home, announcements of rock concerts boast that the audience will get high without the use of drugs. In all these cases, ritual takes over where the hallucinogen itself is in limited supply or is altogether absent. Ṛgveda 7.26.1 asserts that the effects of Soma do not depend on mere ingestion: "Soma unpressed has never inebriated Indra, nor the pressed juice unaccompanied by sacred hymns." It seems likely, therefore, that the increasing complexity of the Soma rituals is a direct consequence of the decreasing availability of the original Soma (cf. Staal 1975, 182–183). Again we witness a development similar to what we found before. This time a substance that is no longer available is preserved, but only ritually.

A simple example of such ritualization is the *Āpyāyana* rite. From the time Soma is purchased and enthroned south of the (old) offering altar until the Soma-pressing day, this rite is performed twice daily, in the morning and in the evening preceding the Pravargya. First the agnīdh boils water. All the priests, except the Sāmavedins, wash their hands in that water. Then,

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one by one, standing to the west of the Soma bundle, they touch King Soma and recite: "Stem for stem, O god Soma, swell for Indra who gains his share of wealth. Let Indra swell for you, and you swell for Indra" (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 1.2.11.1 a). The yajamāna adds: "Make your friends swell with booty and skill; may I successfully accomplish your pressing, O god Soma" (ibid. b). From the first time this rite is performed until the time when Soma and Agni are carried forth to the new offering altar, the priests should wash their hands only in boiled water.

The texts mention an alternative to the mere recitation of these mantras: the recitations may be accompanied by sprinkling the Soma bundle with the same warm water that had been boiled. Here lies the origin of the rite. The Soma plants were dried at the time they were acquired and had to swell by gradually absorbing water. In the course of the process of ritualization, Soma is no longer sprinkled with water but it is sprinkled with mantras. This is characteristic of Vedic ritual and reflects the Vedic belief in the power of language. For most ritual purposes, performing an act in words is as good as acting. In later times, rites are entirely replaced by recitations and, in the final resort, by inaudible meditations.

The Āpyāyana rite supports Wasson's hypothesis in a direct way. Two of the psychotropically active ingredients of *Amanita muscaria* are ibotenic acid and muscimol:

> When the fly agaric dries, the ibotenic acid steadily disintegrates and disappears. It is replaced by muscimol, *which is at least five times more powerful*. Thus we have the unique situation where a psychotomimetic agent converts itself through simple drying into another active agent that is more potent by far and more stable (Wasson 1972, 12).

The quantity of muscimol which has thus been reached remains constant when the substance is again mixed with water, milk, curds, or other liquids.

It is likely that the precise treatment that the Soma substitutes receive in the ritual process leading up to the extraction of the juice will throw additional light on the identity of the original Soma. Such manipulations would have been preserved in ritual even if they were no longer functional, for as we have seen many times, preservation of features that have ceased to be functional is one of the chief characteristics of ritual. The exact quantities and proportions used in mixtures are, moreover, important in determining the psychotropic properties of hallucinogens (Waser 1967, 435, for example, reports considerable differences when the effects of 10 mg. muscimol are compared with those of 15 mg.). It is therefore relevant to determine how the Soma was measured and mixed with other substances.

While the geographical origin of Soma lies in the high mountains of the western Himalayas, its mythical origin lies in heaven. This belief expresses

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the divine character of Soma and links it directly to Agni. Here the background is not only shamanistic (as Wasson has shown) but also Indo-European, the two probably being related (cf. Map A). In his famous book on the descent of fire and the divine beverage (1859, already, quoted), Adalbert Kuhn has shown that in all the major Indo-European languages—among the Indians, Greeks, Romans, and Germans—similar ideas are found about the celestial origin of fire and of the draught of immortality. Both originate primarily in clouds, from which lightning and rain come down. The celestial fire is also related to the sun and is conceived in terms of kindling by friction. The kindling stick is the thunderbolt, which is known by various names: *vajra* among the Indians, *κεραυνός* among the Greeks, *cuneus* among the Romans, and *Donnerkeil* among the Germans. The phallic character of these objects, though not emphasized by Kuhn, springs to mind.

The drink of immortality (amṛta, *ἀμβροσία*) descends from heaven in a similar manner. The Indian myths of the churning of the ocean show that the production of this elixir is thought of in terms similar to the production of fire by friction. The bird of prey—an eagle, vulture, or falcon—which brings the draught and fire down to earth, is associated with a celestial tree in which he has his nest and whose branches provide the torch in which fire is transported. In Europe the celestial tree is often an ash. As we have seen, the theft of fire and Soma is generally attributed to a bird, but may also be attributed to a personage such as Prometheus, whose name Kuhn related to the kindling stick (pramanthana).

The Ṛgveda relates how the bird brought Soma down to earth from a mountain. Since Soma is a person, this act has the character of an abduction, as Schneider (1971) has stressed. The bird helped Indra to obtain Soma, and both boasted of their prowess, as did Prometheus (above pages 84–85). In general, such legends are interwoven with references to numerous other stories. Some of these are no longer understood, and I shall not try to make them intelligible. In the following two hymns from the Ṛgveda, a demon, Śambara, is mentioned, who was also interested in Soma and tried to keep the bird from getting it. The chief enemy of Śambara was Divodāsa Atithigva. Puraṃdhi, possibly "giving fullness," refers to the bird.

Ṛgveda 4.26 is spoken by Indra (the translation mostly follows Schneider 1971):

1. I became Manu and Sūrya; I am Kakṣivat, the wise seer; I invited Kutsa, the son of Arjuna; I am the inspired Uśanas—look at me!

अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चा-
ऽहं कक्षीवाँ ऋषिरस्मि विप्रः ।
अहं कुत्समार्जुनेयं न्यृञ्जे-
ऽहं कविरुशना पश्यता मा ॥

2. I gave the earth to the Āryas; I gave rain to the mortal who offers sacrifice. I brought the thundering waters; the gods follow my purpose.

अहं भूमिमददामार्यायाः
ऽहं वृष्टिं दाशुषे मर्त्याय ।
अहमपो अनयं वावशाना
मम देवासो अनुकेतमायन् ॥

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3. Ecstatic with Soma, I shattered the ninety-nine fortresses of Śambara all at once, and finally his citadel as the hundredth, helping Divodāsa Atithigva.

अहं पुरो मन्दसानो व्यैरं
नवं साकं नवतीः शम्बरस्य ।
शततमं वेश्यं सर्वताता
दिवोदासमतिथिग्वं यदावम् ॥

4. O Maruts, let the bird with lovely wings be above all birds, the swift-flying griffon above all griffons, since—by his own driving power that needs no chariot wheels—he brought Manu the oblation offered to the gods.

प्र सु ष विभ्यो मरुतो विरस्तु
प्र श्येनः श्येनेभ्य आशुपत्वा ।
अचक्रया यत् स्वधया सुपर्णो
हव्यं भरन्मनवे देवजुष्टम् ॥

5. Trembling, whether he could bring it down, the bird swift as thought shot forth on the wide path; swiftly the griffon came with the Soma honey and won fame for that.

भरद् यदि विरतो वेविजानः
पथोरुणा मनोजवा असर्जि ।
तूयं ययौ मधुना सोम्येनो-
त श्रवो विविदे श्येनो अत्र ॥

6. Stretching out in flight, holding the sprout, the griffon brought the inebriating and gladdening drink; the bird, companion of the gods, held the Soma tight as he took it from that higher heaven.

ऋजीपी श्येनो ददमानो अंशुं
परावतः शकुनो मन्द्रं मदम् ।
सोमं भरद् दाद्हाणो देवावान्
दिवो अमुष्मादुत्तरादादाय ॥

7. When the griffon had taken the Soma, he brought it, a thousand and ten thousand sacrificial draughts at once; Puramdhi left the enemies behind; ecstatic with Soma, the wise one left the fools.

आदाय श्येनो अभरत् सोमं
सहस्रा सवाँ अयुतं च साकम् ।
अत्रा पुरंधिरजहादरातीर्-
मदे सोमस्य मूरा अमूरः ॥

The next hymn, Ṛgveda 4.27, is spoken by Soma:

1. While still in the womb of my mother, I knew all the successive generations of the gods. A hundred iron fortresses guarded me, but the griffon and I swiftly flew away.

गर्भे नु सन्नन्वेषामवेद-
महं देवानां जनिमानि विश्वा ।
शतं मा पुर आयसीररक्ष-
न्नधं श्येनो जवसा निरदीयम् ॥

2. He did not drag me out against my will, for I surpassed him in energy and strength. In a flash, Puramdhi left the enemies behind, as he outran the winds, swollen (with Soma).

न घा स मामप जोषं जभारा-
ऽभीमांस त्वक्षसा वीर्येण ।
ईर्मा पुरंधिरजहादरातीर्-
उत वाताँ अतरच्छूशुवानः ॥

3. As the griffon came shrieking down from heaven, or from here, they carried Puramdhi. As the archer Kṛśanu, with swift thought, slackened his bowstring and shot at him.

अव यच्छ्येनो अस्वनीदध द्यो-
र्वि यद् यदि वात ऊहुः पुरंधिम् ।
सृजद् यदस्मा अव ह क्षिपज्ज्यां
कृशानुरस्ता मनसा भुरण्यन् ॥

4. The griffon, stretching out in swift flight, brought Soma down from the great heights to Indra's camp, as the Aśvins brought

ऋजिप्य ईमिन्द्रावतो न भुज्युं
श्येनो जभार बृहतो अधि ष्णोः ।

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Bhujyu out of the sea; inside fell a wing feather from the bird as he kept the course of his flight.

अन्तः पतत् पतत्र्यस्य पर्ण-
मध्व यामंनि प्रसितस्य तद् वेः ॥

5. The white goblet overflowing with Soma mixed with cow's milk, the clear juice offered by the adhvaryus, the finest honey—now let the generous Indra raise it to drink until ecstatic with Soma; let the hero raise it to drink until ecstatic with Soma.

अर्धं श्वेतं कलशं गोभिरक्त-
मापिप्यानं मघवा शुक्रमन्धः ।
अध्वर्युभिः प्रयतं मध्वो अग्र-
मिन्द्रो मदाय प्रति धत् पिबध्यै
शूरो मदाय प्रति धत् पिबध्यै ॥

The basic conviction underlying the Soma rituals is the belief that drinking Soma yields immortality. This belief is still alive. In the course of an interview on the significance of the ritual, Cherumukku Vaidikan, chief organizer of the 1975 performance, recited the relevant verse from the Ṛgveda (8.48.3; cf. below, page 617):

> We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal,
> We have come to the light, we have found the gods.
> What can the enmity, what can the intrigue
> of any mortal do to us now, o immortal one?

THE COSMIC MAN

EGGELING (1897, IV, xiv-xv) WAS PROBABLY the first to suggest that the Agnicayana is connected with a late hymn of the Ṛgveda, the *Puruṣa-sūkta* or "Hymn of the Cosmic Man" (Ṛgveda 10.90). This hymn is relatively recent because it occurs in the tenth and most recent book of the Ṛgveda, and because it refers by name to the three Vedas (ṛk, sāman, and yajus) and (for the first and only time in the Ṛgveda) to the four classes (*brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya*, and *śūdra*). The Puruṣasūkta is attributed to a seer called Nārāyaṇa, and consists of sixteen verses:

1. Puruṣa has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. He pervades the earth everywhere and extends beyond for ten fingers' breadth.

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् ।
स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वाऽत्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गुलम् ॥

2. Puruṣa himself is all this, whatever has been, and whatever is to be. He is the lord of immortality and also lord of that which grows on food.

पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यम् ।
उतामृतत्वस्येशानो यदन्नेनातिरोहति ॥

3. Such is his greatness, and Puruṣa is yet greater than this. All creatures make up a quarter of him; three quarters are the immortal in heaven.

एतावानस्य महिमाऽतो ज्यायाँश्च पूरुषः ।
पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ॥

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4. With three quarters Puruṣa has risen above, and one quarter of him still remains here, whence he spread out everywhere, pervading that which eats and that which does not eat.

त्रिपादूर्ध्व उदैत् पुरुषः पादोऽस्येहाभवत् पुनः।
ततो विष्वङ् व्यक्रामत् साशनानशने अभि॥

5. From him Virāj was born, and from Virāj came Puruṣa, who, having been born, ranged beyond the earth in the west and in the east.

तस्माद्विराळजायत विराजो अधि पूरुषः।
स जातो अत्यरिच्यत पश्चाद्भूमिमथो पुरः॥

6. When the gods performed the sacrifice, using Puruṣa as the offering, spring was the clarified butter, summer the fuel, autumn the oblation.

यत् पुरुषेण हविषा देवा यज्ञमतन्वत।
वसन्तो अस्यासीदाज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद्धविः॥

7. They sprinkled Puruṣa, the sacrifice, born at the beginning, upon the sacred grass. With him the gods, Sādhyas, and sages sacrificed.

तं यज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रौक्षन् पुरुषं जातमग्रतः।
तेन देवा अयजन्त साध्या ऋषयश्च ये॥

8. From that sacrifice in which everything was offered the clarified butter was obtained, and they made it into those beasts who live in the air, in the forest, and in villages.

तस्माद्यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः संभृतं पृषदाज्यम्।
पशून् ताँश्चक्रे वायव्यानारण्यान् ग्राम्याश्च ये॥

9. From that sacrifice in which everything was offered the verses and chants were born, the meters were born, and the formulas were born.

तस्माद्यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे।
छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्माद्यजुस्तस्मादजायत॥

10. From it horses were born, and those other animals that have a double set of incisors; cows were born from it, and goats and sheep were born from it.

तस्मादश्वा अजायन्त ये के चोभयादतः।
गावो ह जज्ञिरे तस्मात् तस्माज्जाता अजावयः॥

11. When they divided Puruṣa, into how many parts did they disperse him? What became of his mouth, what of his arms, what were his two thighs and his two feet called?

यत् पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयन्।
मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू का ऊरू पादा उच्येते॥

12. His mouth was the brahmin, his arms were made into the chieftains, his two thighs were the tribesmen, and from his feet the servants were born.

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत॥

13. The moon was born from his mind; the sun was born from his eye. From his mouth came Indra and Agni, and from his breath the Wind was born.

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षोः सूर्यो अजायत।
मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुरजायत॥

14. From his navel the atmosphere was born; from his head the heaven appeared. From

नाभ्या आसीदन्तरिक्षं शीर्ष्णो द्यौः समवर्तत।

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his two feet came the earth, and the regions of the sky from his ear. Thus they fashioned the worlds.

पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशः श्रोत्रात् तथा लोकाँ अकल्पयन्॥

15. There were seven enclosing fire sticks for him, and thrice seven fire sticks when the gods, performing the sacrifice, bound down Puruṣa as the sacrificial victim.

सप्तास्यासन् परिधयस्त्रिः सप्त समिधः कृताः।
देवा यद्यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन् पुरुषं पशुम्॥

16. With this sacrifice the gods sacrificed; these were the first dharmas. And these powers reached the dome of heaven where dwell the ancient Sādhyas and gods.

यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवा-
स्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन्।
ते ह नाकं महिमानः सचन्त
यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः सन्ति देवाः॥

In other cultures, similar primeval giants are regarded as the origin and material cause of the universe. Within the Indo-European family, such a giant occurs in Norse mythology, where he is called Ymir, and in Iran, where he is called Gayōmart. Gayōmărt was the first man, and in some respects quite different from Puruṣa. As for the mythical similarities between Gayōmart and Puruṣa, "there seems to be every reason to believe that this is a case of Indian influence on Iranian thought" (Zaehner 1955, 137). According to Norman Brown (1931), the Puruṣa of Ṛgveda 10.90 does not draw his importance, either genetically or ideologically, from any connection with such Indo-European relatives. Brown (1931, 114) has argued that Puruṣa is "most significantly a secondary derivation from notions established antecedently in the Ṛgveda." In particular, Puruṣa is a combination of characteristics derived from Agni, Sūrya (the Sun), and Viṣṇu. For a detailed demonstration of this view, as well as detailed comments on individual verses of the Puruṣa hymn, the reader is referred to Brown's study.

The idea of a cosmic sacrifice, in which a primeval person creates the world through his own sacrifice and dismemberment, is the basic theory of ritual adopted in the Brāhmaṇas. Here Prajāpati takes the place of Puruṣa. We have already seen how Śāṇḍilya expressed these ideas with special reference to the Agnicayana (above pages 65, 67). Several specific features of the Agnicayana refer to Puruṣa. The most important is the golden Puruṣa (hiraṇmayapuruṣa), who is buried under the first layer. When he is laid down, the Puruṣa-sāman is sung. Though this sāman comes from the Araṇyageyagāna section of the Sāmaveda (consisting of "songs to be sung in the forest"), and consists almost entirely of stobhas (meaningless syllables), the word *sahasra*, "thousand," occurs in it and reminds us of the Puruṣa hymn. When the altar is completed and the yajamāna is about to wish that the bricks turn into cows, the adhvaryu puts a thousand pieces of gold on the altar with the recitation of Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.4.11.3o: "You are the measure of a thousand, you are the image of a thousand, you are the size of a thousand, you are the replica of a thousand, you are of a thousand, you for a thousand!" This is also reminiscent of Ṛgveda 10.90. Furthermore,

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at the sacrifice of the he-goat for Prajāpati in the Agnicayana, the number of firewood sticks prescribed is twenty-one or twenty-four, which is in accordance with verse 15 of the Puruṣa hymn (see Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.1.8.5; the number of beans put in the openings of the human head is also twenty-one).

The term Puruṣa occurs in four other hymns of the Ṛgveda, once in a general sense and three times in an Agni context (Brown 1931, 108–109). Prajāpati, "lord of creatures" (originally "lord of offspring"? Oldenberg 1919, 27) also appears four times in the Ṛgveda, all occurrences in the tenth book. One passage may have been added later as an answer to the preceding part of the hymn with its repeated refrain: "Who is the god we shall worship with oblations?" The answer is: Prajāpati (Ṛgveda 10.121.10). The Puruṣa hymn occurs in the Atharvaveda (Renou 1955a, 436–438) and elsewhere in Vedic literature. Puruṣa is later identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa (Shende 1965).

Prajāpati as the creator god incorporates earlier ideas of creation in the Ṛgveda. The mythology of Yama, "Death," is replete with notions of creation and self-immolation (Dandekar 1945). The complex of Ṛgvedic myths that describe the fight between Indra and the demon Vṛtra, can be interpreted in terms of (Indo-European) creation myths (e.g., Brown 1942). But this mythology also admits a more specific interpretation. In a note to a passage where Indra is described as freeing rivers for man (Ṛgveda 1.165.8), Geldner referred to the Aryan invasion. Kosambi (1956, 70–71), following Renou and Benveniste's analysis of the meaning of *vṛtra* as "obstacle," "barrage," or "bloquage," interpreted the slaying of Vṛtra as the breaking up of dams. According to Kosambi, the fight is not with demons, but shows that the Aryans destroyed the system of dams upon which the indigenous irrigation and agriculture depended. Indra, in that case, is not creator of the universe but creator of lebensraum for the Vedic nomads.

In the Yajurveda, Atharvaveda (cf. Renou 1955, 31–48), and in many Brāhmaṇas, Prajāpati has become creator god, god of sacrifice, and sacrifice itself. After procreating the beings that make up this world, he is spent and empty, and has to be strengthened again through ritual. This is elaborated in various myths, on which Keith comments with characteristic charity: "the details of these stupid myths are wholly unimportant" (Keith 1925, 442).

Sylvain Lévi noted that Prajāpati's creative activity is generally expressed by the verb *sṛj/sarj*, "emit, discharge," and often by *nir-mā*, "mete out, measure, build" (1898 = 1966, 18; for the following see Lévi 1898, 13–35, and Oldenberg 1919, 26–32). We have already seen that there may be a reference to the surveying of land. The same terms are used in any case when the adhvaryu measures the mahāvedi. There are other accounts of Prajāpati's dismemberment and of his parts becoming parts of the universe. Elsewhere, his creative activity is described in sexual terms. As he is the father, this

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involves incest, in particular with his daughter. He also unites with Vāc, "speech, language," for the act of creation is as inseparable from creative language as ritual act is from mantra.

Prajāpati created the gods, who subsequently put him together again through sacrifice. Agni is born first, from Prajāpati's mouth. But since Agni is the eater of food, viz., the devourer of everything, Prajāpati reflected: "there is no other food here but myself—but surely he would never eat me." But Agni, the ungrateful child, turned to him with wide open mouth and Prajāpati, terrified, could only save himself by reproducing himself. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 2.2.4 relates this when commenting upon the Agnihotra ritual: whoever performs the Agnihotra, knowing this, "reproduces himself by offspring just as Prajāpati reproduced himself; and saves himself from Agni, Death, about to devour him" (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 2.2.4.7). Because of this, rebirth and regeneration are cyclical, and Prajāpati is identified with the year, or with time. He is also "definite and indefinite," or only "indefinite"; and "limited and unlimited," or only "unlimited."

Despite vague similarities with the Greek Kronos and the Iranian Zurvan, both connected with time, it seems fair to say that Prajāpati, even if consistent with other Ṛgvedic notions, has no clear Indo-European or even Indo-Iranian counterparts. He is rather loosely connected with the Soma ritual: "He plays only a very unimportant role in the sequence of Soma rituals, which have been relatively well fixed from early times on. Undoubtedly, the references to him have superficially been inserted afterwards" (*In dem von altersher vergleichweise fest geordneten Somaopfer spielt er nur eine ganz nebensächliche Rolle. Unzweifelhaft sind die Beziehungen auf ihn da nur nachträglich und oberflächlich eingefügt*: Oldenberg 1919, 31).

The idea of a god sacrificing himself is preserved in the ritual: the sacrificer, or yajamāna, is sometimes identified with the sacrificial victim. Coomaraswamy (1942) has collected some of the relevant passages (providing them with interpretations which Gonda (1960, 193 note 24), calls "confused and debatable in their details": *verworren und in Einzelheiten anfechtbar*). The idea of self-sacrifice is basic to the Prajāpati cosmology and to the cyclical conquest of death through rebirth, which characterize the śrauta ritual in general and the Agnicayana in particular.

When humans talk of self-sacrifice, there is an implied reference to human sacrifice. According to Eggeling (commenting upon Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1.2.3.5), animal sacrifices replaced human sacrifices, just as vegetable oblations (in particular *puroḍāśa* cakes) replace or stand for animal sacrifices. Earlier, Weber had devoted a special study to human sacrifices in the Vedic period (Weber 1864, 262–287 = 1868, 54–89), in which he showed that there are unmistakable echoes of human sacrifice in the ritual literature, but that the classical ritualists often obliterated them. Weber's observations were developed and modified in several later publications, e.g., Rönnow (1929), Mus (1935), and Heesterman (1967). I shall survey some of these

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observations with special reference to the Agnicayana. It will be useful, though, to keep in mind a just remark of Macdonald (1952, 337 = 1975, 8):

> It is because of preconceived ideas about the practice and development of the idea of the substitute-sacrifice that researchers have a tendency to trace every sacrifice back to a human sacrifice.

Weber began his study with a quote from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, following the passage that led to Eggeling's remark quoted above:

> At first the gods offered a man as victim. When he was offered, the sacrificial juice went out of him. It entered the horse. They offered the horse. When it was offered, the sacrificial juice went out of it. It entered the ox. They offered the ox. When it was offered, the sacrificial juice went out of it. It entered the sheep. They offered the sheep. When it was offered, the sacrificial juice went out of it. It entered the goat. They offered the goat. When it was offered, the sacrificial juice went out of it (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1.2.3.6).

The five heads buried under the Agnicayana altar are of a man, a horse, a bull, a ram, and a he-goat. The human head, which can be obtained in various ways, must be of a vaiśya ("tribesman"), or rājanya ("chieftain"). Weber concluded that a human sacrifice was part of the Agnicayana. He arrived at similar conclusions with regard to the Rājasūya ("royal consecration") and the Aśvamedha ("horse sacrifice"), and lastly described the one śrauta ritual which is explicitly called *Puruṣamedha*, "human sacrifice." In this ritual, the human victim, a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya, is treated well for the duration of one full year, like the horse of the Aśvamedha. When this is over, he is adorned, decorated, and killed. The principal wife of the yajamāna lies down under the corpse. This is followed by obscene exchanges and riddles, as in the Aśvamedha. When the victim is killed, the udgātā priest chants a sāman for Yama, and the hotā recites the Puruṣa hymn from the Ṛgveda.

The fact that this Puruṣamedha is described in only a few of the ritual sūtras has led to the view that it is a late and purely theoretical extension of the horse sacrifice. Keith (1925, 347–348) denied the existence of human sacrifice in Vedic India. Gonda (1960, 187, note 25) is "unconvinced" by Karmarkar (1942, 91–93), according to whom the Puruṣa hymn itself referred to human sacrifice. In Thite's view, the Brāhmaṇas know the rites that accompanied the killing of human victims, but do not prescribe the actual killing (Thite 1975, 27). There is no scholarly consensus whether the Puruṣamedha is an imitation ("upgrading": Puhvel 1970, 163) of the horse sacrifice, or vice versa, in which case it might be an ancient survival (a view de-

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fended in Kirfel 1951), or whether both sacrifices existed together from the beginning.

Rönnow (1929) has tried to show that human sacrifice prevailed in a pre-Vedic, "Asuric" religion, of which traces survive in the Pravargya, Agnicayana, and Sautrāmaṇī rituals. The human victim is represented by the demon Makha, who is subsequently identified with the sacrifice itself. The Pravargya is called the head of the sacrifice, without which it is incomplete, just as the *mahāvīra* vessel is regarded as the head of Makha. The same holds, mutatis mutandis, for the ukhā pot of the Agnicayana. While the ukhā pot, with the human head inside, is buried under the Agnicayana altar, the Pravargya implements, including the mahāvīra pots, are placed on the altar in a special configuration resembling the shape of a man. That the puroḍāśa cakes, which are substitutes for animal victims, are in fact connected with human sacrifice, is according to Rönnow shown by the fact that they are offered on "potsherds" (*kapāla*). The term kapāla means also (according to Rönnow, originally) "skull bones." The later Kāpālika ascetics, who carry a skull, are named after it (cf. Lorenzen 1972). The connection is made in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (1.2.1.2): "The puroḍāśa cake is the head of the sacrifice: for those potsherds (kapālāni) are what the skull bones (*śīrṣṇaḥ* kapālāni) are, and the ground rice is nothing but the brain" (cf. Eggeling, 1885, xxviii). When the human victim is killed, its juice (rasa) flows into the earth, which grows the rice out of which the puroḍāśa cakes are prepared. In the White Yajurveda, the heads of the five victims of the Agnicayana are kept in the sacrifice, but the bodies are thrown into water that is mixed with the clay from which some of the bricks for the altar are made.

Rönnow's thesis, that these sacrifices reflect an "Asuric" religion, derives mainly from texts of the Brāhmaṇa period. In the classical śrauta ritual, there is a prohibition against using certain parts of the animal victim, such as the head. This is explained by Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.8.3.29: "The Asuras made portions of the head, the shoulders, the neck, and the hind legs; therefore let him not make portions of these." According to Rönnow, beheading the victim was the typical form of sacrifice among the pre-Vedic, "Asuric" natives. These practices were brought in line with Brahmanic custom when they were incorporated into the classical ritual. In the Pravargya and in the Agnicayana there survives a tendency to preserve the body of the victim, so that the sacrificer can absorb its powerful rasa juice. This liquid is subsequently related to and identified with sacrificial beverages such as Soma and *gharma*, the boiled milk of the Pravargya.

Extending these ideas to the Sautrāmaṇī ritual, Rönnow arrived at the conclusion that three stages can be distinguished in the development of early Indian ritual. The first two of these are pre-Vedic: (1) a ritual relating to Namuci (according to the Ṛgveda, a demon slain by Indra and the Aśvins), characterized by a human sacrifice at which blood is drunk together with

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with the alcoholic surā; (2) a ritual in which the new gods Sarasvatī and the Aśvins make their appearance, and during which milk and honey are consumed; and finally (3) a Vedic-brahmanic ritual, in which Soma is the ritual beverage.

Rönnow's thesis, that the Asuras represent a pre-Vedic Indian religion, has not been generally accepted. The reason for such scepticism is simple: in origin, the Asuras were clearly Indo-Iranian beings, called *ahura* in Iran. In Indo-Iranian, as in the older Ṛgveda, gods (*deva*, Iranian: *daêva*) and the asura/ahura are more or less on a par. In Iran, the Asuras prevailed. In the Vedas, the Devas prevailed, and the Asuras became their enemies. In spite of the Indo-Iranian origin of the word asura, it is therefore quite possible that Rönnow is right and that references in later Vedic literature to Asuras indicate indigenous, pre-Vedic practices and beliefs. I shall accept this as a working hypothesis, for it makes good sense as we shall see.

Mus (1935) dealt with the Agnicayana in the earlier parts of a monograph leading up to an interpretation of Borobudur, the Buddhist monument on Java. According to Mus, the myth of the dismemberment of Puruṣa/Prajāpati is not of Aryan origin. There are no references to it in the earlier Veda, but it is common "in the religious ethnography of South East Asia and its Pacific dependencies." Mus also observed that there is "attested, parallel to the myth, the practice of putting to death a human being for the collective profit of those who offered him, a sacrifice which is followed by a dismemberment, or even the dismemberment of the victim while he is still alive." He adds:

> The cruel form which the sacrifice of *meriah* used to take, hardly more than a century ago among certain primitive tribes of India, is well known. The man was bound to the stake and each person tore off a piece of his flesh until there was nothing left of him. Then the participants would each go and bury his own portion in his best field (Mus 1935, *116).

Thus the sacrifice, by impregnating earth with parts of the human victim, contributed to the fertility of the soil.

Mus sees traces of such ideas and practices in a great variety of contexts. One of them is the belief in relics. In Buddhism, much importance is attached to the distribution of the relics of the Buddha, and their deposition within a stūpa. The Buddha is identified with these relics and with the stūpa just as in the Agnicayana the yajamāna is identified with the golden man and with the altar itself. The Sinhalese chronicles refer to relics as the life (*jīvita*) of the stūpa (Mus 1935, *75–*77). The casting of images of the Buddha, and indeed the origin of idol worship itself, may originate in this context.

In the Agnicayana, a live tortoise (*kūrma*) is buried under the altar. Dumont (1957, 16–18) has shown that the tortoise was chosen as a symbol

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of the three worlds (earth, sky, and atmosphere) because of its domelike shape. The tortoise was, moreover, regarded as the juice or life sap (*medha* in Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.2.8.5, erroneously translated by Keith as if it said *medhā*, "intelligence") of the earth: when Prajāpati created the earth and threw it into the waters, the juice that flowed from it became a tortoise.

Biardeau (1976, 18) has recalled that the importance of the tortoise (kūrma) lies also in its alleged etymological connection with the verb *kṛ-* "to do, to make" (cf. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 7.5.1.5–6). Another term for tortoise, *kaśyapa*, is a name of Prajāpati. Ruben (1939, 241–243) has referred to numerous legends among Indian tribes, and also in Central Asia and China, where the tortoise is described as support for the world, and is connected with its origin. In later times, the tortoise became an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and in the myth of the churning of the world ocean, the churning staff or axis of the world rests on a tortoise (see, e.g., Gonda 1954, 126–129). In the Bhagavad Gītā (2.58), the sage is described as withdrawing his senses from external objects as the tortoise withdraws its limbs. It seems likely, from what we have seen before, that the lifesap of the tortoise is a remnant of the life sap or blood of the sacrificial victim that fertilizes the soil.

The investigations of Ruben (1939) are in several respects similar to those of Rönnow (1929), to whom he does not refer. Ruben has gone a step further and suggested that the Asûr, a tribe now living in Central India, may be traced back to older tribes with similar names that the Vedic Indians interpreted as referring to the Asuras. This might have resulted in the development from the Indo-Iranian Asuras into the demonic Asuras of later times. Unlikely, no doubt, but not impossible.

Macdonald (1952 = 1975) has placed Mus' ideas in a wider perspective by providing more ethnographic evidence from South, Southeast, East, and Central Asia. He has also emphasized that the male victim is symbolically coupled with the female earth. This is supported by early Vedic references to a sacrificial boar mating with the earth, which is consistent with the fact that Puruṣa/Prajāpati is male, like most animal victims (it is not supported by the romantic frontispiece of a girl victim in Campbell 1864). Referring to the work of Verrier Elwin, Macdonald has drawn attention to the fact that the stake to which the meriah victim was tied was forked, and that "the victim's head was sometimes pulled back across the fork" (cf. Campbell 1864, 113). According to Maconald this form represents the female sex. He is supported, for example, by the practice of the Angami Nagas, as reported by Hutton (1921, 231–232), who "spread prosperity" by means of two stakes, one forked and one straight, "the former representing 'the reproductive organs of the woman and the other the male organ'" (Macdonald 1952, 333 = 1975, 6). It may be noted that the Vedic animal sacrifice requires single-pronged (*eka-śūla*) as well as two-pronged (*dvi-śūla*) forks.

Macdonald believes that the dismemberment myth is not, or is not merely, an agrarian rite, as Mus had suggested, but that it goes back to a

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period before the beginning of agriculture. He describes or refers to various rituals in which the animal victim is shared out among members of the community in such a way that it establishes or reestablishes the position of each member in the social hierarchy:

> The animal sacrificed was doubtless originally the animal caught in the hunt. Meat, the product par excellence of the hunt, was a rare commodity for many of the members of the primitive community; that the sharing out of this asset was done unequally is not at all surprising. The strong man, the accomplished hunter, the priest on whose activities the smooth succession of the seasons depends, the maker of arms or of instruments, these will not receive the same portion as the unskilled adolescent. . . . Prajāpati is the male; the hunt is essentially the occupation, the business of the males of the community. It is the males whose ranks are fixed in these moments of coming together which are marked by communal banquets (Macdonald 1952, 335, 338 = 1975, 7,8).

If Macdonald is right this would not merely provide background for Ṛgveda 10.90.12, in which the castes are derived from parts of the primeval Puruṣa, but it would throw light on many patterns of hierarchical distribution, among the yajamāna and his priests, of offerings and oblations of parts of the animal victim, sacrificial cakes, and sacrificial beverages such as Soma. The dakṣiṇā or "sacrificial gift" is also distributed hierarchically: the four main priests (hotā, adhvaryu, brahman, udgātā) receive twice as much as the next four (maitrāvaruṇa, pratiprasthātā, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, prastotā), who in turn receive twice as much as the next four (acchāvāka, neṣṭā, āgnīdhra, pratihartā), who receive twice as much as the remaining four (grāvastut, unnetā, potā, subrahmaṇya). The yajamāna defrays the cost of the ritual, which the priests perform on his behalf. In the *sattra* rituals the yajamāna has been eliminated and the priests perform the rites among themselves. In recent times, when a Soma ritual is performed, the relationship between the yajamāna and his priests is like that found in a sattra ritual: all are chosen from the same group of vaidikas, and the roles may be distributed differently at a subsequent performance. This is an institutionalization of the cyclical distribution of wealth, which Heesterman (1959) regarded as characteristic of the dakṣiṇā.

Malamoud (1976, 197–198) has drawn attention to another feature of dakṣiṇā: the analogy between a ritual performance and medical treatment, specifically psychoanalysis. The relationship between the yajamāna and his priests is analogous to that between a patient and his analyst. In either case, payment of dues is necessary, and without it the performance might not come to an end. As Freud emphasized, free treatment produces an increase in resistance. Similarly, without dakṣiṇā the ritual would be incomplete.

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5. Origin and Significance

Heesterman (1967) does not reject Rönnow's conclusions with regard to the Agnicayana and the human sacrifice that underlies it, but he places them in a different perspective. According to him there are several contradictions inherent in the śrauta rituals, to which the manuals have given various solutions. By seeking the origins of these contradictions we can partially reconstruct a "preclassical" ritual. At the beginning of the Agnicayana, for example, there is mention of the preparation of the five heads, but there are also the alternatives of the sacrifice of a he-goat for Prajāpati or for Vāyu. In the preclassical ritual, animals (including the human victim) were beheaded, but in the classical ritual, victims have to be killed by strangulation outside the sacrificial enclosure. That the animals were originally slaughtered at the time they were tied to the sacrificial post follows from expiation rites prescribed in the event blood has mistakenly been spilled on the post. Ṛgveda 1.162.9, moreover, refers to portions of flesh sticking to the post.

> Possibly the peculiar way in which the animal is bound to the stake points in the same direction: the cord is fastened to the right foot, goes round the left side of the neck and is then wound round the right horn and finally fastened to the stake. Thus room is left for the slaughterer's knife (Heesterman 1962, 18).

According to Heesterman, in such cases the concern is to remove what is impure and inauspicious from the place of sacrifice (ibid., 19), and to create an ideally ordered world of rationalized sacrifice (1967, 43), impervious to death.

More specific conclusions can be drawn from the introductory rites of the Agnicayana. According to the Śrauta Sūtra of Baudhāyana, the head of the vaiśya has to be obtained in battle, in other words, it is the head of an enemy conquered in battle. When the clay for the preparation of the ukhā pot has to be obtained, a procession starts out towards the loam pit. On the way they come across an anthill with a vaiśya posted to its south to guard it. The clay they seek, in which Agni is supposed to be hidden, is referred to as *purīṣa*, a term connected with cattle (see also Gonda 1965a, 224–225). According to Heesterman, it is here that we hit "the rock bottom of reality. The vaiśya or rival does not so much guard an anthill or a loam pit, however weighty their symbolic value, but his own head, his cattle, and his fields" (1967, 40). Actually, Baudhāyana's phrase "he guards it (i.e., the anthill) from the south" (*tāṃ dakṣiṇato gopāyann āste*) could be interpreted as: "he keeps himself south of it acting as a cowherd" (ibid. note 52a). In other words, we are back at the cattle raids and similar raiding expeditions of the Vedic nomads, referred to before (above, pages 97–105; cf. Vol. II, page 485).

The vaiśya group, whose domain is called *viś*, consists mainly of farmers and cattle breeders. In contradistinction, the kṣatriyas or rājanyas, whose domain is kṣatra, represent the military, the nobility, and the secular power.

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Mylius (1974) has drawn attention to a large number of passages in the Brāhmaṇa and ritual literature in which vaiśyas are described as the main object of exploitation: they are *ādya*, "to be eaten." Their chief exploiters (*attṛ*) are kṣatriyas, assisted by brahmins. For example: "viś is food for the kṣatriyas" (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.3.2.8); "the state (rāṣṭra) eats the viś" (13.2.9.8); "he places the juhū ladle on top, and the other sruc ladle below, because juhū is the kṣatra and the other sruc ladles are the viś. Thus he makes kṣatra superior to viś" (1.3.4.15); "he places the Soma on the pressing stones; Soma is kṣatra and the pressing stones are viś. Thus he makes kṣatra rise above viś" (3.9.3.3.); etc.

There are also passages stating explicitly that brahmins tried to play kṣatra and viś off against each other, e.g.: "An offering on eleven potsherds for Indra and on seven potsherds for the Maruts should be made by someone who wants to create strife between viś and kṣatra" (Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 2.1.9).

Starting from the Cosmic Man, we have found notions of human sacrifice connected with the Agnicayana. In the case of the head of the vaiśya, the killing is not sacrificial; it merely reflects the customary raids and expeditions of the Vedic nomads. It is possible that the notion of human sacrifice is inherently connected with the dismemberment of a primeval giant. Sauvé (1970) has shown that both occur together in Indian and Scandinavian mythology. But human sacrifice in Scandinavia, as described by Sauvé, is almost totally different from Vedic sacrifice. There is no compelling reason, therefore, to derive both from an Indo-European prototype. It is not surprising that Vedic scholars have been able to put Puruṣa and Prajāpati together from earlier Vedic material. This is an exercise in ingenuity, at least in part. The Vedas themselves are not isolated; it is we who happen to be ignorant of most of their context and surroundings. The relatively late appearance of the Puruṣasūkta in the Ṛgveda, and the widespread occurrence of notions of human sacrifice in South and Southeast Asia, would equally support the hypothesis that the Cosmic Man is a pre-Vedic phenomenon. More likely than either of these two theories is the hypothesis that the Vedic nomads and the pre-Vedic Indians each had a notion of a Cosmic Man whose features may have been combined in the Agnicayana. At the present state of our knowledge it would be hazardous to try to derive a more definite conclusion.

The connections between the Puruṣasūkta and the Agnicayana explain the importance of the number 1,000 in the construction of the fire altar. According to the śūlba sūtras, which deal specifically with altar construction, 1,000 bricks should be used for the construction of the altar at the first performance of an Agnicayana. This altar is then piled in five layers of 200 bricks each. The number five was already an important number, and the Agnicayana seems to have made it even more important. Groups of fives are widespread in the Vedas and in classical Hinduism (see, e.g., Knipe

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1972, 28--32; 1975, 1–7). The construction of the altar, however, is a topic in its own right and deserves a separate section.

THE ALTAR

BEFORE TAKING UP the construction of the large bird-shaped brick altar that is the distinguishing mark of the Agnicayana ritual, let us revert once more to the culture of the Indo-Iranian nomads before they entered the Indian subcontinent. Mary Boyce's description is suggestive:

> The Indo-Iranian religion was shaped, it seems, during millenia of wandering on the steppes of Inner Asia, and materially it was accordingly of extreme simplicity. Worship was offered the divine beings without aid of temples or altars or statues, and all that was needed for solemnizing the high rituals was a clean, flat piece of ground, which could be marked off by a ritually-drawn furrow. The offerings consecrated there were made not only to the invisible gods, but also to fire and water, which could properly be represented by the nearest domestic fire and household spring, although a ritual fire was always present within the precinct itself, burning in a low brazier. (The fire was placed in a low container within the ritual precinct because the celebrating priest himself sat cross-legged upon the ground.) To judge from later practice, this ritual fire was either kindled for the occasion, or made of embers brought from the nearest hearth. The only continually-burning fire known to the Indo-Iranians was evidently the hearth fire, lit when a man set up his home and kept alight as long as he himself lived, a divinity within the house. This was tended with care and received regularly a threefold offering of dry wood, incense, and fat from the sacrificial animal. Such domestic fire could readily be carried in a pot during nomadic wanderings, to continue burning wherever the family pitched its tent (Boyce 1975, 455).

Many features of this description are still applicable to the Vedic ritual. Apart from its elaborate altars, the Agnicayana includes simple rites that require oblations made into a fire installed on a simple, ritually demarcated piece of ground. An interesting question concerns the shape of these Indo-Iranian ground altars, and in particular whether they were square or round. As we have seen, the contrast between a round domestic altar and a square offering altar is found among the Vedic Indians, the Iranians, and also the Romans (above page 93). The Greeks had a round domestic altar that was generally small and on which offerings of honey and milk were

PLATE 4

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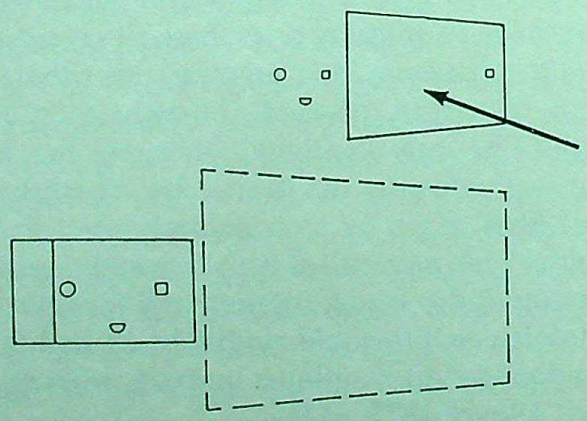
PLATE 4

The Indo-Iranian Fire Offering

Before they built alters, the Indo-Iranian nomads installed fire on a flat piece of ground, after loosening the soil and demarcating it ritually. The Agnicayana includes oblations into fires installed in this simple manner. Here the yajamāna pours butter into the fire from his juhū ladle during the animal sacrifice for Vāyu on the first day (Episode 2). The fire is the "new offering fire," installed at the eastern end of the Great Altar Space (mahāvedi). Parts of the trapezium-shaped outline of the mahāvedi are visible. The "old offering fire," burning on a clay altar, is in the background (see also Figures 3 and 22).



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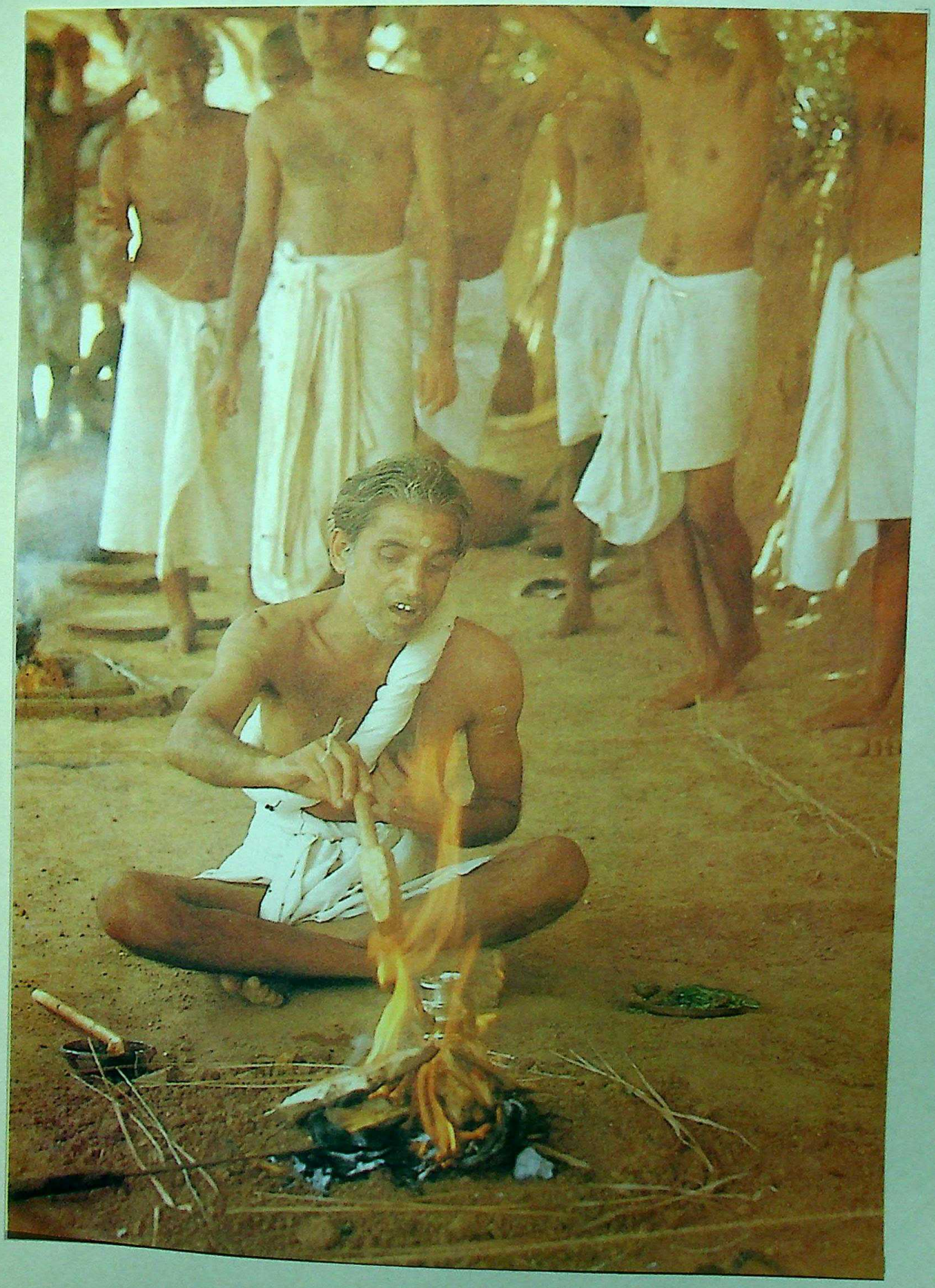

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made, and a square altar that was generally large and used for animal sacrifices. The roundness of the domestic altar has been related to the womb. The circular altar represented permanence, immutability, and the home. Itself unmoving, it was considered the principle of movement (Vernant 1965, 99, 122, 142–143), like Aristole's god, "the first unmoved mover" (*τὸ πρώτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον*).

The Greek domestic altar was often tended by women, and was sacred to a goddess, Hestia (*ἑστία*, "hearth"). The square altar, which is also the blacksmith's hearth, is related to the male god Hephaistos, originally a fire daemon from Asia Minor. In the Vedic ritual, the round domestic altar is also compared to a womb, while the square sacrificial altar represents the newly created world for the gods. All these facts seem connected, and admit of a generalization. While round and square—as the shapes of altars, temples, houses, and cities—are found separately or in various combinations throughout the world (see, e.g., Seidenberg, forthcoming), the specific contrast between round and square altars is in all likelihood Indo-European.

The burial mounds (*śmaśāna*) of Vedic times could be either square or round (Caland 1896, 141). Square seems to have been the preferred shape. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (13.8.1.5; cf. 13.8.2.1), the burial mounds of the godly people (*daivyaḥ prajāḥ*) are four cornered (*catuḥ-srakti*), whereas those of "Asuras, easterners, and others" are round (*parimaṇḍala*). Thus the square or quadrangle seems to be the Vedic shape, the round one that of the original inhabitants. It has been suggested that the circular, "native" shape survives in the round stūpas of Buddhism, which are burial mounds in so far as they contain relics. The Vedic preference for the square burial might be related to the Vedic nomads Central-Asian background. Even in northern Asia, where the corpse is placed on a platform, the platform is square or at least rectangular. Among Altaic peoples, who perform a horse sacrifice, the bones of the horse are placed on a square platform (Nachtigall 1953, 54). Elsewhere we find a mixture of square and circular burial pits (as among the Lepchas in Sikkim: Nebesky de Wojkowitz 1951, 31). But all of this should merely alert us that such parallels may not be taken too seriously.

The main altar of the Agnicayana functions in several respects as a tomb: the golden man and five heads of sacrificial victims are buried under it. In the Agnicayana altar, the square definitely prevails over the circle. The bricks are square or have shapes derived from the square, such as rectangles and triangles (see Figure 9 on page 198). It is possible that an echo of round bricks survives in the so-called *maṇḍaleṣṭakās*, "circle bricks," but these are generally taken to be bricks on which a circle is carved or drawn. In the 1975 performance, they occurred in the first, third, and fifth layer, on top of each other. Circles made up of squares occur in the Agnicayana altar in two ways. In the central part of the first, third, and fifth layer of the bird-shaped altar, the bricks may be arranged in the shape of a circle. This is described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (for illustrations see Eggeling 1897, IV, 17, 48, and 98).

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Or else, as a special form, the entire altar may be built in the shape of a chariot's wheel (*rathacakra*; for illustrations see van Gelder 1963, 311, 313). As we shall see, the altar may also be constructed in the shape of a "square" bird (*piṭhan*) (see Volume II, pages 351–357).

The predominance of the square in the main altar of the Agnicayana derives from the squareness of the offering altar. Roundness is the mark of the domestic altar. It seems contradictory that in the Agnicayana the new domestic altar is constructed in the shape of square, but this is not difficult to explain. In the more complex śrauta rituals, the domestic sphere has receded further into the background. The higher we ascend in the hierarchy of rituals, the more predominant become śrauta features and the more recessive gṛhya features. The new domestic altar of the Agnicayana, following this trend, has become a square.

It is clear that it would be incorrect to say that the Vedic nomads had only square altars. They considered the square more sacred and made it the shape of their offering and divine altar. Their circular domestic altar, however, exhibited the basic shape. This is in accordance with the data from other Indo-European cultures, and is obvious from the ritual. For example, the fire for the square offering altar is lit from the circular domestic altar. The pre-Vedic Indians may have had circular altars, in which case the Vedic nomads scored two points at the same time when they began to construct their new domestic altar in the shape of a square: on the one hand they moved further into the divine sphere, on the other hand they put the indigenous inhabitants further down. Such double-edged moves are quite consistent with the general character of Vedic ritual.

In the Ṛgveda, three altars are mentioned, but the shape of an altar is mentioned only once, and indirectly. Ṛgveda 10.114.3 is a riddle that mentions a girl with four tufts (*catuṣkaparda*) who is butter-faced (*ghṛtapratīka*). The mention of butter makes it clear that a fire is referred to (cf. Ṛgveda 5.11.1, above page 74), and the riddle implies that the altar on which this fire was installed was quadrangular (cf. Potdar 1953, 73). That the Ṛgveda does not explicitly refer to round altars can of course not be construed as an argument that there were no such altars in the Ṛgvedic period. In view of the later development it is more likely that it was understood that the domestic altar was circular.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 13.8.2.1 is another passage that contrasts the burial mounds of the Vedic nomads with those of the original inhabitants. It states that the former are close to the ground, while the latter are separated from the ground "on a *camū* or some such thing." Eggeling takes camū to be "a shallow stone basis or trough, either solid or consisting of masonry (bricks) in the manner of our stone-lined graves" (1900, V, 430, note 1). However, the term camū generally denotes a vessel or pot. It seems more likely that this camū was used as a coffin, in which case the reference is to urn burials. Prehistoric urn burials have been found in several parts of the Indian subconti-

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nent (see, e.g., Longhurst 1936, 9–10 and Figure 8). Since the Vedic funeral involved cremation, there was an area on which the fire was installed. If this is the place specifically described as close to the ground, it would seem that the Vedic nomads had not reached that stage of development at which fire is installed at some height so as to benefit from draughts. This further corroborates the picture of the Indo-Iranian altar as simply a demarcated piece of soil.

There is a very wide gap between the simple altars of the Indo-Iranians and of the Ṛgveda, and those described in the Yajurveda. The texts of the Yajurveda describe the altar for the Agnicayana as an enormous structure piled up from at least a thousand kiln-fired bricks. The term used to denote bricks, iṣṭakā or iṣṭikā, occurs for the first time in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, and is subsequently found in the other branches and texts of the Yajurveda. In these texts we also find elaborate references to the firing of the ukhā pot, which itself is not mentioned in any earlier text. Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.1.6 provides the mantras that accompany the rites at which the pot is moulded from clay and smoked, after which a trench is dug, the pot is placed in it, covered with fire, and baked for three days. All these things are done, according to the mantras, "in the manner of Aṅgiras" (*aṅgirasvat*). Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 10.6 (see Volume II, page 495) states that a second and third ukhā pot (obviously spares), five bricks called *ṛṣabha* ("bull"), and three bricks called maṇḍaleṣṭakā (the bricks already referred to, which have a circle carved or drawn on their surface) are to be treated in the same manner. The terms *dhūpayate* ("fumigate") and *sudhūpita* ("well fumigated") occur in this context for the first time. The verb used for "firing," *pacati*, is common from the Ṛgveda onwards for cooking, baking, roasting, or boiling, but is used for the first time in these Yajurvedic contexts for the baking of bricks. The technical sense of "fumigating" is not clear, unless it refers to reduction (cf. Saraswati and Behura, 1966, 128–129).

In an important article, Converse (1974) has argued for the indigenous origin of the Agnicayana construction, because the art of baking bricks, which was unknown to the Vedic nomads, was practiced by the much earlier Harappans:

> The Harappans used millions of kiln-fired bricks as well as countless sun-baked ones. . . . The bricks of the Harappa civilization in its mature phase were beautifully made, well fired, and standardized in size. The basic size for the bricks was 11 1/2 inches long, 5 3/4 inches wide, and two or three inches thick. There were also double bricks 11 inches square, and special bricks for well copings, drain covers, corners, etc.
>
> Now, in the whole of the Ṛg-Veda there is no word for brick, nor any descriptive phrase for bricks. So far no ruins of brick dwellings have been found that can be attributed to the Aryans in

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the early Ṛg-Vedic period. The Ṛg-Vedic references to houses indicate that they were made of perishable wood and thatch. Bricks were thus not part of the Ṛg-Vedic technical or ritual accomplishments. There are also no references to bricks in the Ṛg-Veda Brāhmaṇas and outside of the Agnicayana sections of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the Yajurveda tradition, no significant references to bricks occur in these or in the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas. Thus, in the Brāhmaṇas, when references to bricks begin to appear, their use is confined to one specialized rite, and the rite itself is found only in the Yajurveda tradition. The fire altars in other rites were made of packed earth, not bricks.

The size of the bricks to be used in the rite was one foot square, and half-bricks were also to be used (ŚB vii, 5,3,2; viii, 7,2,17). This size and shape corresponds very closely to that of the Harappa bricks described above. The lack of any bricks in the early Vedic tradition and the presence of bricks in large numbers and of the same size in the adjacent indigenous Black-and-Red Ware territory suggest that the Black-and-Red Ware culture is the source of the Agnicayana brick-making skills.

The word for brick also suggests a probably non-Aryan origin. As a Sanskrit word, *iṣṭakā* is related to the ritual use of bricks as an oblation, an *iṣṭi*, and not to their general character as a building material. This suggests that bricks first came into Vedic usage through this ritual function, rather than through their usual building function. By contrast, the brick words in Dravidian-based languages such as Tamil are descriptive of the primary use for bricks for building. For instance, one Tamil word for brick is *cengal*; *cennu* means straightness, and *kal* or *gal* means stone or clay. Another Tamil word for burnt (fired) brick is *cuṭakal*, *suṭakal*; again *kal* means clay or stone, and *cuṭu*, *suṭu* means to burn, to bake, to burn bricks. It is possible that an early form of *suṭakal* was the foreign phonetic basis of what becomes Sanskritized into *iṣṭakā*: an inversion (not uncommon in the incorporation of Dravidian words into Sanskrit) of the *s* and the *u*, and the dropping of the final *l* to conform to Sanskrit endings, would give *uṣṭaka*; the use of the bricks as *iṣṭi* would tend to bring about the change from the initial *u* (not common in Sanskrit) to the more common *i*. Whatever the source word, it was the Sanskrit meaning of the approximate transliteration of the indigenous word that was emphasized, and this Sanskrit word, *iṣṭakā*, in no way reflects the building function of bricks but only their ritual use (Converse 1974, 83–85).

Converse's archaeological arguments are strong. It has to be noted, however, that the size of the bricks, though perhaps in practice having sides

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of more or less a half foot, a foot, or one and a half feet long, was not an absolute measure, but relative to the size of the sacrificer. This is clear from the sūtra literature, and mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (10.2.2.6): "He measures the altar by the sacrificer with upstretched arms".

Converse's linguistic arguments are less strong than her archaeological evidence, and require some comment. A Dravidian origin for iṣṭakā is improbable or impossible on etymological grounds (Emeneau, personal communication; Emeneau also points out that *ceṅ-kallu* means "red stone"). Moreover, iṣṭakā is not merely Indian, but also Indo-Iranian. Mayrhofer's *Etymological Dictionary* gives the Iranian cognate *ištya* with the same meaning, "brick." This term is attested only twice (Martin Schwartz, personal communication): both occurrences are in the *Videvdād* (*Vendidad*), 8.8 and 8.10, a late Avestan text, not earlier than the third century B.C. In both contexts, bricks or the dust from bricks or stones are used to cover a corpse, not for the construction of a burial mound, but to protect the corpse temporarily, in bad weather, before it is given to the birds and other animals. In Old Persian too *išti* occurs and means "brick" (allegedly fire dried). It is found, for example, in an inscription by Darius from Susa (fragment 29). It refers to the bricks used for the construction of Darius' palace. The inscription informs us that Babylonians were employed as brick makers. In modern Persian, derivatives from the same stem are also common.

In Iranian, then, the term for "brick" is used in a general sense, and is not confined to altar building, or similarly constrained to sacred usage. This does not invalidate Converse's view that iṣṭakā in the Yajurveda texts refers only to ritual bricks. In Vedic culture, bricks were never used in the construction of ordinary buildings: *l'emploi en est limitè á l'"empilement" de l'autel du feu* (*agnicayana*)*—et accessoirement des dhiṣṇya* (*'foyers'*) *annexes* (Renou 1939, 504, note 1). In Indian architecture (*vāstuvidyā*), bricks appear only much later (Bhattacharyya 1948, 249–258).

The term used for "brick" could have been taken by the Indians from the Iranians, or by the Iranians from the Indians, or by both from an earlier source. It is possible to derive it from an Indo-Iranian root, but this is open to doubt. The term iṣṭi, denoting the ritual oblation of a vegetable substance and the accompanying rites (see above pages 46–48), is derived from the root *yaj-*, "sacrifice, perform a rite," with past passive participle *iṣṭa*, "sacrificed." Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.2.1.10 adopts this etymology for iṣṭakā: "Inasmuch as he saw them having sacrificed (*iṣṭvā*) they are called bricks (iṣṭakā)."

The root *iṣ-*, "desire," also has a past passive participle iṣṭa, "desired, liked, agreeable." So iṣṭakā might alternatively be derived from iṣ-, "desire," in which case it could denote a wished-for object, for example, a "wish stone" (like our "wishbone"). This is in accordance with an important feature of the bricks of the Agnicayana: as soon as the altar is completed, the yajamāna
PLATE 80 wishes the bricks to turn into cows, saying: "Agni, may these bricks be cows

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for me" (*me agna iṣṭakā dhenavaḥ santu*: Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.4.11.3p.) If this was felt to be the main import of the bricks, they would be called *iṣṭakā*, because they were wish fulfillers. This is related to a common theme in Vedic and in Hinduism, where Kāmadhenu, "Cow of Plenty," satisfies all desires. The yajamāna's recitation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā ends: "Agni, may these bricks be cows for me, glorious, giving the milk of desire beyond in the other world." Whatever its interpretation, iṣṭakā does not always refer to bricks, for example, in Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra X (sections 27, 29, 31, 34, 39) it applies to a piece of gold (*hiraṇyeṣṭakā*), a pot (*kumbheṣṭakā*), and all kinds of pebbles. All we can say for the present is that the term iṣṭakā suggests an Indo-Iranian, not a Dravidian background.

The term iṣṭakā survives in modern India in the meaning "(kiln-fired) brick," and is connected with immortality in a manner curiously reminiscent of the Agnicayana. Here is a Hindi riddle: "It was born right in the water, but seeing the water it dies. Brothers, let's go and cremate it; then it will be immortal (*jal hī me paidā bhaī jalai dekh mar jāi; caliyo panco phūk dē pher amar ho jāi*). The solution is: īṭ, "brick." Dundes and Vatuk (1974, 128–130) explain this as follows:

> Brick making in India begins with taking mud out of a village pond. The mud is placed in a hollow rectangular wooden frame. After smoothing the top, the frame is removed and the brick-to-be is left to dry in the sun. Village homes are typically made of such sun-dried brick. Unfortunately, if rain falls on such a brick, it will dissolve. Thus, though the brick is "born in water," it may die upon coming into contact with water again. There is, however, a way of preventing this catastrophe. By "cremating," or baking the mud brick one renders it resistant to water and thus immortal. The suggestion that cremation ensures immortality is contrary to general eschatological theory inasmuch as everyone who dies becomes immortal. There is thus a philosophical contradiction in the second portion of the riddle statement. And even empirically there is a contradiction between an object's being cremated and thus utterly destroyed and that object's being made "immortal" in the sense of existing and withstanding destructive forces.

Converse has drawn attention to a special feature of the firing of the ukhā pot, which also applies to the mahāvīra vessel of the Pravargya: both are fired with the bottom turned up. This detail is referred to by Eggeling between brackets in his translation of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.5.4.4: "He then sets down the fire pan (with the bottom part upwards)." This information is not contained in the original, which merely says: "he sets down the ukhā" (*ukhām avadadhāti*). Eggeling has probably taken this extra informa-

PLATES 5.41,42, 46,58,60B,71,72A, 85

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PLATE 5A

The Ukhā Pot

PLATE 5B

The Mahāvīra Pot

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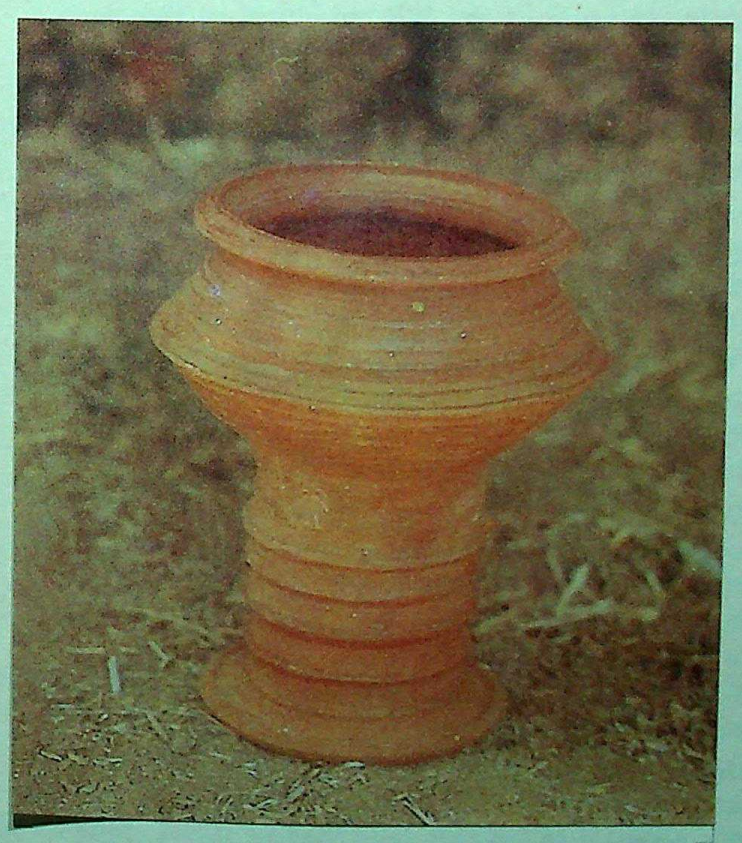
A



B

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tion from Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.4.11, which states that the adhvaryu sets down the ukhā pot "upside down" (*nyubjām*). As for the mahāvīra pot and the Pravargya, Converse refers to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 14.1.2.21, which, without entering into details, implies that the ukhā and mahāvīra pots are to be treated similarly. Kashikar, in a study on Vedic pottery, supports this: "Even though the size and shape of this cauldron (*ukhā*) are different, the procedure of preparing it is mostly identical with that prescribed in connexion with the preparation of the mahāvīra" (Kashikar 1969, 19). This similarity has been further explored by Ikari (1975, and Vol. II, pages 168–177) and fits in well with the relationships between the Agnicayana and the Pravargya noted by Rönnow and others (see above pages 183–184).

Converse comments on the "upside down":

> This may seem like an insignificant detail. But it was specifically this inverted firing technique by which the Black-and-Red Ware, the distinctive trait of the indigenous non-Vedic culture, was made black and red! The technique was not used in the making of the Gray Ware, except very sparsely at very late levels. Inverting the pot during firing limits the oxidation in the interior of the pot, and this partial reduction leaves the interior black, while the outside fires to a red color because of the full reduction of the clays and washes used (1974, 85).

Converse has drawn attention to another passage that also suggests a pre-Vedic origin for the ukhā pot: Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.6.2.6 (misprinted as "7" on Converse's page 86) quotes a mantra with which this cauldron is addressed, and that Eggeling translated as: "An Asura contrivance thou art, made in the wonted manner." Converse comments:

> The reference to the pot as an "Asura contrivance" and to the inverted firing technique as the Asuras' wonted or habitual manner of making pots acknowledges that the making of the pot has been taken over from the enemy indigenous tradition. Thus the text independently corroborates the archaeological evidence that the Black-and-Red Ware technique was identified with the non-Vedic indigenous culture. And this in turn underlines the close connection of the Agnicayana rite with that culture (1974, 86).

These conclusions seem valid though the original text does not entirely back up Eggeling's translation. The mantra quoted in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa occurs in Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā 11.69 and similarly in Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.1.9.2 d and in the other Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda. It says: "You are an Asuric trick (*māyā*), made by self-power (*sva-dhayā*)" (*āsurī māyā svadhayā kṛtā'si*; Keith translates: "Thou are the wile of the Asura, made

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with power"). The magical force of māyā is indeed, from the Ṛgveda onwards, associated with the Asuras. It is true that svadhā can mean: "habitual state" or "custom." But the reference in this context is more likely to be to the idea that the ukhā pot is a spontaneous product that comes into being through its own power, just as the fire alights in it without being lit.

The basic conclusion of Converse stands unaffected: the ukhā pot is of Asuric origin. Taken together with the assumption that references to Asuras are often references to the original inhabitants, the ukhā pot must have an indigenous origin. This may apply to the mahāvīra pot as well. However, the non-Vedic character of the Pravargya ceremony should not be stressed too far. The hot milk offering (gharma) of the Pravargya, for example, has clearly Ṛgvedic origins. The term gharma itself does not, in the Ṛgveda, mean merely "heat," as has been often assumed. Velankar has enumerated fifteen Ṛgvedic verses in which gharma is used in the technical sense of "hot milk offering" (Velankar 1962, 228–237). Six of these verses occur in Aśvin hymns, which is in accordance with the fact that the gharma offering of the Pravargya is dedicated to the Aśvin twins. In the Pravargya, this hot milk is also connected with tapas, "heat," and with sexual excitation, a phenomenon not restricted to either Vedic or pre-Vedic India (cf. van Buitenen 1968, 37; Kaelber 1976, 348–349).

If Rönnow, Ruben, and others correctly assumed that references to Asuras often indicate indigenous, pre-Vedic practices and beliefs, the same appears to hold for the Aṅgirases. In the Brāhmaṇas, the Aṅgirases are often contrasted with the Ādityas, the golden sons of Aditi, who assist man in his struggle for freedom. The Aṅgirases stand in a similar relationship to the Ādityas as the Asuras do to the gods (Hillebrandt 1927, 181). Hillebrandt was the first to draw attention to the numerous references to Aṅgiras in the Agnicayana ritual (Hillebrandt 1927, 175–176). As we have seen, the preparation of the ukhā pot takes place in different stages, each of which is gone through "in the manner of Aṅgiras" (cf. Renou 1953, 18).

Who were these Aṅgirases, after whom Agni is frequently called "Aṅgiras" and "first Aṅgiras?" Hillebrandt concluded from a general survey of their occurrence in the Ṛgveda that "the Aṅgirases were originally a family which was rather outside the main Vedic tradition, as shown by their lack of prominence in books ii–ix" (Keith 1925, I, 224). Following this suggestion there has been a great deal of scholarly discussion on their identity and provenance, and on the possible etymologies of their name. Earlier, Macdonnell had defended the view that the Aṅgirases were intermediaries between gods and men, and that their name is related to Greek *ἄγγελος*, "messenger," English: angel. Evidence for their intermediary status, however, is slight, and this view has been generally rejected. More recently, the possibility of this etymology was revived by H.W. Bailey (1957, 52–53), who postulated a root **aṅg*, "sing, enunciate," which occurs in the Vedic word *āṅgūṣa*, "song of praise." But Schmidt (1968, 51–52) has pointed out that

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there are several problems in the derivation of aṅgiras from such a root (including the fact that a suffix *-iras* is not known anywhere else).

Outside of language, etymologies prove little, "for usage is stronger than etymology" (*yogād rūḍher balīyastvāt*, as the Mīmāṃsā philosophers have it). Even if a word is Indo-European, like Asura, for example, it might refer to things Indian and pre-Vedic. It is possible that the Aṅgirases were singers, and reasonably certain that they were priests of a fire cult. They are directly related to the Asuras in Ṛgveda 3.53.7 and 10.67.2, where the Aṅgirases are called "heroes of Asura" (*asurasya vīrāḥ*). Following Hillebrandt, it would not be farfetched to suppose that the Aṅgirases were originally an indigenous tribe or family that was incorporated into the Vedic cult at a relatively early stage. It is conceivable that the Agnicayana was incorporated into the Vedic ritual through their intermediary, since they were primarily priests of a fire cult. Thus the theory of Kosambi (1950), criticized in Brough (1953, xiv-xvi), that the Vedic brahmins were to a large extent recruited from the priest class of the conquered pre-Aryan population, would seem to be valid at least in the case of the Aṅgirases.

In conclusion, available evidence suggests that the altar construction of the Agnicayana, and also the ukhā and mahāvīra pots—chief ritual vessels of the Agnicayana and the Pravargya, respectively—are of pre-Vedic origin, and should be explained by the techniques for firing bricks and pots that were known to the indigenous population, and that can ultimately be traced back to the Indus Civilization. Within a wider context, this is not surprising. The use of baked bricks, though not confined to the Indus Civilization, was one of its characteristic achievements. Baked bricks were used in Sumer, though not abundantly. In Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, the use of baked bricks, rather than of mud bricks, was normal (Wheeler 1968, 8, 55). Whatever the explanation of its early distribution, it is likely that the art of firing bricks was retained by the inhabitants of Northwest India even after the great Indus cities had disappeared. In Iran, the Indo-Iranian nomadic invaders also inherited the art from earlier, sedentary civilizations. Darius employed Babylonians as his brick makers, and, as Professor Schwartz informs me, the Iranian term for oven, *tanūra*, is of Mesopotamian origin. This Mesopotamian term survives to the present day in "chicken-tandoori."

Though the altar of the Agnicayana has not been incorporated in Hinduism, there are later Indian cults that make use of fire altars. These cults are characterized by homa, the act of offering an oblation (generally of ghee = ghṛta, "clarified butter") into the fire (cf. hotā: above page 89). Though there is hardly any literature on it, the homa cult is found in both temples and practised by wandering *saṃnyāsins* and *yogins*. It has been incorporated into Buddhism, and has taken root in Tibet, China, and Japan. In the cult of the Japanese Shingon and Tendai orders, fire altars play a preponderant role. These will be treated by Michel Strickmann in volume II (pages 418–455). There is a long gap between these cults and the Vedic fire altar, and not much

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is known about the historical development. That Vedic elements survive is clear. Not only is the Shingon fire ceremony called *goma*, but the number of fire sticks (samidh) is twenty-one, as in the Puruṣa-sūkta (Ṛgveda 10.90.15: above page 115).

NATURALLY PERFORATED STONES

Quibbles aside, Converse's demonstration has established beyond reasonable doubt that the construction of the two main altars of the Agnicayana from fired bricks must be traced back to the earlier civilization of the Indus Valley. This does not imply that the entire Agnicayana ritual is a Harappan ritual, nor is it the end of the story as far as the altar itself is concerned. The piling of bricks has many other specific features. The bricks are put down in a particular order, they have particular names, and they are consecrated with particular mantras. These particular features are basically the same in the various recensions of the Yajurveda, and must therefore be ancient (Weber 1873, 270).

Among the bricks, there are two kinds that deserve special mention. These are the *apasyāḥ* "water (bricks)" and the svayamātṛṇṇāḥ, "naturally perforated (bricks)." The apasya bricks are put down close to the heads of the animals, and it is said that thereby water is put into these victims (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 7.5.2.40; the positions adopted in 1975 were not the same, as we shall see, pages 437–438). Baudhāyana uses the term apasya to refer to certain pebbles or stones that Kātyāyana calls *pariśrit*, "encloser," and that are elsewhere called *śarkara*. Such pebbles are used to mark or demarcate the enclosures of altars. They occur in most rituals beginning with the installation of the fire (Agnyādhāna), in the Agnicayana itself (see below pages 339, 387) and also in the funerary rites, where they demarcate the śmaśāna burial mounds (Caland 1896, 145). It is possible that the bricks called after these pebbles are remnants of an earlier and less elaborate method of demarcating altars. Such methods were probably used by the Vedic nomads and by the Indo-Iranian nomads before they entered the subcontinent. Confining fire to a hearth by means of pebbles or stones is more or less universal.

Such a nomadic Vedic origin may also be assumed for the three svayamātṛṇṇā, "naturally perforated ones," though on different grounds. A Vedic origin would explain the extraordinary importance attached to these bricks, which are sometimes treated as pebbles, and which are generally shrouded in mystery. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, three svayamātṛṇṇa should occupy the center of the first, third, and fifth layers of the altar. They represent the three worlds, earth (*pṛthivī*, *bhū*), air (*antarikṣam*, *bhuvas*), and sky (*dyaus*, *svar*). They permit the golden man, and thereby the sacrificer, to breath and to pass to the highest regions (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.1.2.31 sq; 6.2.3.1 sq; etc.). If a person who has already performed the

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Agnicayana once wishes to perform another Soma ritual, but is not in a position to repeat the entire Agnicayana ceremony, it is sufficient for him to put down the three svayamātṛṇṇā: "He need only lay down the naturally perforated ones; for the naturally perforated ones are these worlds; and this built fire altar is the same as these worlds" (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 9.5.1.58). Thus the svayamātṛṇṇā represent the Agnicayana itself.

Though the svayamātṛṇṇā are sometimes regarded as iṣṭakā (which need not mean "brick," as we have seen), the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (8.7.3.20; 8.7.4.1) specifically states that they are pebbles or stones (apasya; śarkara; also *suṣkāḥ śarkarāḥ* "dry stones"). A commentator on the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā explains svayamatṛṇṇā as "a pierced stone, transversely pierced" (*śarkarāṃ chidrāṃ chidrayuktāṃ tiryakchidrām*; quoted in Weber 1873, 249, note 4). The svayamātṛṇṇā were apparently called "naturally perforated" or "perforated by themselves" (*svayam*) because they were not artifacts
PLATE 6 but were found in nature. They were therefore independent of the brick-making activity that characterized the rest of the altar construction. In fact, they contrast in their naturalness with the artificial techniques of making bricks. This points to their non-Indian, i.e., Vedic origin.

It may be mentioned in passing that the svayamātṛṇṇā stones are the only important stones that play a role in Vedic ritual. The grāvāṇaḥ of the Soma rituals, which are generally called "pressing stones," and are used for extracting the juice from the Soma stalks, need not be stones, but are sometimes the mortar and pestle (*ulūkhala*) and sometimes wooden (*vanaspati*) (Oliphant 1920, 230–231).

Coomaraswamy, in one of his suggestive and speculative articles (1939), has related the svayamātṛṇṇā to a great variety of religious phenomena all over the world. All these express an ascent to heaven (*Himmelfahrt*). The passage of the sacrificer or golden man through the perforated stones and through the three worlds is related to the ritual climbing of a tree, a sacrificial pole, or the axis mundi, at the top of which is the gate to heaven (*janua coeli*). Such notions are found all over the world. They occur elsewhere in the Vedic ritual. In a Siberian rite, the Shaman climbs a birch tree placed within a yurt, sloping so as to leave space for the hearth, and with its crown rising above the smoke hole: this opening is "a hole through which it is possible to pass from one world to another" (Coomaraswamy 1939, 13). In a final comparison, Coomaraswamy relates Ṛgveda 4.6.2 (where Agni fixes his rays, as if setting up a pole, sending up smoke, and supporting heaven) to "Paleolithic man, who already possessed his circular hut with central hearth and a hole in the roof for the escape of smoke."

These speculations support the hypothesis that the idea of reaching a higher world by passing through natural holes, passages, and caves was brought by the Indo-Iranian nomads from Central Asia. Though Coomaraswamy's speculations appear farfetched, and I for one have long been sceptical, there is in fact a wealth of evidence in support of such a view. Some lin-

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guistic evidence, inconclusive but suggestive, may be mentioned first. The term śarkara, "grit, pebbles, gravel," is probably of pre-Indo-European, in fact Caucasian, origin (Hubschmidt, quoted in Mayrhofer's Etymological Dictionary). This term is also related to Arabic *sukkar* (whence English "sugar") and Latin *calculus*, a small stone used for calculation with the help of an abacus.

In Siberian Shamanism, stones with holes in them are used in a variety of contexts. They are miniature representations of rocks with caves, through which the Shaman enters the other world (Eliade 1964, 202). The Yakut Shamans wear a symbol of the "Opening of the Earth," called "Hole of the Spirits" (*abassy-oibono*: Eliade 234). The gods descend to earth through the same hole through which the Shamans fly up in ecstasy (Eliade 259). Perforated stones, some used as beads, others of uncertain use, have been found all over Inner Asia. Here are two examples brought back by Aurel Stein:

> N.xiv, iii.0035. Circular ornament of dark paste inlay. Flat on back, and pierced with a hole. Front, from which outer shell is peeling, ornamented with six yellow radial stripes, divided by two thin radial lines. Between stripes, on dark ground, yellow circles surrounding black disks on which six-rayed yellow stars with red centres. Pendant or button. Fine work. 1″ × 3/8″. Pl. XXIX (Stein 1921, I, 252).
>
> D.K.01. Stone bead, echinus shape, facetted, and pierced with large hole. Black stone (?) jet. Well preserved. Diam. 1/2″, depth 3/8″. Pl. X. (Stein 1928, I, 133).

Nothing is known about the use of these stones, but their special character could point to a ritual or magical use. Their possible use as beads probably derives from this. Nothing is known about their age, but similar stones that are almost certainly prehistoric have been found in Tibet. These stones, called *gzi*, are highly valued and auspicious. They have complicated patterns of streaks and "eyes" (*mig*) on them (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952). They can be used as beads because they almost always have holes in them. Tibetans never make holes in them, because the stones are considered too hard. The few that are found without holes are therefore not worn as beads, but are kept separately (Lama Kunga Losang, personal communication). There are also parallels from further east that suggest that such perforated stones, and the ideas surrounding them, are in fact ancient.

The Chinese have long been interested in perforated stones, which are miniature representations of rocks with caves, and in particular of the World Mountain. These stones are sometimes placed in miniature gardens that exhibit the same general correspondence between micro- and macrocosm. The sacred mountains are regarded as the abodes of spirits, presided over by a great deity who can be approached through caves and tunnels. At the same time, the perforated stones are models of the celestial palaces of the gods.

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PLATE 6

Chicken-Fish Pebbles

These pebbles were found in the Bharata Puzha (bhārata-puḻa) or Ponnani river at Kaṇṇanur, about one-and-a-half miles downstream from Pattambi. They are called kōḻipparal, "chicken-fish," in Malayalam. Some have holes in them and count as "naturally perforated" (svayamātṛṇṇā). The Agnicayana requires two pebbles with (at least) three holes, and one with (at least) five holes. If no pebbles can be found with fully perforated holes, dents or small depressions are acceptable.

These pebbles are composed of Vivianite, a scarce mineral named after the British mineralogist J.G.Vivian, who discovered it in Cornwall. It is an iron phosphate hydrate, $Fe_3(PO_4)\cdot 8H_2O$, often found in beds of clay or in cavities in altered fossils. The pebbles have an earthy, buff color, due to weathering of the surface, but the mineral inside is blue black. It occurs as spherical to irregular concretions with prismatic crystals in radiating groups. Scale in centimeters.

Photo Michael Beaucage

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Their holes correspond to the stars. The expression used in this connection is "cave-heaven" or "grottoed heaven": *tung t'ien* 洞天, which also means "fairyland," "paradise."

These Chinese rock caves or palaces are conceived of as underground areas where the immortals dwell, and that are connected with other similar places through a network of caves and tunnels. The caves are connected with the subterraneous waters and also with the lights of heaven. They serve as retreats for hermits who meditate there or use them for initiation rites. Hermits also have the power to recreate these worlds in the miniature cosmos of gardens with rocks. The stones found in nature, which have the required characteristics, may have been eroded limestones, lava, or fossiliferous rocks (for further details see Soymié 1954; Stein 1942; Schafer 1961).

In Taoism, rocks have long been regarded as symbols of longevity. While the magico-religious background of the miniature rock caves and perforated stones has been mainly developed in Taoism, it acquired in later times an esthetic dimension. According to Schafer, "the creation of a miniature mountain in a garden goes back to the early part of the Six Dynasties period, probably even to the Han" (1961, 5). In T'ang times, collecting fantastic stones was a favorite pastime for cultured gentlemen, who rivalled with each other in setting up lapidaria, and became the first connoisseurs of stones.

> This not uncommon craze spread to the highest in the land. The last of the Northern Sung sovereigns, Hui Tsung, was a notorious petromaniac. His greatest single collecting effort was related to the construction of a magic mountain to the northeast of the imperial palace at K'ai-feng, at the urging of a geomancer. The completion of this monumental undertaking required several years, having been begun in A.D. 1117. To it were brought stones of wonderful shape from all parts of the realm, especially those of the Grand Lake and of Ling-pi (Schafer 1961, 8).

Many of these weird and rare stones were perforated and "riddled with holes." Schafer enumerates some of them in his translation of a Stone Catalogue compiled by Tu Wan in the twelfth century A.D. Here we find such entries as:

> 49. *Heart-pierced Stones* (in river at Hsiang-chou, N. Hupeh). Little blue-black pebbles, each with a hole, hence the name. The natives grope for them in the river bed each spring, as a way of divining the number of sons they will have. Recently my brother found one as large as a goose egg. It was blue, with two lines of white markings, suggesting cursive script done in ceruse. He was robbed of it by a young aristocrat. No other like it has been found (Schafer 1961, 72).

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5. Origin and Significance

The importance the Chinese attached to perforated stones and rocks as well as cavernous mountains is abundantly illustrated in painting. Sometimes perforated rocks appear in isolation; more often they dot the landscape (Plate 7A). A sage frequently appears in front of such a rock (Plate 7B); at other times a Buddha is seated within it (Plate 8A; also reproduced in Hu, 1977, Plate 041–25, together with several similar paintings). There are also pictures of stones riddled with holes, which belong to a collection (Plate 8B). In one painting a cavernous rock appears on the waters like a supernatural apparition (Plate 9). Even at present, the Chinese preserve rocks with holes in gardens and other special places (Plates 10A-B). PLATES 7-10

The facts we have mentioned are all clearly connected, and a general picture emerges. Since ancient times the belief was held in Central Asia that caves are the abodes of spirits. Whether this can be traced back to the time that men were cave dwellers themselves can only be guessed. In Central Asia, speculations on the correspondences between micro- and macrocosm led to the importance of perforated stones, which are miniature representations of these cavernous rocks, and which were used for magical and ritual purposes, possibly connected with divination. Many such practices and beliefs survive in Shamanism. These ideas were introduced into China at an early period, and were mainly developed in Taoist circles. From the T'ang period onward, they acquired an esthetic dimension that survives to the present day in the rock gardens of the Orient.

The Indo-Europeans shared some of the Central Asiatic beliefs about perforated stones. The Indo-Iranians imported them into the Indian subcontinent. The Indo-Iranians were also engaged in a fire cult, and were possibly familiar with the notion of a Cosmic Man. In India, they met with similar beliefs and also with an advanced technology that included techniques for firing bricks. They adopted these techniques in the construction of a large fire altar for the Cosmic Man, piled up from fired bricks in the Indian manner, but with the addition of their own perforated stones. The Vedic nomads contrasted the naturalness of these stones with the artifacts of the sedentary civilization they encountered. Though they constructed the altar of the Agnicayana in the indigenous manner, the Vedic nomads continued to believe that the essence of the altar was already contained in their own naturally perforated stones.

Much of this picture is still speculative, but we shall see that there is evidence of a different kind that points in the same direction and is much more specific. This becomes clear as soon as we pay close attention to the role played by the naturally perforated stones in the construction of the Agnicayana altar. The Aṅgirases provide a starting point. We have seen that the ukhā pot is prepared "in the manner of Aṅgiras." As we shall presently see, all the bricks are put down in this same manner. We have also seen that the Aṅgirases might have been originally an indigenous tribe or family, perhaps priests of a fire cult. This implies in turn that the pre-Vedic Indians had their

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PLATE 7A

Landscape with Perforated Rocks

The title of this painting is: "Forest Dwellings in the Chü Region" 具區林屋. The painter is Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308–1385), of the Yüan dynasty.

PLATE 7B

Sage in Front of a Perforated Rock

"Painting of a Lohan" 羅漢畫, by Ch'en Hung-shou 陳洪綬, a painter who lived during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). A Lohan (Sanskrit: *arhat*, "deserving") is a Buddhist sage, defined as a person "in whom the outflows of sense desire, becoming, ignorance, and wrong views have dried up, who has greatly lived, who has done what had to be done, who has shed the burden, who has won his aim, who is no longer bound to becoming, who is set free, having rightly come to know" (after Conze 1959, 93–94).

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A

B

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PLATE 8A

Bodhidharma Inside a Cave

Bodhidharma introduced the Dhyāna (Meditation) School of Buddhism into China and became the First Patriarch of Ch'an (which in Japan developed into Zen). He practised what was known as wall contemplation, sitting in front of a wall, for nine years. He died in 535 A.D. Here he is depicted as the twenty-fifth of a series of twenty-five Buddhist dignitaries, associated with the Sūraṅgama Sūtra. The series is entitled: "The Twenty-five Perfected Buddhas of the Leng-yen Sutra" 楞嚴廿五圓通佛像. It was painted by Wu Pin 吳彬 (?1601–1643). The entire series is reproduced in Hu, 1977, Plates 041–1 through 041–25.

PLATE 8B

Perforated Rock in a Private Collection

The title is: "Painting of a Snow-wave Stone" 雪浪石圖, by the Ch'ing dynasty artist Chang Jo-ch'eng 張若澄 (eighteenth century). One of the inscriptions on the painting refers to a "snow-wave stone" mentioned by the celebrated eleventh century poet Su Tung-p'o. Chang Jo-ch'eng saw this stone in a private collection. When he met with it again, twenty years later, the characters 雪浪 Snow-Wave had been engraved on its surface. He made the painting to record this remarkable collector's piece.

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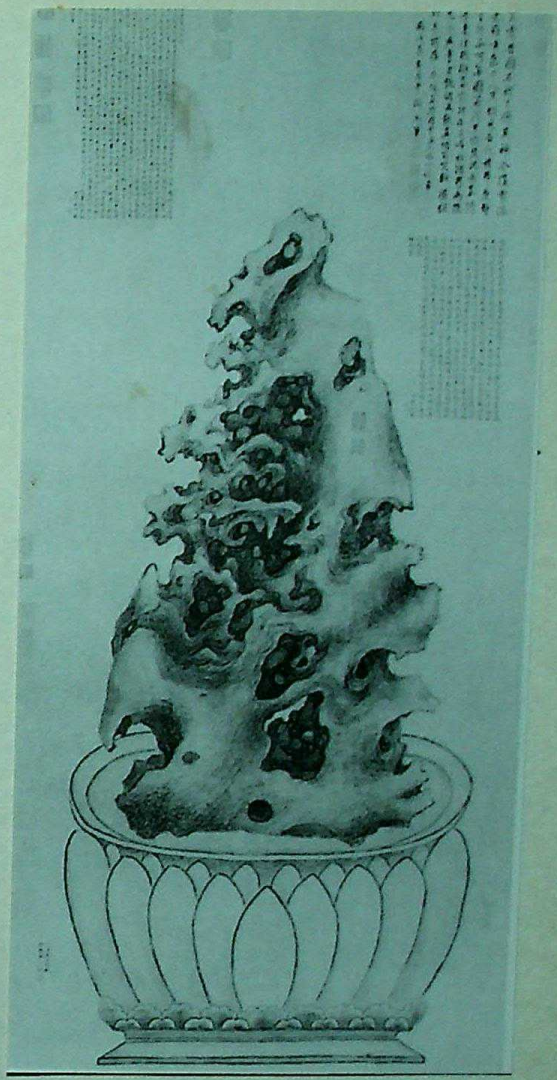
A



B

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PLATE 9

Peak of the Jade Maiden

"Drawing of the Peak of the Jade Maiden" 玉女峯圖, attributed to the painter Fan Huai-chen 范懷珍, who lived during the Southern Ch'i dynasty (479–502); but obviously of later date. The Jade Maiden mountain is one of several mountains that were famous among Taoists.

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PLATE 10A

Perforated Rock in Lake Setting

The "Three Ponds Imprinted by the Moon" 三潭印月 are features of a small islet in the middle of the West Lake near Hangchow. Two great medieval poets, Po Chü-yi of the T'ang Dynasty and Su Tung-p'o of the Sung, as Governors of Hangchow, contributed to the development of scenic features of the West Lake. The pool-studded island on which this rock is set was built at the same time as "Su's Embankment" in the eleventh century.

PLATE 10B

Rock with Creeper Trained Through Perforations

In Soochow, ancient center of Chinese garden arts. The sixteenth-century garden to which this rock was brought from nearby Lake T'ai (T'aihu 太湖) was rebuilt in the late nineteenth century and re-named Liu-yuan 留園, "Dalliance Garden," as a pun on the family name of its owners, Liu 劉. T'aihu rocks of wave = worn limestone are a primary feature of Soochow garden landscapes.

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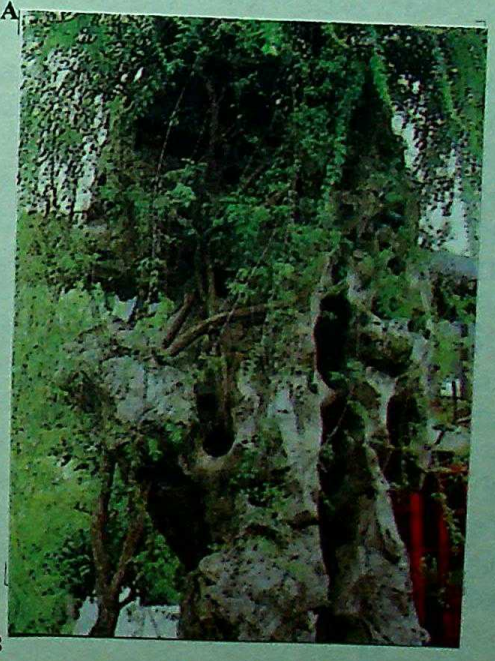
A



B

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own fire cult. This, of course, is only to be expected. The people whose ancestors had built large cities from fired bricks, who fired their pottery, ate cooked food, and needed fire for heating (even if not to the same extent as is required in Central Asia) could not fail to be concerned with fire.

At this point we encounter a difficulty. There are no data from the Indus Valley Civilization that point in the direction of a fire cult. The Kalibangan excavation has yielded "a terracotta tub with traces of ash, a cylindrical stone in the center and some terracotta 'cakes' arranged around it" (Romila Thapar, personal communication; also Volume II, page 14). While this establishes the presence of fire, it does not establish the existence of a fire cult. There are plenty of hearths at every Indus site, but whether there are altars is uncertain. The Harappā seals are equally unhelpful which need not cause surprise. Even if the inscriptions on these seals are properly understood, they would give an extremely limited picture of a civilization somewhat like the picture that would emerge if all that were left of contemporary civilization was a collection of postage stamps. Such data are beautiful and interesting, but they only make sense if a great deal more is known. For this reason, our knowledge of the Indus Valley Civilization, even assuming that the inscriptions were all satisfactorily deciphered, is of quite a different order from our knowledge of the civilizations of the Near East, which left large libraries of clay tablets.

Another comparison may help to put the significance of the Indus Valley seals in proper perspective. As is well known, the decipherment by Champollion of Egyptian hieroglyphs was made possible primarily by the discovery of the Rosetta stone, which contained 14 lines of hieroglyphs together with translations into 32 lines of Demotic and 54 lines of Greek. The key to the decipherment was the occurrence of names in the three languages. In the hieroglyphic portion, each of these was clearly marked by being placed inside an oval outline. All of this is quite different from the situation in India. In the case of the Harappā seals, we have not found a Rosetta stone, and the over 2,000 seals that have so far been found correspond at best to the material inside the oval outlines of Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions.

It is clear that an Indus Valley cult of fire could easily fail to leave any traces in the archaeological data or on the Harappā seals. However, such a cult could not remain unnoticed in a large body of literature. Therefore, if we wish to find out about a possible cult of fire in the Indus Valley Civilization, positive evidence from similar cultures in the Near East would be more significant than negative evidence from the Indus valley itself. Fortunately, the relevant evidence has recently been collected by Jean Bottéro (1973). From this evidence we learn that the ancient Mesopotamians were still close to the period of fire collecting. Though the production of fire must have been known, there is no single verb that seems to refer to it. There are numerous references, however, to the preservation and transportation of fire. There were movable fire hearths, there are references to the use of fire in con-

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nection with pottery and brick making, and—last but not least—there were fire gods. The chief god of fire was called Gi-bil or Bil-gi (sometimes Giš-bar) in Sumerian, which corresponds to Girra, Gir(r)u in Akkadian. "This is the name of the God of Fire, or of deified fire, known since the period of Fara, around 2,600 B.C., or perhaps going back to 2,700 B.C. in the archaic archives of Ur. Gi-bil means 'burning reed'" (Bottéro 1973, 10). There was also another fire god, called Nusku (ibid., p. 11).

From this evidence it would seem likely that a similar situation obtained in the Indus Valley Civilization. If this is the case, however, the Vedic nomads did not merely import a fire cult into the subcontinent; they must also have found a fire cult that was already there. What we would expect under such circumstances is that the two fire cults were combined. The Agnicayana preserves evidence that suggests precisely this.

There is a curious personage in the Agnicayana who acts as a priest, but is not found in other Vedic ritual (cf. Staal 1978; 1982, 42f.). He is called a brahmin, but he is *avidvas*, "ignorant." The term brahmin should not mislead us into supposing that this personage must be a Vedic Aryan. Aside from the Puruṣasūkta, brāhmaṇa occurs only twice in the Ṛgveda, both occurrences in the hymn to the frogs, Ṛgveda 7.103. In this context the term, used in the plural, refers to officiating priests (cf. Renou 1967, 150). It would be safe to assign it the same meaning in the expression "ignorant brahmin" in the context of the Agnicayana. PLATES 11,67,79

Like everything else that concerns the Agnicayana, the ignorant brahmin appears for the first time in the Yajurveda. The Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā (20.6: 24.10) refers to an "ignorant adhvaryu." The "ignorant brahmin" is found in several śrauta sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, but not in the White Yajurveda. Since the Black Yajurveda is older, this seems to indicate that his function was important and ancient. Yet soon thereafter, he was no longer understood and hence omitted.

Who is this ignorant brahmin who continues to be ignored? Weber did not meet him in the Agnicayana, since his description was based upon the Kātyayāna Śrauta Sūtra, which belongs to the White Yajurveda and therefore does not mention him. Caland discovered him in the Śrauta Sūtras of Baudhāyana and of Āpastamba, but even he declared: "The real significance of this 'ignorant' (i.e., perhaps unfamiliar with the cult of Agni) brahmin is not clear to me" [*die eigentliche Bedeutung des 'unwissenden' (d.h. wohl des mit dem Agniritus nicht vertrauten) Brahmanen ist mir nicht klar*: note 4 on Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 16.23.1].

The ignorant brahmin appears thrice in the Agnicayana (cf. Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 10.31:29.1; 10.39:37.17; 10.46:46.9–10; correspondingly Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 16.23.1, 17.1.12, and 17.3.8; Mānava 6.1.7; Vārāha 2.1.6). He has to assist when the adhvaryu lays down the svayamātṛṇṇā in the first, third, and fifth layers of the bird-shaped offering altar. On the first occasion, the adhvaryu recites Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.2.9.1b:

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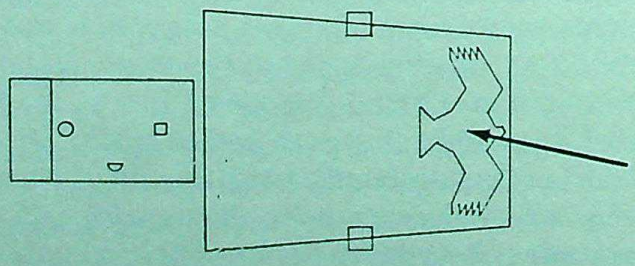
PLATE II

The Ignorant Brahmin

"Earth!
Let Prajāpati seat you on the back of the earth,
you who are wide and extending.
You are the land,
you are earth, you are the ground.
You are Aditi, all sustaining,
supporter of the entire world . . .
With that god,
in the fashion of Aṅgiras,
Sit firm!"

(TS 4.2.9.1b)

The Ignorant Brahmin (on the right) assists adhvaryu (center) and yajamāna (left) with the consecration of the first naturally perforated pebble, which has three holes in it. It is hidden in the ground, below the center of the altar, which is marked by a peg. Some bricks of the first layer of the altar have already been put down, but only two bricks have been consecrated.



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Let the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati) seat you
on the ridge of the earth,
you who are wide and extending.
You are broadness.
You are the earth. You are earth.
You are the ground.
You are Aditi all-sustaining, supporter of every being.
Hold fast the earth, make firm the earth, don't harm the earth.
For every breath, for every exhalation,
for every diffused breath, for every inhalation,
for support, for motion!
Let Agni protect you with great welfare,
a safe cover!
With that god, in the fashion of Aṅgiras, sit firm!

प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु पृथिव्याः पृष्ठे
व्यचस्वतीं प्रथस्वतीं प्रथोऽसि
पृथिव्यसि भूरसि भूमिरस्यदितिरसि
विश्वधाया विश्वस्य भुवनस्य धर्त्री
पृथिवीं यच्छ पृथिवीं दृꣳह
पृथिवीं मा हिꣳसीर्विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
व्यानायोदानाय प्रतिष्ठायै चरित्रायाग्निस्त्वाऽभि पातु मह्या स्वस्त्या
छर्दिषा शन्तमेन तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

On the third layer, the adhvaryu recites Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.3.6.2b:

Let the All-maker (Viśvakarman) seat you
on the ridge of the sky,
you who are wide and extending.
You are brilliant, sun-filled,
who shine on the land, in the wide sky.
Hold fast the sky, make firm the sky, don't harm the sky.
For every breath, for every exhalation,
for every diffused breath, for every inhalation,
for support, for motion!
Let Vāyu protect you with great welfare,
a safe cover!
With that god, in the fashion of Aṅgiras, sit firm!

विश्वकर्मा त्वा सादयत्वन्तरिक्षस्य पृष्ठे
व्यचस्वतीं प्रथस्वतीं भास्वतीꣳ सूरिमतीमा या द्यां भास्या पृथिवीमोर्वन्तरिक्षमन्तरिक्षं यच्छान्तरिक्षं दृꣳहान्तरिक्षं मा हिꣳसी-
र्विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
व्यानायोदानाय
प्रतिष्ठायै चरित्राय
वायुस्त्वाऽभि पातु
मह्या स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा शन्तमेन
तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

On the fifth layer, the adhvaryu recites Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.4.3.3 h:

Let the Supreme Being (Parameṣṭin) seat you
on the ridge of heaven,
you who are wide and extending.
You are strong, lordly, masterful.
Hold fast heaven, make firm heaven, don't harm heaven.
For every breath, for every exhalation,
for every diffused breath, for every inhalation,
for support, for motion!
Let Sūrya protect you with great welfare,
a safe cover!
With that god, in the fashion of Aṅgiras, sit firm!

परमेष्ठी त्वा सादयतु दिवः पृष्ठे
व्यचस्वतीं प्रथस्वतीं
विभूमतीं प्रभूमतीं परिभूमतीं
दिवं यच्छ दिवं दृꣳह
दिवं मा हिꣳसी-
र्विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
व्यानायोदानाय प्रतिष्ठायै चरित्राय
सूर्यस्त्वाऽभि पातु मह्या
स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा शन्तमेन
तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

There are obvious parallels between these three recitations (not brought out in Keith's translation). Let us consider them before we look at the differences. It is clear, first of all, that the three svayamātṛṇṇā in the first, third, and fifth layers are made to correspond to the three worlds: earth, sky, and heaven. Furthermore, the identical refrain: "With that god, in the Aṅgiras

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manner, sit firm!" though referring to different deities, underlines that the svayamātṛṇṇā have to be incorporated into the altar in the indigenous manner, viz., in accordance with the brick-piling techniques of the pre-Vedic Indians. This refrain, moreover, is repeated for each of the bricks of the entire altar, i.e., more than a thousand times. Since the refrain is the same as Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.2.4.4.1, where "that god" refers to Agni, the reference for each brick is taken to be to Agni.

Another mantra is similarly repeated for each brick:

ता अस्य सूदंदोहसः
सोमꣳश्रीणन्ति पृश्नयः।
जन्मन् देवानां विशः-
खिष्वा रोचने दिवः ५

The spotted cattle, pouring out milk, mix his Soma. At the birth of the gods, the tribes are in the three bright vaults of the sky (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.2.4.4 o = Ṛgveda 8.69.3).

The significance of this second mantra is not very clear. "His" Soma refers to Indra's Soma. The juice is mixed with milk. Cows are also related to bricks, because the bricks will turn into cows, and are therefore potentially cows. The bricks are wish bricks (see above, page 132). This mantra occurs also in the Great Litany (*mahad uktham*) of the Gavām Ayanam, "Cows' Walk," a sattra ritual that lasts for a year and that incorporates an Agnicayana. In this ritual, the mantra is meant to represent the vital air pervading the bird-shaped body of Agni-Prajāpati (Eggeling 1897, IV, 110–112, notes). Whatever puzzles surround this second mantra, it clearly refers to Soma, just as the first mantra, through Aṅgiras, refers to Agni. The function of the two mantras taken together, therefore, seems clear: they relate each of the bricks of the pre-Vedic altar to the Vedic cult of Agni and Soma.

Now let us look at the differences between the three recitations of the adhvaryu. In each case, a *first* deity is asked to seat the svayamātṛṇṇā; and a *second* deity is asked to protect it. The correspondence is as follows:

	FIRST DEITY	SECOND DEITY
1st svayamātṛṇṇā (1st layer)	Prajāpati	Agni
2nd svayamātṛṇṇā (3rd layer)	Viśvakarman	Vāyu
3rd svayamātṛṇṇā (5th layer)	Parameṣṭin	Sūrya.

The deities of the second group, Agni (fire), Vāyu (wind), and Sūrya (sun), are clearly Vedic deities. They occur in the earliest parts of the Ṛgveda, and they are also Indo-Iranian. They are also basic notions in Shamanism (cf. Anisimov 1963, 210–215). Their connection with the three worlds is straightforward. They occur frequently in the ritual, for example, when the yajamāna, before the Animal Sacrifice for Vāyu, takes vows of Agni Lord of Vows, Vāyu Lord of Vows, and Āditya (= Sūrya) Lord of Vows (below, page 306). Here, the three are invoked in order to secure the svayamātṛṇṇā within the realm of Vedic religion and culture.

The deities of the first group are invoked to incorporate the svayamā-

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tṛṇṇa into the altar, which is constructed in the indigenous manner. While they incorporate the Vedic svayamātṛṇṇā into the pre-Vedic culture, the Vedic deities of the second group are asked to endorse and support this. But the deities of the first group, in order to carry out their task, should obviously be indigenous deities themselves.

This is precisely what they are. Prajāpati occurs only a few times in the Ṛgveda, always in the tenth book, which is the most recent. He is not Indo-Iranian. Though he can be put together from Ṛgvedic pieces, as we have seen, he is identified with the Cosmic Man, who occurs also in the tenth book, and was quite possibly a deity of the pre-Vedic Indians. Viśvakarman, architect of the universe, fits into the same category. He is not Indo-Iranian, and is clearly related to the Cosmic Man. Though Viśvakarman is, in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda, an epithet of Savitṛ, the solar force, he occurs as an independent deity only in the tenth book, and is later identified with Prajāpati. Parameṣṭin is not Indo-Iranian, and does not occur in the Ṛgveda at all. He is found only in the Atharvaveda and in the Brāhmaṇas, and is identified with Prajāpati and Agni.

The difference in character between the two kinds of deities is also apparent from their names. Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya are real names of phenomena and of the gods manifest in those phenomena. But Prajāpati ("lord of creatures"), Viśvakarman ("all-maker"), and Parameṣṭin ("supreme being") are not names, they are functional descriptions. These descriptions are pure Vedic, as far as the language goes. Thus Viśvakarman was applied to Savitṛ. Later they became Vedic descriptions of non-Vedic gods who had their own non-Vedic names, which must have been unintelligible and barbaric sounding to the Vedic nomads. That the Vedic nomads should refer in such descriptive terms to non-Vedic gods is only natural. We do the same when we refer to the Aztec Sun God or the Japanese Lord of Heaven rather than to Huitzilopochtli or Ame-no-minaka-nushi.

Such a situation is of course not uncommon. There are, in fact, parallels from all over the world. The Egyptians met with many gods that were different from their own. Sometimes they identified them with Egyptian gods, as when they turned Asiatic gods into Hat-Hor or Seth. Later Asiatic and Semitic gods (e.g., Baal, Astarte) were worshipped in Egypt (A.J. Wilson in Pritchard 1955, 249–250). Such exchanges must have taken place between the Vedic nomads and the indigenous Indians, though we know only one side of the story.

It becomes intelligible, within this context, why the Vedic Indians asked whom they should worship with oblations? This question occurs at the end of each of the nine verses of Ṛgveda 10.121, another recent hymn. A tenth verse was added subsequently, and provides the answer: Prajāpati. Such questions do not express scepticism, as has been suggested. They express a real question that the Vedic nomads asked themselves: what is the identity of the pre-Vedic gods of the Indians? No wonder this same question occurs several

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times in the recitations that accompany typical episodes of the Agnicayana, such as the animal offering to Prajāpati at the beginning of the Agnicayana (TS 4.1.8), and the laying down of the golden man (TS 4.2.8.2 e).

The picture that emerges from the three recitations that accompany the putting down of the svayamātṛṇṇā expresses precisely the kind of synthesis between the two cults which we expected. Pre-Vedic deities are asked to incorporate Vedic cult objects into a pre-Vedic cult, and Vedic deities are asked to cooperate and endorse the operation. The brāhmaṇas that interpret these Taittirīya Saṃhitā mantras confirm this, specify it further, and enable us to solve the riddle of the ignorant brahmin.

The brāhmaṇas that explain the mantras of the first recitation are given in Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.2.8.1–2. They explain the putting down of the svayamātṛṇṇā with the assistance of the ignorant brahmin in the following terms:

> They say: *fire should be piled upon fire* (*agnāv agniś cetavyaḥ*). The brahmin is Agni Vaiśvānara. To him should he (i.e., the adhvaryu) hand the first brick prepared with the formula. The brahmin should deposit it together with the adhvaryu. In so doing he piles fire upon fire.

This puzzling passage is found only once. It does not recur in the brāhmaṇa portions that explain the mantras of the second and third recitations (which are given in Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.3.2 and 5.3.7, respectively). What does it mean?

I can think of only one explanation that makes sense. The adhvaryu is the representative of the Vedic fire cult. The ignorant brahmin is the representative of the pre-Vedic Indian fire cult. He is ignorant in the eyes of the Vedic nomads, because he is ignorant of the Vedic fire cult (as Caland had correctly guessed). It would not be enough to say that, in this ceremony, cooperation between the two is essential. Rather, that cooperation is the essence of the ceremony. When he puts down the svayamātṛṇṇā, together with the adhvaryu, the ignorant brahmin "piles fire upon fire," i.e., he incorporates his own non-Vedic fire cult into the Vedic fire-cult of the adhvaryu. Though ignorant, he is a brahmin. He is accepted as such because he officiates as a priest in the fire cult. His assistance is essential because he is the connecting link between the two fire cults, and he exchanges gifts with the adhvaryu to seal this cooperation.

There are parallels to the phrase "piling of fire upon fire." Ṛgveda 1.12.6 and 8.43.14 (= Taittirīya Saṃhitā 1.4.46 1-m) refer to the kindling of fire by fire. In the ritual context, this is taken to refer to the lighting of the sacrificial fire from the domestic fire. Elsewhere, fire is offered in fire. This is mentioned, for example, in the context of the animal sacrifice. Animals are not eager to be slaughtered, but the gods convinced them that it is always in fire that sacrificial food is offered:

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> Having, then, first secured the animals, and churned the fire, they offered fire into the fire (*agnāv agnim ajuhuvuḥ*), and then they (the animals) knew that this truly is the manner of sacrificial food, this is its resort, that it is truly in fire that sacrificial food is offered. And accordingly they resigned themselves, and became favorably disposed to the slaughtering (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.7.3.5, after Eggeling).

In this context, the offering of fire in fire makes sense. If fire is always the receptacle in which everything is offered, even fire itself is offered in fire, and this is presented as the most telling example that proves the case. But there is no connection here with the piling of fire upon fire in Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.2.8.1–2, which cannot be explained in such a simple, straightforward manner.

We have seen that the Agnicayana might have been introduced into the Vedic fire cult through the intermediary of an indigenous priest class, the Aṅgirases (see page 137). If this is true, it would seem likely that the ignorant brahmin was one of them. I know of no rules to that effect, and the gotra Āṅgirasa is not uncommon among the Nambudiris. Whatever its significance, the avidvān at the 1975 performance was a brahmin of the gotra Āṅgirasa (see below page 267).

It is possible that the avidvān should be related to the general class of priests of the Asuras or demon (asurya) priests, such as Viśvarūpa, Vṛtra, and Śukra (cf., e.g., O'Flaherty 1976, 98–99, 104–106, 120–122). I leave this for others to speculate, since we have yet to answer another question that is more germane to our investigation: why is the ignorant priest called Agni Vaiśvānara? Agni Vaiśvānara, "fire which is common to all men," is a common appellation of Agni from the Ṛgveda onwards. This has been interpreted as referring to the sun or to the sacrificial fire. It has also been related to fertility (Heesterman 1957, 46–47). In the Brāhmaṇas, Agni Vaiśvānara is identified with the sun, with the year, and with all fires. Later, in the Upaniṣads, he is said to include the "fire of digestion," for the digestive processes of men are everywhere the same.

But who were "all men" to the Vedic nomads who had entered the Indian subcontinent, if not they themselves and the people they met with and who were already there? Agni Vaiśvānara therefore has a meaning that is quite specific: it denotes Agni who is common to the Vedic nomads and the pre-Vedic Indians. Both had their fire cults. The ignorant brahmin is introduced into the Vedic ritual because he represents the indigenous fire cult. Agni Vaiśvānara expresses the discovery by the nomadic invaders that the settled peoples they encountered also knew Agni. Agni, therefore, is intensely sought (*pṛṣṭa*) [see Ṛgveda 1.98.2 = Taittirīya Saṃhitā 1.5.11.1 d (below page 342), etc. (Renou 1955–1967, XII, 98)].

We have almost come to the end of our story, a story that depicts the adventures of nomads who combined ideas they brought with them from

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Central Asia with practices and beliefs of the sedentary citizens of India. If it is true that the Vedic Indians were so deeply convinced of the value of perforated stones that they insisted that these be integrated into a pre-Vedic fire altar, why did they not look for similar stones in India? From what we know of these pebbles, they are generally found in or near rivers. On Indian soil, the Vedic nomads generally followed the course of rivers, and sometimes tried to cross them. We have seen (above, page 97) that their original eastward expansion was limited to the foothills west of the Gandak river, which is wide and difficult to cross. Here is a river on whose banks the Vedic Indians must have spent some time, with plenty of opportunity to look for perforated stones.

As it happens, the Gandak river—which the Greeks called Κονδοχατης, but which the Hindus derive from gaṇḍaka, "rhinoceros"—is primarily known in Hinduism because a special kind of perforated stone is found in it: the *śālagrāma*, which is sacred to Viṣṇu. These stones are generally black and contain fossil ammonite. They contain apertures or holes that are supposed to have been made by an insect called *vajrakīṭa*. They are called *chidra*, "pierced" (e.g., in the *Garuḍa* and *Padma Purāṇas*: Kirfel 1935, 168), like the svayamātṛṇṇā. The name of these stones derives from a village (*grāma*) called after the *śāla* tree (*Vatica robusta*: Kirfel 1935, 165); or else from a mountainous track of land on the Gandak river, called Śālagrāmakṣetra (Venkatachalam 1958, 108; cf. also Bhardwaj 1973, 51). The main tributary of the Gandak river, the Kali Gandak, originates near the Tibetan border and flows south between the mountain massifs of Dhaulagiri and Annapurna. A little to the east of the river, in northern Nepal, lies Muktinath, a Hindu center of pilgrimage that is also associated with the worship of the śālagrāma. Downstream, in southern Nepal, several spots on the river are connected with the cult of Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa. A section of the Gandak river itself is called Nārāyaṇī. PLATE 12

The worship of the Śālagrāma is comparatively ancient. It is mentioned in Śaṅkara's *Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya* (eighth century A.D.) and in several Purāṇas (Kane 1941, II, 716). In the Garuḍa Purāṇa (with corresponding portions in other Purānas), the Śālagrāma cult is connected with the worship of Vāstu deities that play an important part in the foundation of a building. Chapter XLVI of this purāṇa gives a detailed description of a building with 81 rooms, placed in a diagram of nine by nine rooms. Different deities are placed in different squares or rooms, and in a particular order. Though very different in detail, the entire construction is not unlike that of the altar of the Agnicayana. Various forms of the śālagrāma are placed in this mystic diagram or *yantra*.

Venkatachalam (1958, 120) has drawn attention to some references to śālagrāma worship that may be earlier, but that I have not been able to trace. According to the Vīramitrodaya, a late text, the śālagrāma is mentioned in the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, which Kane has dated between 600

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PLATE 12

Śālagrāma Stones

The Śālagrāma stone is sacred to Viṣṇu. It generally has holes in it and contains fossil ammonites. Originally, these stones were found in the Gandak river, the ancient Sadānīrā, which constituted a barrier to the eastward expansion of the Vedic Indians in the northern plains of the Ganges. The river originates in northern Nepal and joins the Ganges at Patna, the ancient Pāṭaliputra. There are many kinds of Śālagrāma that are distinguished by their names, often names of Viṣṇu or of vaiṣṇava attributes, e.g., Sanātana-gopāla, Sudarśana, etc. The stone on top is from the collection of Ajit Mookerjee, New Delhi. Below, in the center, a Sudarśana that is a cast of the umbilical area of an ammonite. The stone on the right shows parts of the ammonite itself, and a large hole on the left. Whether the stone on the left contains an ammonite or is artificial can only be ascertained by breaking it. Actually, holes could be produced in fossils through various causes. Rows of holes could be caused in fossils of amonites or other animals by snail-like shells, for example, when mud did not fully enter the shell but left open spaces which came to the surface later when the fossil was exposed to wind or water. All these ammonites probably belong to the large family of *Perisphinctaceae,* which occurred worldwide. They come from the Jurassic formation, which is found in the Himalayas but not in the Indian plains. Scale in centimeters.

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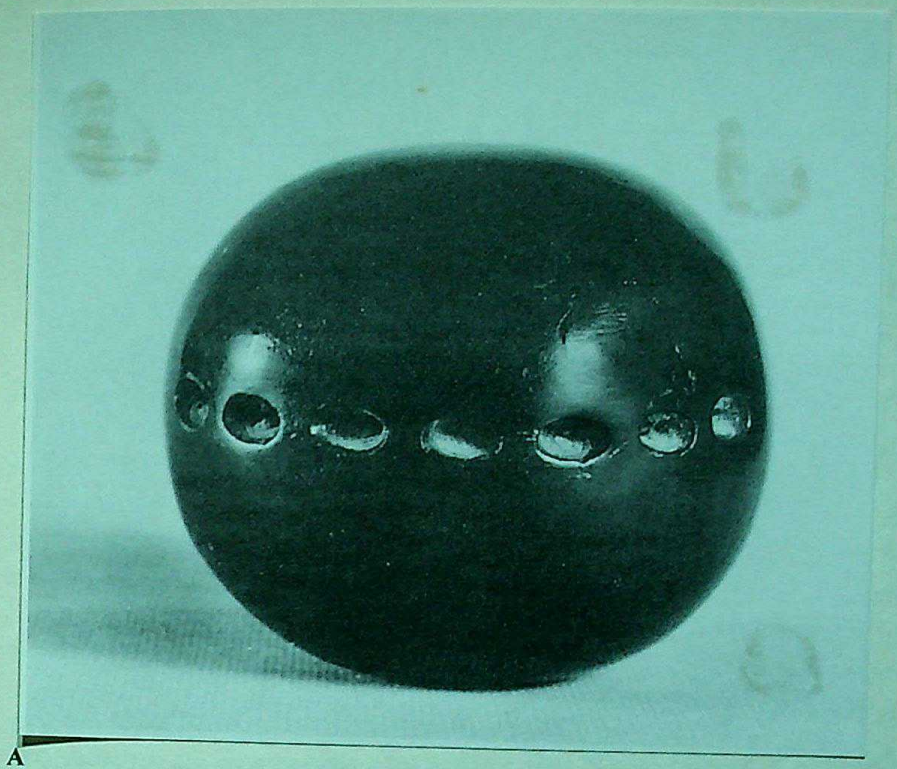

A

B

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and 300 B.C. Venkatachalam also quotes a reference, in an *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra Pariśiṣṭa*, to *svākṛti*, "having its own form," which has been explained as denoting such objects as Śiva's *liṅga* and Viṣṇu's śālagrāma. The term *svākṛti* expressed that these objects were not man-made artifacts, but originated spontaneously in nature, just like the svayamātṛṇṇā pebbles. Even at present, the sacred *rudrākṣa* beads (seeds of *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*) that are found naturally pierced for the insertion of a thread are preferred to those that have to be artificially pierced (Ghurye 1964, 92).

The cult of perforated stones in India is not confined to the śālagrāma. According to Crooke, who describes related beliefs in the popular religion and folklore of northern India, "The respect for these perforated stones rests on the well-known principle that looking through a stone which has a hole bored through it improves the sight" (Crooke 1896, II, 165). Crooke mentions parallels from other cultures, and relates perforated stones to beads, "whose efficacy is at the basis of the use of rosaries" (II, 19). Among their virtues are that they give sons, which reminds us of the beliefs of the natives of northern Hupeh, referred to in Tu Wan's catalogue of stones. The reason for this supernatural power is that the śālagrāma stones are themselves sons. The Purāṇas relate how the river goddess Gaṇḍakī engaged in ascetic exercises for many years, and was rewarded by Viṣṇu who took birth as her son in the form of śālagrāma stones (cf. Kirfel 1935, 165; Ruben 1939, 232). In Tantrism, lastly, similar stones are worshipped as representations of the vulva of the goddess.

If it is true that the śālagrāma cult of Hinduism is related to the svayamātṛṇṇā pebbles of the Agnicayana, the connections with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa are not surprising, for we have seen that the Puruṣa of the Puruṣasūkta, which is also the Puruṣa of the Agnicayana, gradually merged with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa in later Vedic literature (above, page 179). This is further confirmed by a Vaiṣṇava custom that continues to the present day: worshippers of Viṣṇu sip the water in which a śālagrāma has been washed to the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta (Gonda 1970, 205, note 36).

These scattered data show that the cult of perforated stones, which the Vedic nomads introduced into the Agnicayana ritual, has a widespread occurrence in Hinduism. It is not impossible that such cults existed in India at a much earlier date, for perforated stones have been found in Indus sites, but it is also possible that it originated when the Vedic Indians found perforated stones in the Gandak river similar to those that their ancestors had known in Central Asia.[1]

[1] Unexpected confirmation of the hypothesis set forth in this section was provided by Mr. Ajit Mookerjee, who told me that śālagrāma stones are invariably placed in the foundation of temples in Bengal (which is the area the Vedic Indians reached after crossing both the Gandak and Ganges rivers). An especially large number of such stones occurs in the foundation of the terra cotta temple dedicated to Haṃseśvarī, the Goose Goddess, vehicle of Brahmā, in Bāṃsabeḍi, a suburb of Bandel (Chinsura District), north of Calcutta. For further discussion, see Staal 1982, 42–53.

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Chapter 6. THE NAMBUDIRI TRADITION

A TIME SPAN of about two millenia separates the Vedic Indians from the Nambudiris, the Malayalam-speaking brahmins of Kerala. The difference in life-style, practices and beliefs between Vedic nomads and Nambudiri brahmins is almost total. Over the millenia, nothing has been left of the social structure of Vedic society and the ancient subdivision into classes (*varṇa*) of brahmins, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and śūdras. We know very little about the relations between the Vedic brahmins and the Nambudiri brahmins. In the mean time, the system of caste (*jāti*) based upon birth, with its multifarious subdivisions; its distinction between ritual purity and impurity; its emphasis on pollution, untouchability, and unapproachability has established itself all over India. In Kerala it assumed especially extreme forms. Ritual and caste remained such preponderant features of daily life, that Kerala has been called *karmabhūmi*, "land of ritual (activity)," or—in Vivekananda's words—"a madhouse of caste." At the same time, Hinduism has become the religion of the people, including the Nambudiris. As elsewhere in India, temple worship, pilgrimages, festivals, religious discourses, philosophical discussions, and all kinds of rituals are its main manifestations. While sectarianism—e.g., the development of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism—has never been strong in Kerala, temples dedicated to various forms and manifestations of Śiva, Viṣṇu, or the goddess (especially Bhagavatī) mark the countryside. The favorite form is probably Nārāyaṇa. In many of these temples, Nambudiri priests officiate.

In terms of caste and religious observances, the Nambudiri brahmins have remained orthodox until recently. Devoted to their rituals, Tantric as well as Vedic, from which outsiders are excluded, they were relatively unaffected by modern "English" education. Most Nambudiris have been settled and peaceful villagers, country aristocrats, small landowners, connoisseurs of literature and the traditional arts (especially Kathakaḷi), scholars, and gentlemen. If there is anything left of a nomadic nature, it is that the Nambudiris, especially the men, are constantly on the move visiting other Nambudiri houses, temples where a special occasion is being celebrated, or Kathakaḷis in which their favorite actors or musicians take part.

According to Anantha Krishna Iyer (1912, 170), the most conspicuous characteristics of the Nambudiris are simplicity and exclusiveness. Obviously, the former predicate does not extend to their rituals. As regards their life-style, the following description by a Tamil brahmin from Kerala, though not untainted by romanticism and nostalgia, still rings true:

> Among the various peoples of the land the Nambūtiris . . . occupy a privileged position. They have exerted a powerful influence

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over the life and culture of the Malayāḷīs. These refined and aristocratic Brahmins exist and move in a different world and are in certain respects a distinct group from the Brahmins of the rest of India. Their chief interest is in guarding a way of life that has all but disappeared except in isolated instances elsewhere, and the cultivation of a great body of traditional knowledge. The Nambūtiris have remained a landed aristocracy from ancient times and consequently a leisured class. Rarely has this privileged position of assured affluence been abused by the community in the past. As a class they have lived a dedicated and disciplined life; but that was never at the expense of the refined enjoyments of the arts of life. Devotion to religious practices and rites, so pronounced a feature of their daily life, has not bred in them a dry asceticism spoiling the sense of relish and enjoyment. Behind an apparent outward simplicity, almost ascetic in severity, they remain aristocrats with fine tastes. Their love of poetry and the arts and sciences are well known; but they have fine epicurean tastes too. For the delights of the table they show an undisguised weakness; their feasts held on the slightest pretext are justly famous for many exquisite delicacies. No less famed are they for their evident love for amorous pleasures, a predilection that has found ample utterance in a branch of Malayalam literature. . . bearing the stamp of Nambūtiri genius. Again, as a class, they are distinguished for their sense of humour and wit; these features are found highly developed in the Kerala theatre. . . .The Nambūtiris when they converse use picturesque and emphatic hand gestures and facial expressions. This habit is too evident a characteristic to be missed. As a body they stood aloof from the sweeping current of modernity that has all but completely de-cultured the modern Indian. Had the Nambutiris too chosen early to exchange their great traditional culture for modern "miseducation" many noble institutions of the land and Kathakali too would have degenerated beyond redemption (Bharat Iyer 1955, 5–6).

The Nambudiris have had close social relationships with the other high castes of Kerala. Until 1933, only the eldest son was entitled to marry within the Nambudiri caste. The other sons married Nayar girls, and the children from such marriage alliances (*sambandham*) belonged to the matrilineal (*marumakattāyam*) lineages of their mothers, and were hence themselves Nayars. This led to quite extraordinary caste restrictions. For example, a Nayar son could never eat or bathe with his Nambudiri father, who himself could not eat food prepared by his wife. This system kept the ancestral property of the Nambudiri family undivided, since the younger brothers did not inherit, while spinsters remained abundant.

One of the principal aims of the Nambudiri Yogakṣema Mahāsabhā, a

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society founded in 1908, was agitation for marriage of all Nambudiris within the community. This aim was embodied in the Madras Nambudiri Act of 1933 (cf. Rao 1957, 107, 137). In the same year, the Madras Marumakkattayam Act was passed, by which sambandham alliances were considered regular marriages, conferring on the children the same rights of inheritance and property as held by children whose parents were both Nambudiris. Following these acts, Nambudiri land was increasingly partitioned and Nambudiri property dispersed.

While the Nambudiris had close social (but not ritual) relationships with members of other high castes in Kerala, their ties with other brahmins in different parts of India were loose or nonexistent. They still occupy a fairly isolated position among the brahmins of India. They differ from other brahmins in "64 *anācārams*" or "64 aberrant customs," which include their marriage customs and many others (see, e.g., Innes 1951, 156; for a complete list: Anantha Krishna Iyer 1912, II, 262–266; also see Mencher and Goldberg 1967). Though all brahmins are sensitive to purity and pollution, the Nambudiris go to extreme lengths (on the purity of Nambudiri women, see Yalman 1963). Yalman (1963, 50) quotes Aiyar: "A Nambudiri only wants an excuse for bathing. . . . The fastidious sense of bath purity occasionally takes the form of a regular mania, and receives the not inept description of . . . possession by a water devil". The Nambudiri pattern of settlement is also different from that of many other brahmins. Elsewhere in South India, brahmins generally live in the center of villages, where the temples are also situated. In Kerala, the Nambudiris, like the Nayars, live mostly outside the village in the countryside, where most of the temples are built. When Nambudiris themselves use the term "brahmin," they generally refer to Tamil brahmins.

Though the Nambudiris were not the original inhabitants of Kerala, it would be hazardous to assume that they are direct descendants from the Vedic Aryans. A long history has intervened, about which little is known, so that speculation is our only resort. In more recent times, we reach firmer ground. The Nambudiri settlement in Kerala is described by M. G. S. Narayanan and K. Veluthat in Part III of this book. The rest of the present chapter will be mainly devoted to the Vedic traditions of the Nambudiris. This may be supplemented by the information provided by Kunjunni Raja, Raghava Varier, and others in Volume II.

Before discussing the Vedic affiliation of the Nambudiris, it will be useful to survey briefly the present distribution of Vedic schools and of śrauta traditions in India (see Map B; for further information on recent śrauta traditions, see Kashikar and Parpola in Part III).

In present-day India, Vedic traditions survive in two main areas: one in western India with extensions to the north (Maharashtra, Saurashtra, and Uttar Pradesh), and the other in south India (Tamil Nad, Andhra Pradesh, and Mysore). The southern tradition is stronger. In simple terms, it would seem

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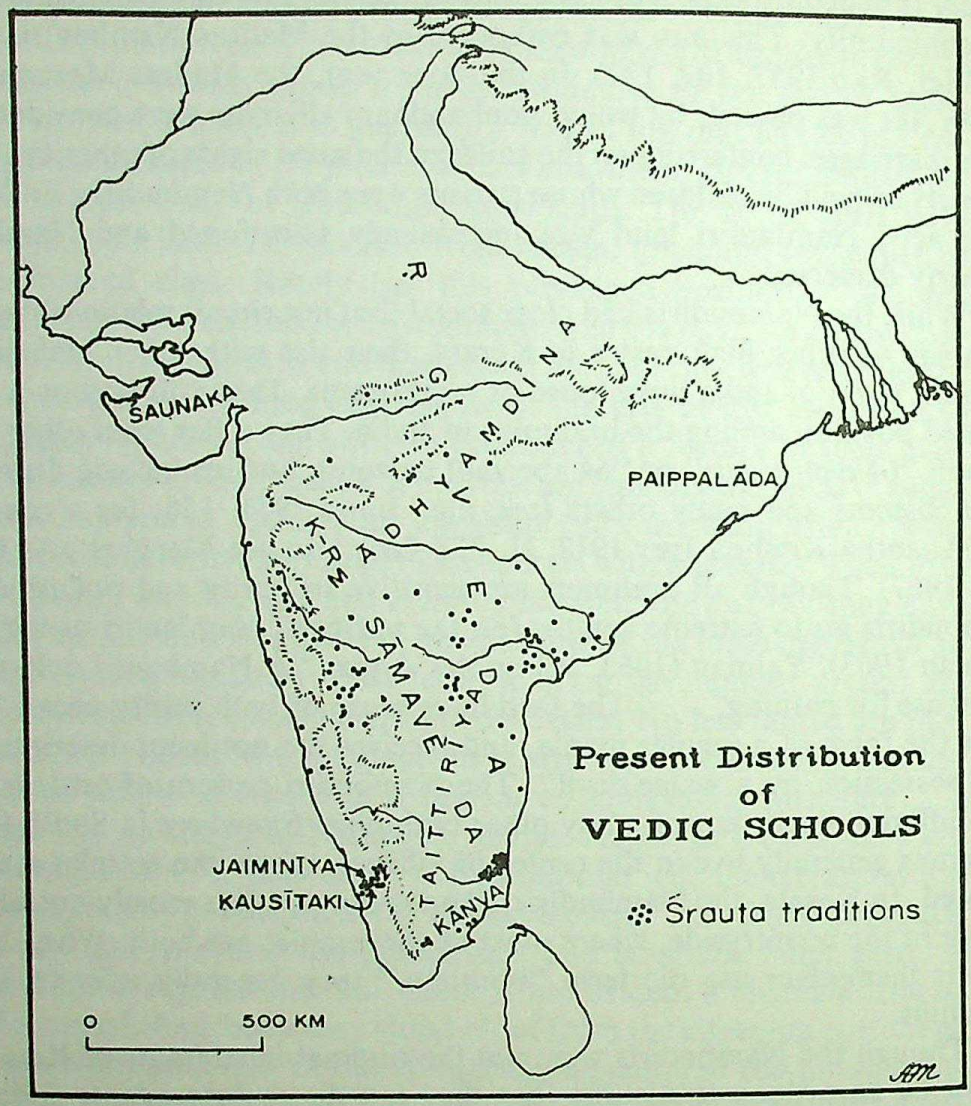

Map B

justified to say that the numerous events that determined the course of history in northern and central India through the centuries, at the same time caused the Vedic traditions to move to the extremities of the country, and especially to the south.

The western Vedic tradition is characterized by the preponderance of the White Yajurveda of the Mādhyaṃdina school. It is supported by Ṛgveda of the *Āśvalāyana* recension, and Sāmaveda of the *Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya* school. There is very little left of the Atharvaveda: a pocket of the *Śaunaka* school survives in Saurashtra, and a community of *Paippalāda* Atharvavedins has been recently discovered in Orissa. There are a few isolated Vedic traditions in Nepal, exiled from other areas of North India when Islam swept over the north. There is hardly anything left in the original homeland of the Vedas, the northwest, and equally little in Bengal, in the far northeast.

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6. The Nambudiri Tradition

The southern tradition is characterized by the preponderance of the Taittirīya school of the Black Yajurveda (with Āpastamba as the prevailing sūtra), along with Ṛgveda and Sāmaveda from the same schools as prevail in the western tradition. The Atharvaveda never seems to have existed in the south. Though the Ṛgveda is the same in the western and southern traditions, its style of recitation is very different. Since in each case it resembles the regional style of the preponderant Yajurveda, it seems likely that Yajurveda recitation has influenced the Ṛgveda. In the south, the Taittirīya tradition has been especially powerful. It occupies the center of the Vedic tradition, which is in accordance with its importance for the ritual. That the Black Yajurveda is preponderant in the south, whereas the White Yajurveda prevails in the north and the west, can be explained against the historical background: the White Yajurveda originated later than the Black Yajurveda, and when it began to spread and exert its influence, the Black Yajurveda receded further to the south.

Other historical considerations help to explain the present distribution of the Vedic schools. Even in ancient times, the Taittirīya recension was considered prevalent in the south, though "south" did not mean anything as far south as what is nowadays called south India. The White Yajurveda was generally associated with the east, which is confirmed by the role played in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by King Janaka of Videha (i.e., Bihar). Further geographical information on the Vedic schools in ancient times is provided by inscriptions. Both textual and epigraphical data are reviewed by Renou 1947: §47 (for Ṛgveda); § 73 (Atharvaveda); §§ 116–117 (Sāmaveda); §§ 194–199 (Yajurveda). The epigraphical data are also available in Renou 1950. We find in inscriptions the information, for example, that White Yajurveda of the *Kāṇva* school existed as far south as Andhra Pradesh. This is in accordance with the present situation, which shows the existence of a few Kāṇva villages still further south, in Tamil Nad.

Kerala is separated from the rest of India by the Western Ghats, a mountain range with an average elevation of 5,000 feet and a few peaks upwards of 8,000 feet. This range runs roughly parallel to the coast, in the north at a distance of some twenty miles, further south at a distance of about fifty miles from the ocean. Near the middle there is one main gap, the Palghat gap, through which most east-west communication takes place. At the northern extremity, the mountains come practically to the coast, whereas near the southern tip of India, some distance is kept. This geographical isolation, which helps to explain the Nambudiri "aberrant customs," is also reflected in the distribution of Vedic schools. In Kerala we find a tradition that is relatively small, but quite different from the rest of India, and entirely self-contained. If it had not been self-contained, it could not have supported a homogenous śrauta tradition, i.e., a tradition that does not require the importation of officiating priests from elsewhere. The Nambudiri Ṛgveda belongs in part to the *Kauṣītaki* recension, which is no longer found anywhere else. The

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Nambudiri Yajurveda is of the Taittirīya school but follows the sūtras of Baudhāyana (more than 90 percent) and of Vādhūla, less common and nonexistent, respectively, in the rest of south India. The extremely rare Sāmaveda belongs in its entirety to the Jaiminīya school, which has not been found anywhere else, with the exception of two or three isolated villages in Tamil Nad.

There is no Atharvaveda among the Nambudiris. This is in accordance with what we know about the past, including the recent past. The Jesuit Gonçalves, who lived 1561–1640, mentions only three Vedas as current among the Malabar brahmins (Gonçalves 1955, 35), and Rogerius, who visited South India in the seventeenth century, states that the Atharvaveda had long been lost (Rogerius 1915, 21).

The Nambudiri Vedic tradition makes an archaic impression when compared to other Vedic traditions in present-day India. In the realm of the Yajurveda, the sūtras of Baudhāyana and Vādhūla, closely related to each other and similar in style to the Brāhmaṇas, are older than the group Bharadvāja-Āpastamba-Hiraṇyakeśin-Vaikhānasa. In the Sāmaveda, the Jaiminīya school seems earlier than the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya (cf. Renou 1947, 98, note 1; Staal 1961, 71–72; Parpola 1968, I,1, 91, 95). In the domain of recitation, there is a unique survival of a very ancient feature: in a special form of Ṛgveda recitation, called *jaṭāpāṭha*, the originally raised *udātta* accent, which has elsewhere disappeared, is still recited at the highest pitch (Staal 1961, 46–47; cf. Levy-Staal 1968). This type of recitation constitutes the only direct verification of the raised accent postulated by comparative Indo-European philology. The Jaiminīya Sāmaveda chant, lastly, is also archaic (Staal 1961, 85). It is called "primeval" by Howard in Part III (page 312), and has in fact a narrow compass that contrasts with the "musical" qualities of Sāmaveda chant as heard elsewhere in India (cf. also Howard 1977, 200 and following).

The first to deal with the numerical distribution of the Vedic schools was Burnell. According to his estimate of 1870, "in Malabar, of 100 Brahmans (i.e., Nambudiris), 80 will be followers of the Ṛgveda, 19 of the Black Yajurveda and 1 of the Sāmaveda." In order to interpret this it should be remembered that Kerala consisted of three states, Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. Malabar was part of British India, whereas Cochin and Travancore were princely states. Logan collected information, again for Malabar, concerning the distribution of the Vedas from 1,017 *manas* (Nambudiri joint families) in or about 1885. His data are as follows:

Ṛgveda	Yajurveda	Sāmaveda	Excluded from the Vedas or uncertain	Total
466	406	6	139	1017

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6. The Nambudiri Tradition

A special feature of the Jaiminīya tradition is the "Dravidian" sound *ḷa* (see page 278), which does not occur anywhere else in Vedic or in Sanskrit. All these features are illustrated on the accompanying tapes.

The Nambudiris are probably unique in having a subcaste of brahmins who are excluded from the Vedas. They are called *ōttillātta*. These include the Cāttira Nambudiris, who engaged in military exercise (see Kunjunni Raja 1964 and Volume II, pages 302–304). The *aṣṭavaidyans*, eight families of heriditary physicians, though not studying the Vedas, are not *ōttillātta*. Most of the Nambudiris are entitled to recite the Vedas, and are called *ōttan*. A more recent estimate (reported along with the above estimates in Staal 1961, 35–36) gives 35 percent Ṛgvedins, 50 percent Yajurvedins, 1/8 percent Sāmavedins, and the rest excluded from the Veda. Since this last estimate includes Cochin and Travancore, and Cochin has important Yajurveda centers, this estimate is not inconsistent with Burnell's estimate and Logan's table.

According to the traditional histories of Kerala, Paraśurāma, sixth avatāra of Viṣṇu, brought the Nambudiri brahmins to Kerala and gave them sixty-four villages (grāma) to live in. Though they may have settled in different villages, the Nambudiris are still affiliated to certain traditional grāmas, among which Śukapuram (Chovaram), Perumānam, and Iriñjālakuḍā are the most important. In Śukapuram, there were originally only Ṛgvedins of the Kauṣītaki school, and Sāmavedins. Āśvalāyana Ṛgveda was added later when another grāma, Panniyūr, joined Śukapuram. In Iriñjālakuḍā there is no Ṛgveda; the Yajurvedic sūtras are Baudhāyana and the rare Vādhūla. In Perumānam, the Ṛgveda is Āśvalāyana, and the Yajurveda, Baudhāyana.

Nambudiris who are entitled to recite the Vedas have evolved a rich and diversified culture of Veda recitation (see Staal 1961). Their recitation is quite different from traditional Veda recitations in other parts of India. This is due to a variety of features, some characteristic of the Kerala pronunciation of Sanskrit (see Kunjunni Raja 1961). An important feature is nasalization, a feature of Malayalam in general, which seems to be relatively ancient (in Sanskrit it was called *anunāsikādhiprasara*). Another distinguishing mark is a certain swinging or trembling pronunciation of many final vowels, nasals, *visarga* (Sanskrit "*-ḥ*") and, occasionally, "*l*." Yet another peculiarity is the pronunciation of Sanskrit dentals *t*/*d* and retroflexes *ṭ*/*ḍ*, in certain syllable final positions, as dental *l* and retroflex *ḷ*, respectively. There is a tendency, characteristic of Malayalam, to voice voiceless unaspirated stops in medial position. Thus *śānti*, "peace," sounds like *śāndi*, and *pañca*, "five," like *pañja*. Actually, these sounds may only appear voiced. According to Kunjunni Raja (1961, 466), "they tend to become softer, though they are not voiced."

These features of pronunciation show that Vedic recitation has been assimilated to Malayalam to a much larger extent than, for example, in Tamil Nad, where Vedic recitation, and Sanskrit pronunciation generally, has been influenced by Tamil to a limited extent. This may be related to the fact that a much larger percentage of the Malayalam vocabulary is of Sanskrit origin

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than is the case with Tamil. It may also be connected with the isolated development of the Nambudiri tradition, which was not exposed to contact with other traditions. And lastly, though there have been many Nambudiri scholars of Sanskrit, there has not been a tendency to bring existing practices in line with the norms established in the past. Rather, the living tradition has been left to prevail and develop freely.

The last point may be clarified with the help of an example. There are many people in Kerala who know that the pronunciation of *adbhuta*, "wonderful," as *albhuta* is not in accordance with classical Sanskrit as described in Pāṇini's grammar. Yet nobody would suggest to go back to the form that is accepted as correct; everybody adopts what has become common practice. The same attitude is adopted by the Nambudiris with respect to their Vedic tradition. In this sense, the Nambudiri tradition is typically "living," and not "revivalistic."

The first four to six years of traditional education among the Nambudiris is spent on the memorization of the Veda. Each boy memorizes, of his own Veda, most or all of the Saṃhitā. This may be followed by more advanced recitations, in particular of the padapāṭha and of some of its vikṛti modifications (see above, page 30). There are particular vikṛti modifications of the Nambudiri Ṛgveda and special forms of Yajurvedic recitation that are not known in other parts of India (cf. Staal 1961, 47–49, 59–61). In both Ṛgveda and Yajurveda recitation, the three Vedic accents, *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, are taught in a special manner: the teacher keeps the pupil's head straight for the *udātta*, bends it down for the *anudātta*, and bends it to the right for the *svarita*. When the accents have been properly learned and internalized, the head should no longer be moved. There are also special hand gestures (*mudrā*) that accompany special features of Veda recitation. In the case of the Ṛgveda, a set of photographs was made by A. A. Bake, several decades ago. One of these is published in De Zoete 1953, Plate 4(a). At the time of the 1975 Agnicayana performance, some of these gestures accompanying Ṛgveda recitation were filmed. The Nambudiri Sāmavedins use different movements, also recently filmed, which are discussed and illustrated in Howard 1977, 220–248. These mudrās are the subject of a section of Part III (Volume II, pages 359–381).

While all Vedic recitations are taught in the home, there are two special schools for the teaching of Ṛgveda, one at Tirunāvāyi (near Koṭṭakal) and the other at Tṛśśivaperūr (Trichur). The Trichur school, called *vaḍakku maṭham*, "northern school," continues to teach many pupils, though it deserves a great deal more of public and private support. It used to be richly endowed by the Raja of Cochin and the Zamorin of Calicut (Anantha Krishna Iyer 1912, II, 253). In this school, several films and many photographs were made during 1975.

PLATES 13–15

There are differences in the style of recitation of the two Ṛgvedic schools. In the Yajurveda, which is not taught in institutions similar to the two Ṛgveda maṭhams, there are also two traditions that differ slightly in style of

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recitation, one following the grāmam of Perumanām, the other that of Iriñjālakuḍā. Some of these differences are mentioned in Staal (1961, 47, 55). The style of Nambudiri Ṛgveda recitation is analysed by Gray (1959 b). The Sāmaveda, analysed by Howard in Volume II and also in Howard 1977, (200–248, 422–451), is transmitted in its entirety in the homes. Actually, there are only twenty Sāmaveda houses (see Staal 1961, 86). The Sāmaveda tradition is the most feeble and will be the first to disappear (cf. above, page 39).

As has been explained in the second chapter (page 32), the recitations and chants required by the ritual presuppose the "ordinary" recitations and chants, but go beyond these, and require a great deal more study. They are also much more inaccessible and rare. While nonbrahmins are generally excluded from listening to Veda recitation, the ritual recitations had probably not been heard by non-Nambudiris until 1957, when I recorded the sāmidhenī stanzas (Staal 1961, 49–52, 92). Among the Sāmavedins, the study of ritual chanting is a more or less gradual extension of the study of the non-ritual parts of the Sāmaveda. But in the case of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda, the situation is different. Here, the ritual tradition is transmitted by special families of Nambudiris, called Vaidikan. There are six such families: Ceṟumukkŭ (spelled throughout this book in its customary Romanized form as Cherumukku), Taikkāṭ, Perumpaṭappŭ, Kapliṅgāṭ, Kaimukkŭ, and Pantal. Of these, Ceṟumukkŭ is located in Malabar (and accordingly mentioned in the *Malabar District Gazetteer* of 1908: see Innes 1951, 109); the others in the former Cochin state. The six Vaidikans are affiliated to the three traditional grāmams in the following manner:

VAIDIKAN	GRĀMAM
Ceṟumukkŭ, Taikkāṭ	Śukapuram
Perumpaṭappŭ, Kapliṅgāṭ	Perumānam
Kaimukkŭ, Pantal	Iriñjālakuḍā

The Vaidikans are in charge of the śrauta tradition, excluding only what pertains to the Sāmaveda. Thus the Vaidikans, whether they themselves are Ṛgvedins or Yajurvedins, transmit the recitations of Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, and Atharvaveda required by the śrauta ritual: *hautram, ādhvaryavam*, and *brahmatvam*. This implies that there are differences in the style of recitation adopted by different Vaidikans. A Vaidikan who is himself a Ṛgvedin will recite Yajurveda in a manner that Yajurvedins regard as slightly Ṛgvedic, and vice versa. The twelve priests and the sadasya priest, but not the Sāmaveda priests, are provided—or at least selected—by the Vaidikan who is responsible for a śrauta performance. The Sāmavedins provide for the udgātā and his three Sāmaveda assistants, i.e., the *audgātram*.

Śrauta rituals consist largely, but not exclusively, of recitation and

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PLATE 13

Ṛgveda Teacher and Pupils

The largest school for the teaching of Ṛgveda to Nambudiri boys is the vaḍakkù maṭham, "northern school," at Trichur (Tṛśśivaperūr). It used to be richly endowed. This photograph, which may have been taken around the turn of the century, comes from L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes,* Volume II. Madras, London. 1912.

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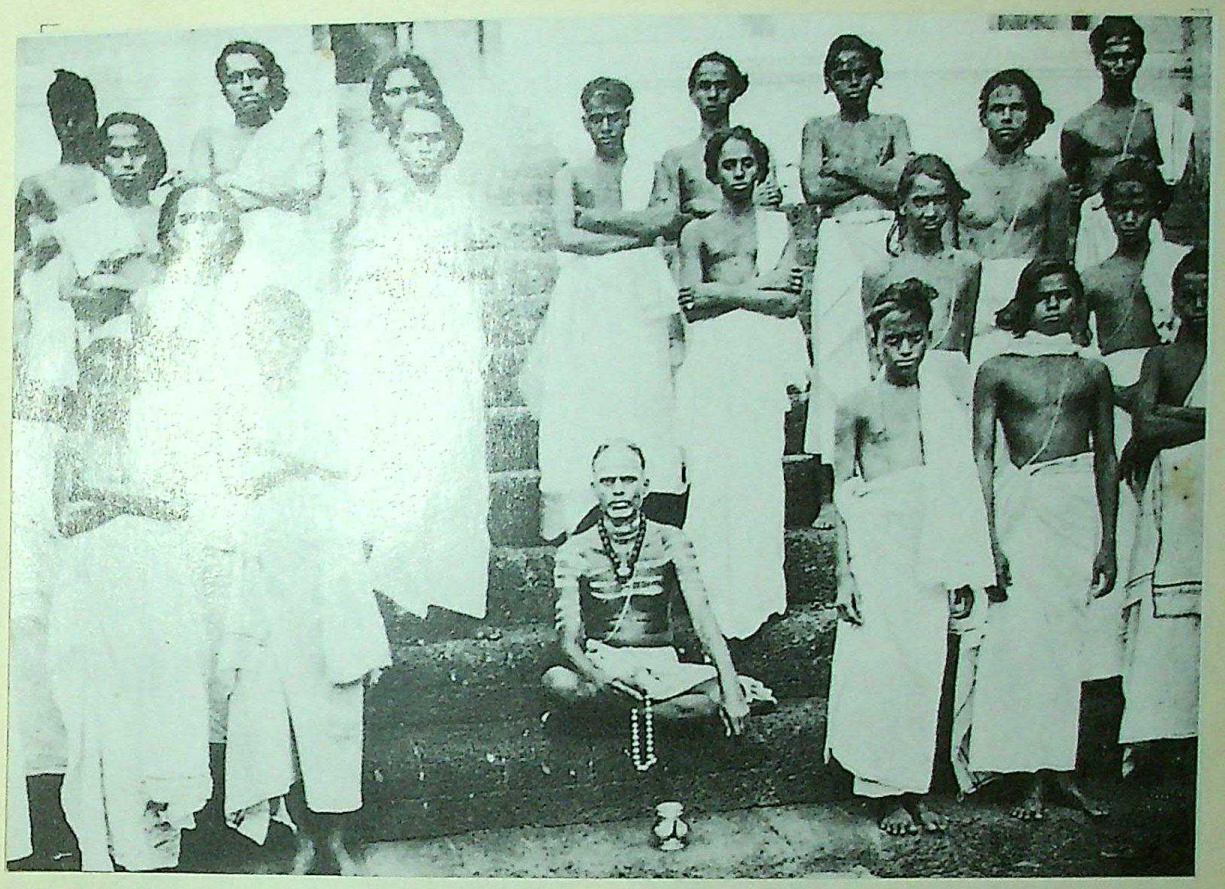

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PLATE 14A-C

Teachers and Pupils in the Trichur Ṛgveda School

The teaching of Ṛgveda continues at the Trichur "northern school." It is mostly confined to the basic text, which is learnt by heart. Some of the more advanced students learn the recitation of the padapāṭha, "word-for-word recitation," and some of its modifications (vikṛti). Special forms of the Ṛgveda, such as are used in the ritual, are transmitted within the families of the Vaidikans, and are not taught in schools.

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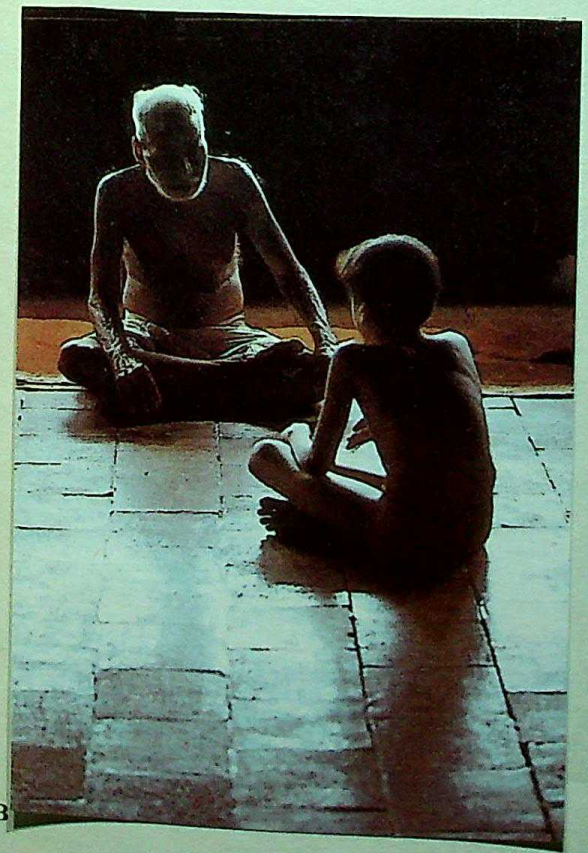
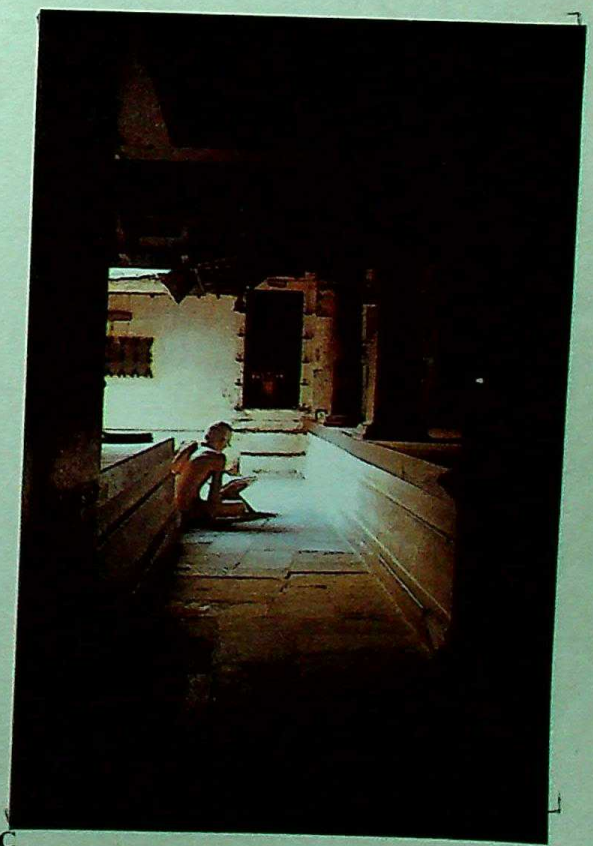
A



B



C

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PLATE 15A-B

Teaching the Accents of the Ṛgveda

The Ṛgveda has three accents: udātta, "raised," anudātta, "not raised," and svarita, "sounded." The Sanskrit grammarian Pāṇini describes the latter accent as a combination of the former two. These simple terms give no indication of the complexities that characterize the rendering of the accents by the Nambudiri brahmins. The movements, however, which accompany the teaching of the accents, are simple: the pupil's head is kept straight for the udātta, is bent down for the anudātta (15 A), and lifted and bent to the pupil's right for the svarita (15B). These movements are intended for teaching purposes only. An adept reciter should not move his head. There are also hand movements (mudra) which accompany recitation. They are described in the second volume.

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A

B

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chant. The ritual acts have also to be performed. This is mainly the responsibility of the adhvaryu and the pratiprasthātā, and to a lesser extent that of the other priests. Again, the Sāmavedins are apart. Their ritual activity is limited, and is mostly confined to the Soma ritual. The adhvaryu is the chief performer on behalf of the Vaidikans. Himself a Vaidikan, he may be a Ṛgvedin or a Yajurvedin. The 1975 Agnicayana performance followed the tradition of the Cherumukku Vaidikans who are Ṛgvedins. Not all the priests were Cherumukku Vaidikans, but all were Kauṣītakins, except one. The Sāmavedins were on their own and acted on their own authority.

Apart from style of recitation, there are purely ritual differences between the Vaidikan traditions. Each has its own manuscripts, called, e.g., Yāgambhāṣa. They also differ with regard to the Agnicayana. There are three types of Agnicayana, distinguished after the basic shape of the large altar of the uttaravedi: (1) pīṭhan, which is made up of squares; (2) *pañcapatrikā*, "five-tipped," in which the wings of the bird have five tips (*patrikā* or *pattrikā*); and (3) *ṣaṭpatrikā*, "six-tipped." The first is said to be like the śyena bird when it has just come out of its egg; the second, when it is young; the third, when it is fully grown. The five-tipped Agnicayana and the square Agnicayana will be dealt with in Part III (Volume II, pages 343–358). The six-tipped form was adopted in 1975 by Cherumukku Vaidikan, and is therefore described in the rest of this volume.

The Vaidikan families have their own manuscripts that describe the shapes of the altars in detail. It is on account of these that the traditions differ. The six-tipped Agnicayana can be performed by any of the six Vaidikans. The square Agnicayana can only be performed by Ceṟumukkŭ, Perumpaṭappŭ, and Kaimukkŭ. The five-tipped Agnicayana can only be performed by the remaining three. The six-tipped Agnicayana is the most common. Erkkara Raman Nambudiri, in his eighties at the time of writing (1978), has seen it five times. The five-tipped variety had become almost extinct, but Erkkara reconstructed it from the available manuscripts, and gave the information to Kuttuḷḷi Akkitiripad of the Taikkāṭ Vaidikans, after which it was performed once. The square bird has not been constructed for approximately 150 years. In recent years, the Agnicayana has only been performed by the Ceṟumukkŭ and Taikkāṭ Vaidikans. The other four Vaidikans have not performed it for a long time, and their last Agniṣṭoma took place in the fifties or earlier.

In recent centuries, the Nambudiris seem to have performed only two Soma rituals: Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra-Agnicayana. The first is also simply called *Somayāga*, "Soma ritual," and the second: Agni. These rituals can only be performed after the sacred fires have been set up. A person who has done this, i.e., who has performed Agnyādheya (above, page 41), is called Aṭitiri or Aṭīri. A Nambudiri who has performed Agniṣṭoma obtains the title Somayāji or Somayājipad. A Somayāji who has performed Atirātra-Agnicayana is called Akkitiri or Akkitiripad. Only a Somayāji can perform

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the Atirātra-Agnicayana. Moreover, only certain families are eligible to perform these Soma rituals. They include Ṛgvedins, Yajurvedins, and Sāmavedins. Nobody can perform such a ritual unless he is married, unless his father (if he is alive) has performed somayāga, unless he is the eldest son, or, in case he is a younger son, unless his older brother has performed somayāga.

Vaidikans affiliated to the same grāmam belong to a *Sabhā Maṭham* or College of Assembly, an institution primarily devoted to the maintenance of the śrauta traditions. Each Sabhā Maṭham is made up of members who have performed śrauta rituals. In Śukapuram, which has three maṭhams, each member has to be a Somayāji or Akkitiri. In Iriñjālakuḍā and Perumānam, an Aṭitiri can also be a member. Of the three maṭhams of Śukapuram, the one now located in Shoranur (Ṣoṟaṇūr) used to be the richest. It maintained three temples with landed property, and before 1970 its annual income exceeded 30,000 *paṟa*'s of rice (in 1977, the price of one paṟa—about 12 liters or 40 cups—was fixed at Rs.25/- or about $3.65; it had been twice as much in 1975). This income was used to maintain three temples; the remainder was distributed among the members. A Somayāji or Akkitiri would therefore receive a yearly stipend, the amount depending chiefly on the number of other members, the nature of the crop, and the price of rice. Eight families received 20 percent more than the others, but there was no difference in income between a Somayāji and an Akkitiri. The average annual income around the twenties of this century was of the order of Rs.50/-; in the sixties it sometimes climbed to Rs.2,000/-.

There seems to have been only one economic difference between a Somayāji and an Akkitiri. In the temple of Karimpula (Palghat District), Akkitiris used to be invited once a year, and were given a good feast and nine rupees each. The funds were provided by the Vice-Rājā (Zamorin) of Calicut. The expenditure involved could never have been very large. At the time of writing, for example, there are in the Śukapuram grāmam three Akkitiris, as compared to nineteen Somayājis.

All of this changed in 1970 when the Kerala Land Reform Act of 1963 was amended. Under the original act, cultivating tenants were made eligible to purchase the right, title, and interest of the landlord. They could exercise this right by applying to a Land Tribunal. In 1970, an amendment clarified that this procedure was applicable if the owner of the land was a religious, charitable, or educational institution. The legal details of the act and its amendments are complex (see, for example, Sugathan 1976), but the result was that most temples lost their income, and so did the members of a Sabhā Maṭham.

Nambudiris like Erkkara Raman Nambudiri do not feel that these economic changes have contributed much to the decrease of ritual performances. Their number was already on the decrease, mainly because many Nambudiris, especially the younger generation, lost interest, and also because qualified Sāmavedins have become increasingly rare (cf. above, page 39). This trend

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could only be arrested to some extent by strengthening the Sāmavedic tradition. To this end, a Sāmaveda school has been added as a branch to a school where temple ritual is being taught, the Tantravidyālaya at Covvannūr (near Kunnamkulam, which is due west from Vadakkancheri). However, the ritual chants of the Sāmaveda are enormously extended and complex, and there are only two or three people who could teach them competently. Compared to their level of expertise, the teaching at the school seems elementary. The situation could only be saved by improving the level of instruction considerably, appointing at least one of the experts, and making attractive scholarships available to the students, together with some guarantee of future employment.

We have not yet tried to explain the curious fact that the Nambudiris perform only the Agniṣṭoma and the Atirātra-Agnicayana out of all śrauta rituals. At first sight it would seem likely that in a more distant past the Nambudiris performed more Soma rituals than only these two. After all, the Atirātra is the fourth in the hierarchy of one-day Soma rituals, in which Agniṣṭoma is the first. So why should they not have performed the intervening varieties? Moreover, it seems likely that there were past performances of another śrauta ritual, viz., the Aśvamedha. Lastly, it is certain that the Nambudiris, as scholars, were familiar with the entire range of śrauta rituals.

In other parts of India the situation is different: what survives is generally the lower portion of the hierarchy. For example, there are places where the Agniṣṭoma is still performed (see Kashikar and Parpola in Volume II: Part III); elsewhere, the seven Soma rituals are performed (e.g., in Andhra and Tamil Nad). There is no other area where only Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra (whether by itself or in combination with Agnicayana) are performed. Yet this is the Nambudiri situation.

There is of course another possibility, which is at least logically conceivable, viz., that the Nambudiris never performed the other varieties of Soma ritual. In that case there must be a reason for such a particularly selective tradition. Barring arbitrariness, which is not much of a cause, the reason could be that the Agniṣṭoma and the Agnicayana represent in fact the two original and earliest types among the larger śrauta rituals. In that case, the Nambudiri tradition would reflect a very early stage of development, when only these two kinds of śruata ritual existed, and the systematization that includes the seven varieties of ekāha ("one-day") Soma rituals had not yet been evolved. However, this seems less credible, for it would take us back to a time before the sūtra period. Let us see whether it is at all likely.

First of all, it is quite possible that the Agniṣṭoma represents the original Indo-Iranian Soma ritual, or Somayāga. This would have been a product of the Indo-Iranian fire cult, which developed into a celebration of Soma when the Vedic nomads had entered the Indian plains and had left the real Soma behind. One would expect that such a Soma ritual would be reflected at least in the Ṛgveda. This is in accordance with the facts, for—though re-

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ferences to ritual in the Ṛgveda are fragmentary and often unclear—its most specific information relates to Soma rites, and it is in the domain of Soma rites that the Ṛgveda comes closest to the ritual descriptions of classical times (Hillebrandt 1897, 15). The chief priest of this original Soma ritual was the hotā. Assisted by some helpers, he was responsible for the pouring of oblations, and later for the Ṛgvedic invocations (see above page 93).

The construction of the Agnicayana fire altar "in the fashion of Aṅgiras" reflected the indigenous fire cult. It is the chief ritual of the Yajurveda, and its main priest was the adhvaryu. When the Agnicayana was combined with a Soma ritual, the Soma ceremonies were extended so as to last through the night (atirātra). Hence, an Atirātra-Agnicayana would have developed as the first composite ritual of an Agnicayana and Somayāga. The "Atirātra" of this original Atirātra-Agnicayana need not have been the same as the Atirātra defined in the classical manuals, i.e., a Soma ritual characterized by 29 Soma sequences. The name merely indicated that the Soma ceremonies that accompanied the Agnicayana lasted through the night.

In due course, a sequence of Soma rituals was developed and a hierarchy was evolved. Thus arose the seven varieties mentioned in the śrauta sūtras: Agniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atiṛātra, Aptoryāma, Atyagniṣṭoma, and Vājapeya. These are primarily defined by the increasing number of Soma sequences, but they have also specific features with various backgrounds. The establishment of this hierarchy, however, smacks of scholastic ritualism. Its origin may have been largely theoretical, which does not imply that these seven varieties were not, in due course, performed. The Nambudiris did not engage in these exercises and retained, along with many other archaic practices, only the two original rituals, a Soma ritual and an Agnicayana, combined with an overnight Soma ritual. This overnight Soma ritual was duly incorporated into the hierarchy and became the Atirātra of the classical manuals.

A remarkable fact accords with this hypothesis. We have seen that the Nambudiri Sāmavedins belong to the archaic Jaiminīya schools. The subdivisions of the Jaiminīya Saṃhitā mention none of the seven varieties of Soma ritual, but only the Agniṣṭoma (after 3.5) and Atirātra (after 3.9).

Much of this reconstruction is speculative, but there are other facts that clearly support it. The Ṛgveda does not mention Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Soḍaśin, Vājapeya, or Aptoryāma as names of Soma rituals. In fact, only two of these terms occur: Ṣoḍaśin, which merely means "sixteenth"; and Ukthya, which means "accompanied by *uktha*," where uktha denotes a ritual recitation of Ṛgveda similar to the later śastra. However, the term Atirātra occurs once in the Ṛgveda, and clearly refers to a Soma ritual: Ṛgveda 7. 103.7 compares frogs during the rainy season to brahmins at an Atirātra Soma celebration round a lake. Here is an obvious reference to an extended Soma celebration, lasting through the night—the kind of Soma ritual that was later defined in more scholastic terms by a succession of 29 Soma sequences,

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and sometimes combined with an Agnicayana. The intermediate stage is clearly represented by the Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda, which describe the Agniṣṭoma, the Ukthya, the Ṣoḍaśin, and the Atirātra as consisting of twelve, fifteen, sixteen, and twenty-nine Soma sequences respectively, but mention the other varieties only in passing or not at all (Keith 1920, 53–54). Whether the Atirātra should include the Ṣoḍaśin has long been a matter of discussion. The option is quoted as an illustration by the famous philosopher Śaṅkara, a Nambudiri brahmin of the seventh or eighth century A.D. (*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* 1.1.2). All these facts support the view that the Nambudiri tradition is not a fragment surviving from an originally broader śrauta tradition, but rather preserves an earlier stage of development.

In view of the other archaic features of the Nambudiri Vedic tradition, it would not be surprising if they had indeed preserved a very early stage of ritual development. Such a view might be supported and further developed if we knew more about the history of the brahmanical system of exogamous clans or gotra. It is a fact, for example, that many Nambudiris belong to the gotra Āṅgirasa (see pages 137, 267). Brough and Kosambi rightly deplored that we have no precise data about the numerical distribution of gotras in later and recent times. Only such information would enable us to evaluate the occurrence of the gotra Āṅgirasa among the Nambudiri brahmins.

The Nambudiris have evolved an arrangement that provides them with a substitute for Soma. This substitute, probably *Sarcostemma brevistigma*, an Asclepiad related to the American milkweeds (Wasson 1968, 104; Flattery, forthcoming, Appendix), is also used in other parts of India. Since it grows only in tropical areas, it could not always have been the substitute, as Flattery (§ 130) observes. In South India, *Sarcostemma* grows south of the Palghat gap in the Anaimalai Hills of the Western Ghats, in the territory of the former Raja of Kollengode.[1] When the Nambudiris decide to perform a Soma ritual, they officially inform the Raja of Kollengode, who then provides them with Soma, with the skin of a black antelope (*kṛṣṇājina*) and with several kinds of wood needed for making ritual implements. Detailed information about the history of this arrangement is found in the Kollengode archives and is discussed by Raghava Varier in Volume II, pages 279–299. This custom, however, is also gradually breaking down. In 1975, there were some anomalies, which will be described in the sequel.

According to Erkkara Raman Nambudiri, more than 120 Agniṣṭoma performances and five Atirātra-Agnicayana performances have taken place between 1911 and 1970 (cf. Volume II, pages 252–255). This is in accordance

[1] Earlier I accepted a botanists' identification of the Soma plant that grows in the Anaimalai Hills as *Ephedra vulgaris* (Staal 1964). However, this identification appears to have been erroneous, and I was wrong again when I criticized Brough (1971, 361) for maintaining that *Ephedra* had never been used in India as a substitute for Soma (Staal 1975, 203, note).

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with the data provided by Cherumukku Vaidikan, according to whom the Agnicayana was performed 17 times during the last hundred years and five times during the last fifty years. The last performance before 1975 took place in 1956. PLATE 16

Nambudiri ritualists who are engaged in a śrauta performance, and the Vaidikans in general, seem to pay scant attention to the hoary interpretations of the past, and do not offer many interpretations of their own. There are, however, traditions attached to certain features of the ritual. For example, the Sāmavedins believe that an error committed in the chant of the *ṣoḍaśi-stotra* will cause the chanter's madness.

In the sixteenth century, Melputtūr Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭatiripad, a famous Nambudiri scholar and the author of the *Nārāyaṇiya*—a poem in 1036 verses (*śloka*), which relates the story of Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa—wrote a poem called *Rājasūyam* or *Rājasūyaprabandha*. This poem (see Kunjunni Raja in Volume II, page 309) contains an allegorical interpretation of the Agnicayana. In this composition, the bricks are related to the story of Kṛṣṇa. Some bricks are called *yaśodā*, which is also the name of Kṛṣṇa's stepmother. The svayamātṛṇṇā pebbles are interpreted in terms of *naipāyasam*, a sweet made of ghee, jaggery sugar and rice. There is a double meaning (*śleṣa*) for the term śarkara, which means both "pebble" and "jaggery". The literary works of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭatiri, like those of other Nambudiri authors, are not kept within the Nambudiri caste; they are known all over Kerala. The people of Kerala must have had more than an inkling of what the Nambudiris were doing, otherwise the seventeenth century author Rāmacandramakhin could not have described Kerala as follows (*Keralābharaṇa*, verse 204):

> Here there is no altar construction,
> no oblation or recitation,
> no consecration or Vedic injunction,
> no exclamation of Vauṣaṭ.
>
> In their hearts, the people of Kerala
> cling to desires
> aroused by embracing
> the breasts of courtesans.[1]

[1] *nevāsti vediracanā na ca homamantraṃ*
dikṣāvidhir na ca vaṣaṭkṛtayo na vāpi /
vārāṅganakucataṭīparirambhadatta-
saṃrambhalagnahṛdayāḥ khalu keralīyāḥ //

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PLATE 16

Altar of 1956 Agnicayana

The Atirātra-Agnicayana ritual described in this book was performed in 1975. During the past one hundred years it has been performed seventeen times; during the last fifty years, five times. The most recent performances before 1975 took place in 1955 and 1956. The bird-shaped altar of earlier performances has generally disappeared into the soil, which is quick to take over in the jungle of a humid and tropical climate. Sometimes bricks from earlier altars have been put to new uses, and so they are occasionally met with in Nambudiri compounds, for example, in a courtyard or garden path. The plate shows the altar of the 1956 performance, which was kept intact in the compound of Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad, on whose behalf the ceremony was performed. The right wing, which points to the south, is in front; the head, facing east, to the right; and the tail and left wing are visible on the left and in the background, respectively. Later, bricks from the higher layers of this altar were used for the 1975 performance.

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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PART II

THE 1975 PERFORMANCE

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PRELIMINARIES

1. Eligibility, Time, and Place

A NAMBUDIRI IS ELIGIBLE to perform the Atirātra-Agnicayana, which is an optional (kāmya) rite, only if he has already performed the Agniṣṭoma. The Agniṣṭoma can only be performed by a brahmin whose ancestors have performed it. If his father or elder brother are alive, they should have performed it before him. Among Nambudiris belonging to the Śukapuram grāmam (see above pages 175–183), 105 families are eligible. In practice, less than seventy-five families have preserved the tradition of performing Agniṣṭoma. As a result of these various restrictions, performances of the Atirātra-Agnicayana have been rare in recent times, as we have already remarked (above page 186).

At the time of the 1975 performance, two Akkitiripads (Nambudiris who have performed the Agnicayana) were alive. At the time of writing (1977) there are three, as the yajamāna of the 1975 performance acquired the title Akkitiripad through that very performance.

Every Nambudiri agrees that one more condition should be met by a prospective yajamāna: he should be strong, which in practice is taken to mean that he should be young. When an eligible yajamāna finally decides to have the ritual performed on his behalf, he has to consult many others, ask the support of his elders, and find the necessary priests. Once this is done, he is in a position to determine time and place for the performance, in consultation with his elders and priests.

Cherumukku Vaidikan Neelakanthan, third son of Cherumukku Vaidikan Vallaban Somayajipad, decided in December 1974 to perform the Agnicayana, or rather, he yielded to his father's persuasion and consented to do it. The date was quite late in view of the many preparations that were required. Moreover, there was some uncertainty whether he would carry out his intention until the final days before the performance. The most likely dates for the ritual to be performed were also fixed in December 1974. These issues were a matter of prolonged discussion, and the decisions were finally triggered by the presence, in Kerala, of Professor Robert Gardner, who was to direct the visual and sound documentation, and the present author. Thus started a period of frantic activity, primarily for the organizers, the priests, and various artisans, and also for all those who were connected with the "Agnicayana Project." The activities connected with this project will be treated in Part III, pages 456–475.

The prescribed season for performing a Soma ritual, including Agniṣṭoma or Atirātra, is Vasanta, "the brilliant season," i.e., spring. Originally the Nambudiris seem to have interpreted Vasanta as *māghādipañca*, "the five

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months beginning with Māgha," viz., Māgha (January-February), Phālguna (February-March), Caitra (March-April), Vaiśākha (April-May), and Jyaiṣṭha (May-June). In recent times the rituals have been celebrated only during Caitra or Vaiśākha. The ceremonies have to be completed within the bright half (*śuklapakṣa*) of the month, i.e., to begin on or after new moon (*amāvāsyā*) and be over on or before full moon (*pūrṇimāvāsyā*). Or at least the yajamāna should start with the intention of completing the ceremonies before pūrṇimā.

In 1975, the first new moon within the prescribed period, the first day of Caitra, was on April 12; the subsequent full moon, the 15th day of Caitra, was on April 26. Since the ceremonies last for twelve days, the only possible beginning days were April 12, 13, 14, or 15. The ritual could also be performed in Vaiśākha, one month later, but by that time it is even hotter and/or the southwest monsoon will have started, and so it was decided to resort to this later period only in case of emergency. It was similarly decided to start on April 12, rather than on any of the subsequent days.

There is always a risk that the beginning of the performance may have to be postponed: the kṛṣṇājina skin (see below pages 203, 206) might not arrive in time, or there might be pollution (*āśauca*) due, for example, to a death or birth in the immediate (patrilocal) family of the yajamāna or his wife, or to the menses of the wife. If the earliest possible date is chosen, the beginning may be postponed, or the ceremonies interrupted for a few days, and the ritual could still be completed before full moon.

Barring these specific kinds of pollution, the ceremonies, once begun, should continue and be brought to completion at all cost. If one of the priests falls ill or dies, another one replaces him instantly, and the selection ceremony (*ṛtvigvaraṇam*, see below pages 313–316) is performed for the new priest.

The place where the sacrificial enclosure should be constructed is less narrowly circumscribed, and this opened the way to a certain amount of discussion. Tradition prescribes that a Soma ritual should be performed on the banks of a river, in which the avabhṛtha bath on the final day will take place. In south India, temple tanks are considered as auspicious as rivers for ceremonial bathing. Another consideration is that the Soma rituals are always performed in private places. They are never performed near cremation grounds, in temples, or on temple grounds, not only because the Vedic ceremonies are not related to temple worship in any direct manner, but also because the sacred enclosure is set on fire after the performance is over, and one does not set fires near temples.

In December 1974, it was decided to perform the Atirātra-Agnicayana at Panjal (Pāññāl), and to make arrangements for the final bath to take place in the tank of a nearby temple, dedicated to Ayappan. In the past, many Vedic rituals were performed in Panjal to the south of a Viṣṇu temple, which, however, is mostly restricted to Nambudiris. Panjal, which is one of the most important centers of the Nambudiri Jaiminīya Sāmaveda tradition (see Staal

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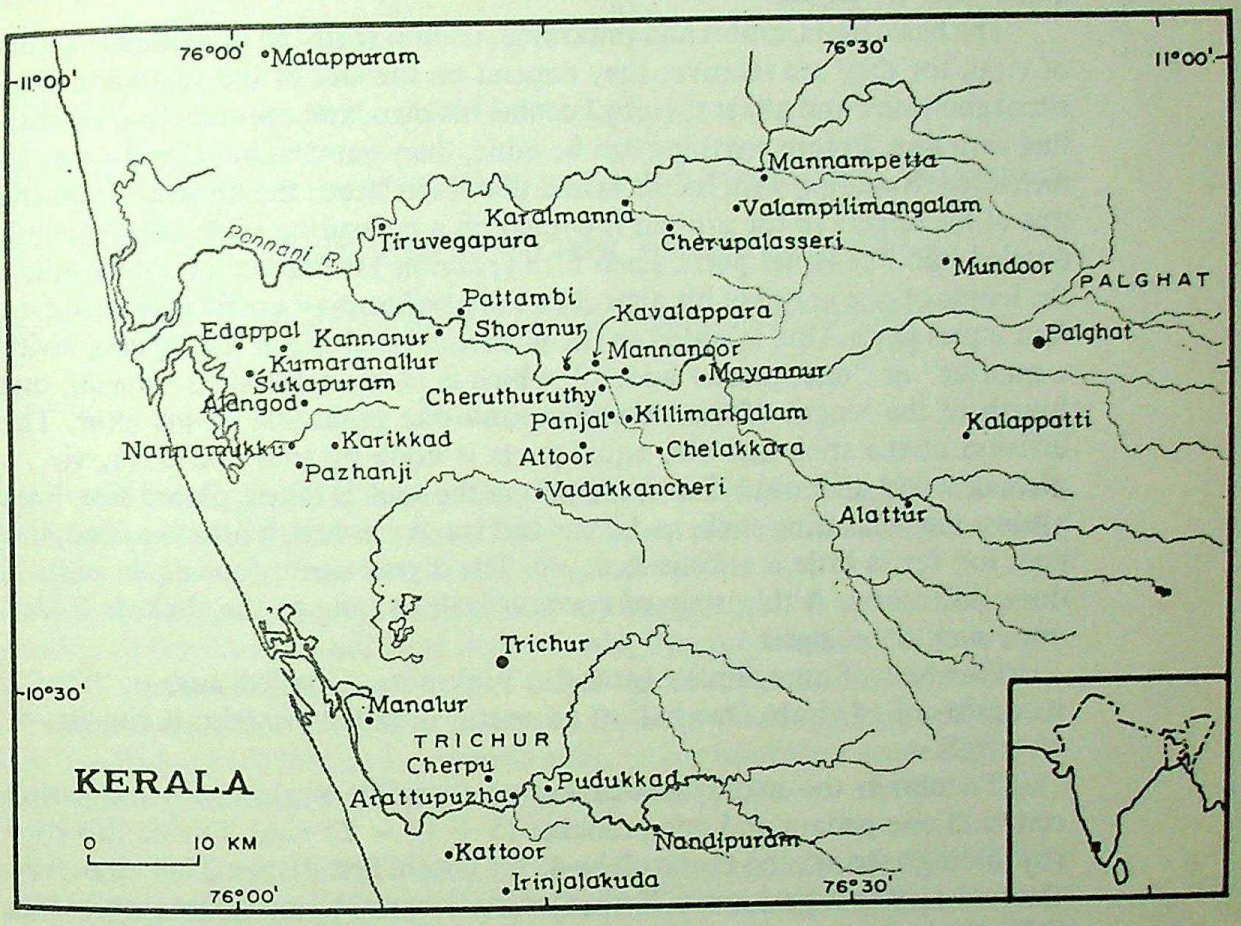
1961, 86), is a hamlet situated at about 76 18′ E and 10 43′ N, in the Cheruthuruthi District of the former Cochin State, at about 5 miles southeast of Shoranur (see Map C).



Map C

2. Measurements and Bricks

THE SIZES OF the ritual enclosure and of the main altars are functions of the size of the yajamāna. Since the brick-made new domestic and offering altars of the Agnicayana are much larger than they are in the Agniṣṭoma, the measurements for the ritual enclosure are increased in the Agnicayana. In the Agniṣṭoma, there are two basic units: *aratni*, consisting of 24 *viral*, and *prakrama*, consisting of 30 viral. The Malayalam viral is a finger's breadth and corresponds to the Sanskrit *aṅgula*. In the Agnicayana, the aratni is the same, but in addition to the prakrama of 30 viral, now called *prākṛta*-prakrama, "ordinary prakrama," there is a *madhyama*-prakrama, "middle prakrama," of 32 1/4 viral, and a *vṛddha*-prakrama, "increased prakrama" of

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34 1/3 viral. The latter two are used, as we shall see (below, pages 257–265), for the measurements of the outlines of the Old Hall (*prācīnavaṃśa*) and Great Altar Space (Mahāvedi), respectively, so that the new domestic and offering altars will fit inside.

The basic units, aratni and prakrama, cannot really be measured in terms of viral, for they are relative: they depend on the size of the yajamāna. The ritual enclosure and altars thereby become his own, and are sometimes identified with him. Before anything can be done, the yajamāna has therefore to be measured. Standing with hands raised above his head, the distance from the tips of his fingers to the ground is copied on a measuring stick, subsequently divided into five equal parts. Each fifth (*pañcami*) is marked and determines the length of one aratni of his altar. Next this pañcami or aratni is divided into four equal parts. One is added to the pañcami, resulting in the *sapāda*, "with a quarter" or "one quarter added," which is at the same time *caturthi*, one fourth of the length of the yajamāna, and one prakrama of his altar. The division of the stick into five equal parts is done by trial and error, viz., a piece of wood of about 1/5 of the length of the stick is taken, placed five times against the measuring stick, and if the end is not reached, a little is added, if it goes too far, a little is substracted, etc. The division into four equal parts is done differently. A thin strip of coconut leaf, as long as the stick, is folded once and once again.

One-half of an ordinary (prākṛta) prakrama is called *padam*, "foot"; it consists of 15 virals. One half of an aratni is called *pradeśa*; it consists of 12 virals.

To obtain the madhyama-prakrama ("middle prakrama") measuring rod, add one padam and one pradeśa: 15 + 12 = 27 viral. Divide this by 3 (by folding a string) and the result by 4. We obtain first 9, then 2 1/4 viral. Add this to the prākṛta-prakrama (30 viral) and we obtain the madhyama-prakrama (32 1/4 viral).

To obtain the vṛddha-prakrama ("extended prakrama") measuring rod, add one aratni and one padam: 24 + 15 = 39 viral. Divide this by 3 twice, and we obtain first 13, then 4 1/3 viral. Add this to the prākṛta-prakrama (30 viral) and we obtain the vṛddha-prakrama (34 1/3 viral).

Figure 8 illustrates the three measuring sticks and the four basic measures they exhibit. These three sticks will be used by the Adhvaryu priest in all subsequent measurements.

The bricks of the altars require some additional measurements. The side of the basic square bricks used in the construction of the main altar is one aratni or pañcami, and is therefore already available. But the yajamāna is, in addition, measured from the top of his head to the ground while standing. This distance is divided into three and again into seven equal parts. The resulting units provide the lengths of the two sides of the rectangular bricks needed for the new domestic altar. Lastly, the distance is measured from the yajamāna's knees to the ground. This is again divided into five equal parts,

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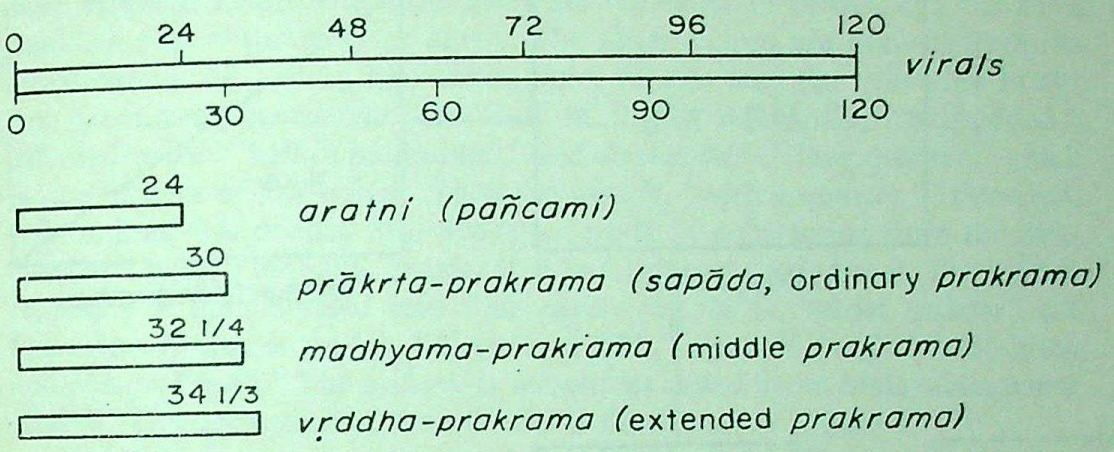

Figure 8—The Four Basic Measures

each called *muṭṭu* (in Malayalam). One such unit determines the thickness of the bricks of both the domestic and the offering altar. The final altars will therefore reach up to the knees of the yajamāna.

All these measurements were taken in December 1974, so that the preparation of the bricks could start immediately. The preparation of the bricks is in fact the most time-consuming of the material preparations. More than one thousand fired bricks are required for the large offering altar, and more than one hundred for the new domestic altar. Other bricks are needed for the dhiṣṇya and other hearths, but these are sun dried and need not to be fired in a kiln.

There are several other kinds of material preparations, which will be dealt with in subsequent sections. All these took place simultaneously, involving different kinds of expertise, during the first three months of 1975. While brickmakers, carpenters, potters, goldsmiths and other artisans were at work, the Vaidikans rehearsed *hautram*, *ādhvaryavam*, and *brahmatvam* at Shoranur, in the Nambudiri Sabhā Maṭham, and the Sāmavedins rehearsed *audgātram* at Panjal, mostly in the homes of Itti Ravi, Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad, or in the Viṣṇu temple.

Now let us take a closer look at the bricks themselves. The new domestic altar will be constructed from 105 bricks, equally distributed in five square layers, each of which consists of three by seven rectangular bricks. All these bricks are therefore of the same size, as we have already seen.

The main, bird-shaped offering altar consists of bricks of various rectangular and triangular shapes. Disregarding a refinement (of which anon), the general rule is that the total number of bricks is 1,000: 200 for each of the five layers. As we have seen, there are three traditions of altar construction among the Nambudiri Vaidikans. Two of these are called after the number of tips of the wings of the bird: *pañcapatrikā*, "five-tipped," and

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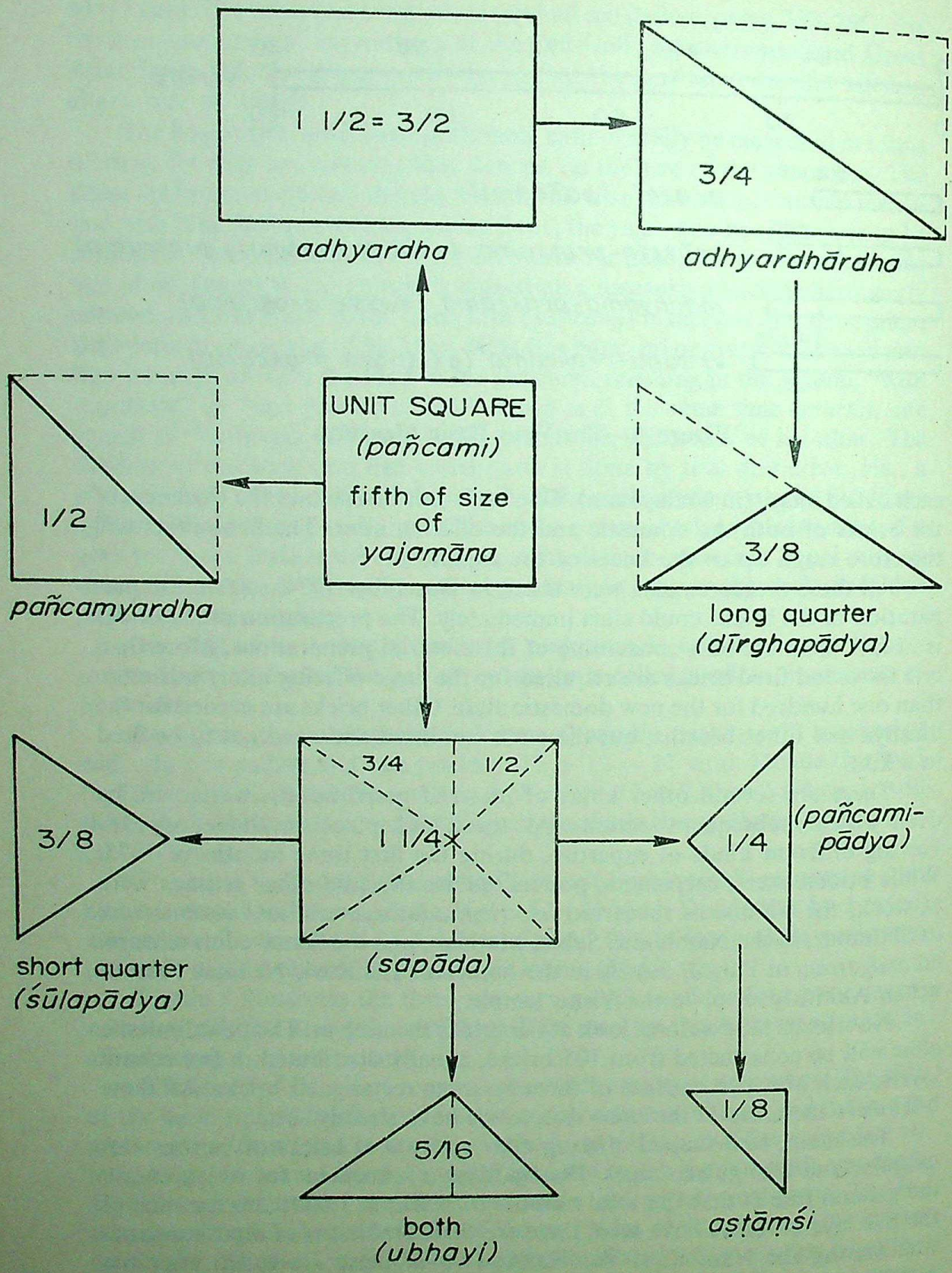

Figure 9—The Shapes of the Bricks

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ṣaṭpatrikā, "six-tipped." At the 1975 performance the six-tipped tradition was adopted. In this tradition, there are ten types of bricks, and the basic unit is a square pañcami or aratni. The other shapes are derived from the basic square by adding and subtracting. In this way the following bricks are generated: *pañcamyardha*, "half of fifth"; *adhyardha*, "half-added," *adhyardhārdha*, "half of half-added," and *dīrghapādya*, "long quarter," which is one quarter of half-added. Then the *sapāda*, "with a quarter," is derived, and its long side divided into five equal parts by subtracting from the pañcami unit square the same quarter that had just been added to it. The *sapāda* rectangle is then divided into four parts: *śūlapādya*, "short quarter" (of half-added), *pañcamipādya*, "quarter of fifth," *aṣṭāmśi*, "eighth" (of fifth) and *ubhayi*, "both." The aṣṭāmsi is sometimes called by its Malayalam name eṭṭāṃśi. The derivation of these bricks is illustrated in Figure 9.

Of these ten types of bricks, five only are used in the first, third, and fifth layers, which are all constructed in the same pattern. The second and fourth layers exhibit a much more complex pattern, for which use is made of all the ten types of brick. This is done so that the interstices between bricks (except for the center) are never above or under interstices between bricks on the next layer. The final refinement, referred to before, is confined to the fifth layer. In this layer, six pañcamyardha and four adhyardhārdha bricks are half as thick as the others, viz., a tenth of a muṭṭu, or a tenth of the distance from the knees of the yajamāna to the ground. They are used in pairs, on top of each other.

Table 3 provides the number of each of the types of brick for each of the five layers.

Once the Yajamāna's measurements have been taken, the carpenter makes wooden frames for each of these basic shapes, and also for the rectangulars needed for the new domestic altar. Then clay is made and put inside these frames. When the clay is still wet, the wooden frames are lifted off. When dry, the bricks are placed in a kiln. Brick and tile making is widespread in Kerala, and kilns owned by any of the numerous tile factories are used. The quality of the bricks depends on the quality of the clay and the expertise of the operator of the kilns. In 1975, numerous bricks were broken, even though a large number of extras had been ordered. It became necessary to fire many more bricks at the last minute. It seems that similar difficulties were encountered on earlier occasions.[1] PLATES 17A-B

Bricks that have been used for the altars should not be used for any other purpose. Once the performance is over and the sacrificial enclosure

[1] During an Agnicayana performed in Panjal in 1898, the bricks were made by members of the Āndūrān subcaste, hereditary brickmakers who belong to the Nāyar caste. Despite their traditional occupation, they were not experienced, and many bricks broke, so that the enclosure "was spoilt" (personal communication from Professor K. Kunjunni Raja, referring to Kāṇippāyyūr Śaṅkaran Nambudiripad, *Āryanmāruṭe kuṭiyettam*, "Immigration of the Aryans," II, 37).

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PLATE 17A

Putting Clay in the Wooden Frames

PLATE 17B

Lifting the Wooden Frames

PLATES 17C-D

Transporting the Bricks

The bricks of the altar are a function of the size of the yajamāna, on whose behalf the performance will take place. They will be the bricks of his altar. After the yajamāna has been measured, the carpenter uses his measurements to make wooden frames for each of the basic shapes of the bricks (see Figure 9). Then clay is made and put inside these frames. Before the clay is dry, the frames are lifted off. The bricks are then left to dry in the sun, and are afterwards baked in a kiln. Finally they are transported from the kiln to the place where the ritual will be performed.

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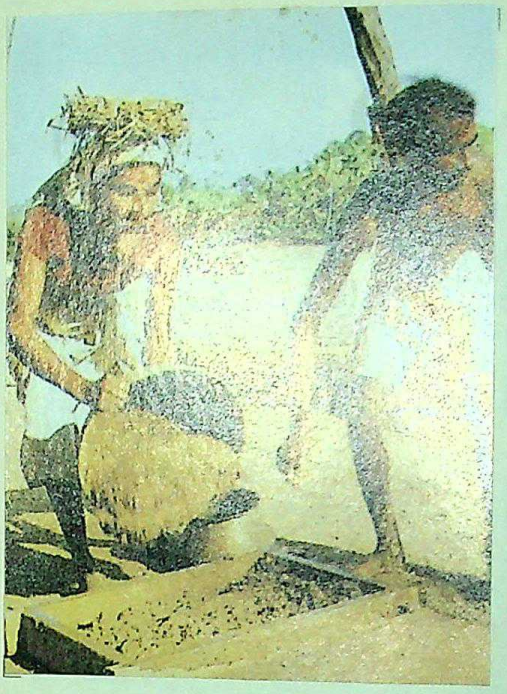

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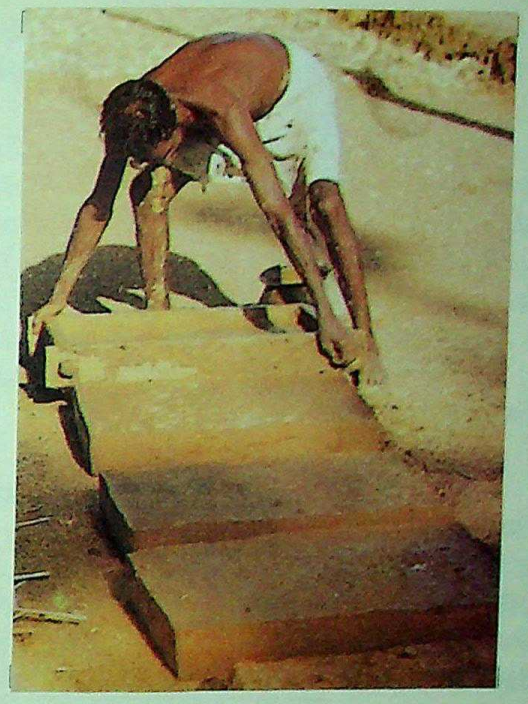
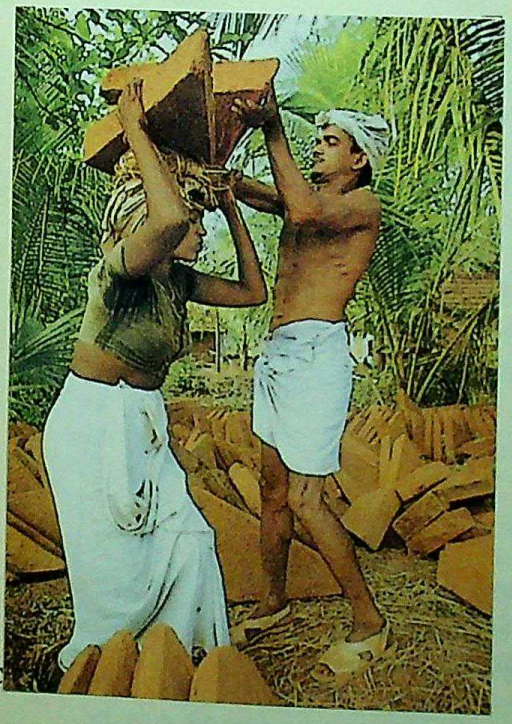


B



C

D

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NUMBER OF BRICKS IN THE FIVE LAYERS

	I	II	III	IV	V	TOTAL
pañcami	38	11	38	11	38	136
sapāda	2	21	2	21	2	48
adhyardha	56	67	56	67	56	302
pañcamyardha	60	12	60	12	63 (6 of 1/2 thickness)	207
adhyardhārdha	44	34	44	34	46 (4 of 1/2 thickness)	202
pañcamipādya	—	11	—	11	—	22
eṭṭāṃśi	—	2	—	2	—	4
śūlapādya	—	6	—	6	—	12
dīrghapādya	—	28	—	28	—	56
ubhayi	—	8	—	8	—	16
	200	200	200	200	205	1,005

TABLE 3

with all its contents has been burnt, the only remnants are the square domestic altar and the bird-shaped offering altar. These can still be seen in different places in Kerala. However, sometimes bricks are taken from the altars and used for the courtyards of Nambudiri homes, for stepping stones, etc. Moreover, among some families it has been customary to perform Agnicayana in one and the same place for several generations. In such cases, the remaining bricks are first removed.

Because so many bricks were broken in 1975, not only were new bricks made at the last minute, but also bricks were taken after necessary purifications (*saṃskāra*), from the altar constructed during the 1956 Agnicayana performance on behalf of Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad. This altar, partly overgrown by vegetation, was in his compound, less than a mile away. Though the size of Nellikat Akkitiripad's bricks was obviously not appropriate, they were still in very good shape. The Akkitiripad gave permission for bricks to be removed from several layers of his altar, on condition that they would be restored afterwards, and that the first layer would not be touched. Though the rule is that no bricks should be tampered with, it is felt that it is especially inappropriate to take bricks from the first layer, because of the important things which are buried under it (see below, pages 395–414).

PLATE 16

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Once the newly made bricks were ready, they were transported from the kiln to a spot near the ritual enclosure by truck; and finally carried and piled up outside the enclosure. PLATES 17C-D. 18A

Certain bricks are marked with drawings in white paste. The five bricks called ṛṣabha ("bull"), one for each of the five layers, are marked with a picture of a bull. The maṇḍala ("circle") bricks for the first, third, and fifth layers, are marked with a circle. The brick called vikarṇī (interpreted as "a woman without ears"), which will be placed in the fifth layer, has a picture of such a woman drawn on it. And finally, the aṣāḍha ("invincible") brick of the first layer is marked with three lines. PLATE 75B

3. Soma, Antelope Skin, and Woods

WHEN THE NAMBUDIRIS plan to perform a Soma ritual, they officially inform the Raja of Kollengode and request him to provide Soma (viz., the substitute *Sarcostemma brevistigma*: see above page 105), the skin of a black antelope (kṛṣṇājina), and one kind of wood, needed for making ritual implements. The letter is of the following form:

> Letter from Ceṟumukkŭ Vaidikan Somayājipad, Kiluprakkāṭ Nīlakaṇṭhan Somayājipad (and three others) on behalf of the Śukapuram Sabhā Yogam:
>
> May the Secretary Pandarathil Kunju Menon inform the Chief Rājā of the Veṅganat Palace that it has been decided to perform Agni for Ceṟumukkŭ Vaidikan Nīlakaṇṭhan Somayāji during the bright half of the coming month Vasanta, and that the necessary Soma, kariññāli wood, and a flawless skin of the black deer be provided and this letter acknowledged.
>
> For the information of
> His Highness the Mahārājā
> of the Veṅganāṭ Palace.

(see also Part III, Volume II, pages 279–299)

The antelope skin has to be flawless, with horns and hoofs. It is used by the yajamāna to sit on from the time of his consecration onwards. When he walks, he folds it and carries it, generally over his arm. Other antelope skins, or at least pieces of skin, are needed for the mud from which the ukhā pots are made, for a sling for the ukhā pot, and for preparing the sandals (*upānah*) for the yajamāna, adhvaryu, brahman, and pratiprasthātā when they walk on the Agni ground (*agnikṣetra*) and later on the altar.

While there is no difficulty about obtaining Soma and the required woods, the black antelope appears to be extinct in the territory of the Raja,

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PLATE 18A

Inspection of Bricks

When they are ready, the bricks are piled up round the area where the ritual will be performed. There are ten different basic shapes: 136 squares; 48 rectangles of 1 1/4 × 1;302 rectnagles of 1 1/2 × 1;207 equilateral triangles (6 of half thickness;; and many other triangles (see Table 3). Itti Ravi Nambudiri inspects their numbers after they have been delivered, taking into account that some may break and others have already broken, so that there should be extras of each kind.

PLATE 18B

Inspection of Antelope Skins

In general, animal skins are impure and should not be touched, certainly not by brahmins. However, in the ritual, the skin of a black antelope (kṛṣṇājina) is needed for the yajamāna to sit on, and other pieces of skin are needed for sandals for the priests (see Plate 71B) and for a few other purposes. Traditionally it is the task of the Raja of Kollengode to provide these animal skins. However, the animal has become very rare in the hilly regions of his former kingdom. So the present author and members of his team went to Varanasi (Banaras) to purchase some skins in the market. Fortunately, one of these skins was flawless, and retained its horns and hoofs.

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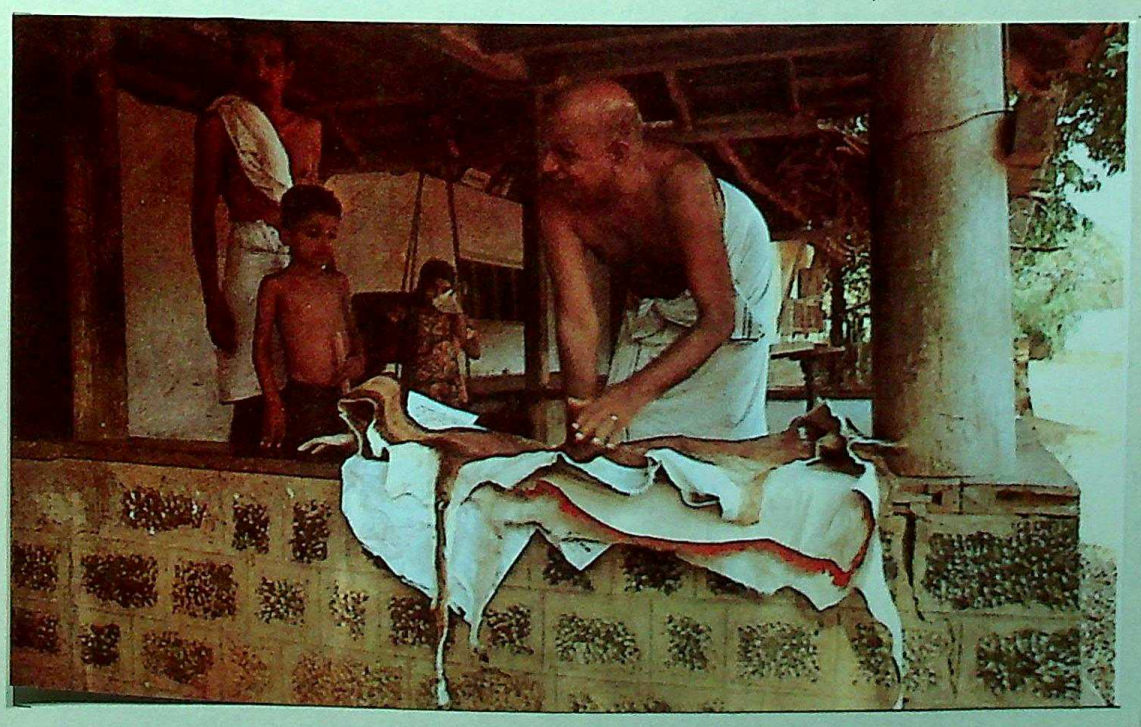
A



B

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in the Anaimalai Hills of the Western Ghats. The Raja consented to provide the skin, but the Nambudiri organizers were doubtful whether he would be able to keep his promise. Considerable efforts were therefore spent to obtain
PLATE 18B antelope skins from elsewhere. In due course, some specimens were procured by Dr. C.G. Kashikar in Poona, and by us in Varanasi. A bullock skin is also needed, to put the Soma on at the time of purchase and pressing. It was obtained locally and without difficulty. The Raja sent another antelope skin, but by that time the performance had already begun.

4. Wooden Implements

(in collaboration with George Dales)

THE CARPENTER MAKES a variety of wooden implements, needed for the
PLATES 19–27 ritual proceedings. He belongs to the *marāśāri* or *āśāri*, "carpenter," caste, a subdivision of the *kammālan* artisan caste.

The wooden implements used in the rituals are made from specific kinds of wood, and we shall therefore begin with a list of their names in Sanskrit and Malayalam, along with their botanical identification:

SANSKRIT	MALAYALAM	
aśvattha	*arayāl*	*Ficus religiosa* Linn.[1]
bilba	*kūlakam*	*Aegle marmelos* Corr.
khadira	*kariññāli*	*Acacia sundra* D.C.
nyagrodha	*perāl*	*Ficus Bengalensis* Linn.[1]
palāśa	*plāś*	*Butea frondosa* Koen, Roxb.
udumbara	*atti*	*Ficus glomerata* Roxb.[1]
vahni	*vahni*	*Prosopis spicigera* Linn.
varaṇam or *varuṇam*	*nīrmāṭala*	*Crataeva religiosa* Forst.
vikaṅkata	*vayyaṅkat*	*Flacourtia sapida* Roxb.
vṛkṣāmla	*puḷi*	*Tamarindus indica* L.

I shall refer to these woods by their Sanskrit names, which are commonly used in the ritual texts. There are several wooden implements that the yajamāna already possesses, and that a carpenter had made on earlier occasions. These include the ladles required for the daily Agnihotra (in particular the *agnihotra-havanī* made from vikaṅkata wood) and implements for making
PLATE 1 fire: the upper kindling block (*uttarāraṇi*), the lower kindling block (*adharāraṇi*; both made from aśvattha wood), a churning rod (*mantha*, Malayalam:

[1] For a pertinent discussion of the significance of these fig species, especially the *aśvattha*, see Emeneau 1949.

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iṭattaṇṭu, made from vṛkṣāmla wood), and a rope. A half coconut shell may be used to press the mantha down into a hole in the adharāraṇi. The churning rod itself is elaborately carved with a cross section like a twelve-fluted column. In fact, the overall design of the rod resembles an architectural column. An iron peg is embedded in the upper end as a pivot point. Iron sleeves protect each end. The fire-generating wooden tip is replaceable. It is attached to the rod by means of a triangular recess in the lower end of the rod.

In the śrauta rites, the most important ladles are juhū (made from palāśa wood), *dhruva* (made from vikaṅkata), and sruva (made from khadira). The first two are called *sruc*. They are of equal length and relatively similar in shape. Sometimes notches are cut into the end of the handles to help distinguish one type from the other. The sruva has a much smaller serving end. It is generally used to scoop butter from a dish. The *upabhṛt* ladle, made from aśvattha wood, is generally held under the juhū. There are also substitute juhū and upabhṛt ladles, of the same shape, size and wood as the originals, but provided with a lid. They are used when the originals are already employed. The substitute for the juhū is called *pracaraṇī*, and the substitute for the upabhṛt, which is only used in the animal sacrifice, is called: *pṛṣadājyagrahaṇī*. PLATES 4, 48, 91A, 95

Other implements made from khadira wood are: the sphya knife used in many special rites; the dhṛṣṭi ladle for preparing the hot milk of the Pravargya ceremony; the *śamyā* pin or wedge of the yoke of the Soma cart; the *musala* pestle for pounding grain; and the *prāśitra*, in the shape of a kind of cameleon (called *ōntu* in Malayalam), on the back of which the sacrificial cakes are placed. PLATE 65

Grains are crushed in the *ulūkhala* mortar, made from varaṇam. Three oblong containers are made from the same wood: the largest is the *dārupātri*, a trough called after *dāru*, "wood" (etymologically related to English "tree"), in which the sacrificial cakes are placed; *iḍāpātram*, a receptacle for the *iḍā* meal, of similar shape but shorter; and *praṇīta-praṇayanam*, in which the *praṇīta* waters are transported. PLATE 2

For the animal sacrifice, the carpenter makes an octagonal sacrificial pole (yūpa) from bilba wood. The Soma rituals require many special implements. The largest are the Soma cart (*śakaṭa*), made from nyagrodha wood with two spokeless wheels, and the stool or "throne" (*āsandī*), made from udumbara, on which King Soma is installed south of the domestic altar. Nyagrodha wood is also used for making the *droṇakalaśa* vessel and the *pariplu* dish, used to scoop the Soma extract from it. PLATE 3, 53 PLATE 58 PLATE 20B

As we have seen (p. 52), in addition to the yajamāna, ten of his priests are called camasin, "cupbearer"; they have their own Soma cup (camasa). The principal cupbearers (*mukhya-camasin*) are hotā, brahman, udgātā, yajamāna, and sadasya. The hotā's cup is larger (height: 12 1/2 cm, side: 18 cm.) than the others (height: 7 1/2 cm, side: 12 1/2 cm, on the average). PLATE 23C, 24, 101

(Continues on page 214)

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PLATE 19

The Potter

The potter uses his wheel for all the clay pots that have to be made. He fashions several other items, such as the clay heads, by hand.

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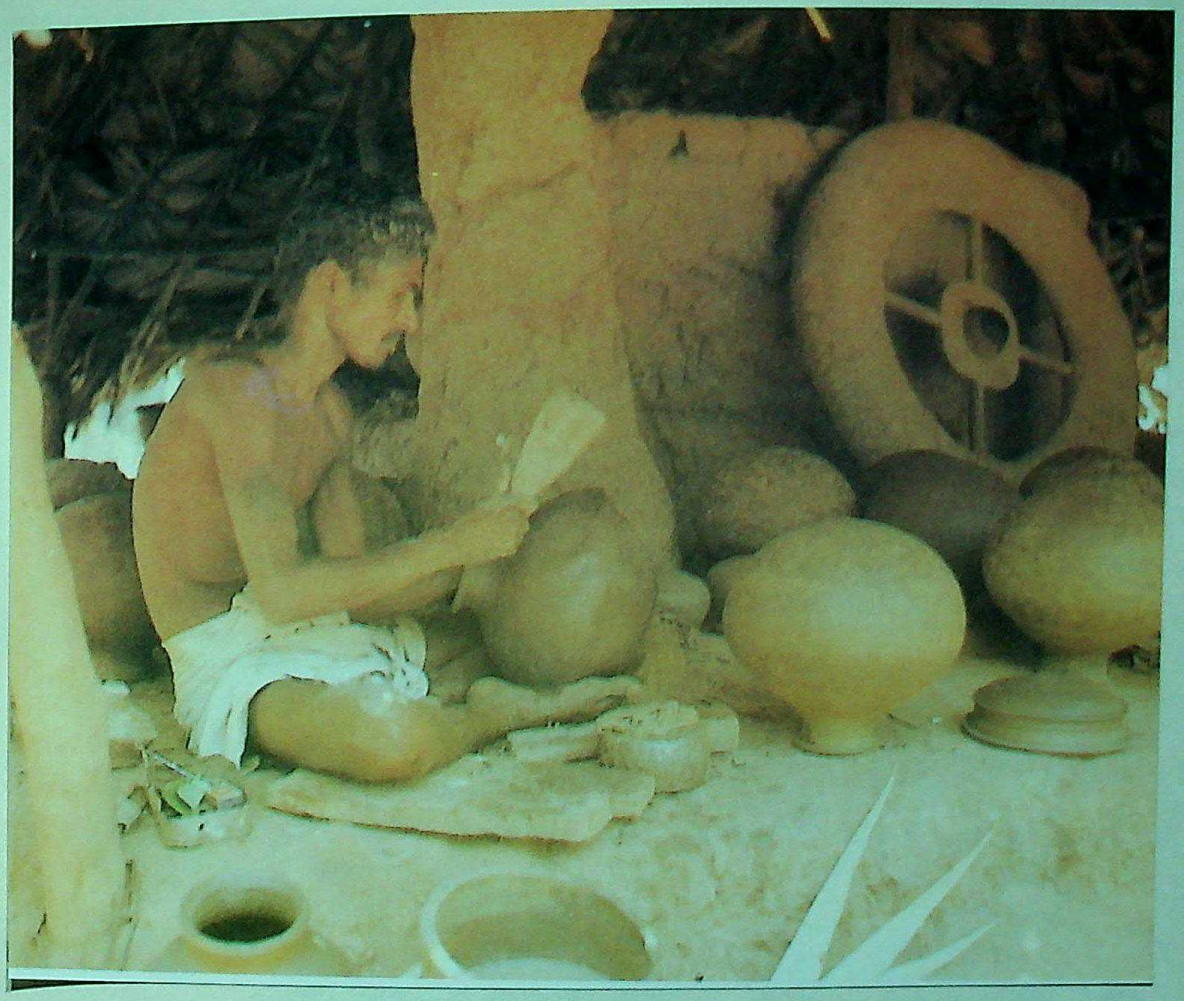

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PLATES 20A-C

The Carpenter

The Carpenter, working with two assistants, makes all the wooden implements required in the ritual. They have to be made from different woods, and the shapes are prescribed by tradition. Though Itti Ravi Nambudiri provided the necessary instructions, the carpenter had performed these tasks in the past and was obviously fully experienced. Among the many items he fashions, there are Soma goblets, such as the maitrāvaruṇa-pātram, made of nyagrodha wood (*Ficus bengalensis*, Linn.) and fashioned with two breasts (20A). Since each of the wooden implements has to be made of a single piece, large vessels such as the droṇakalaśa require an entire tree trunk to start with (20B). Another special item is the śapham, which will subsequently be split lengthwise to constitute a pair of poles that will be used to lift the hot mahāvīra pot (20C; see Plate 58).

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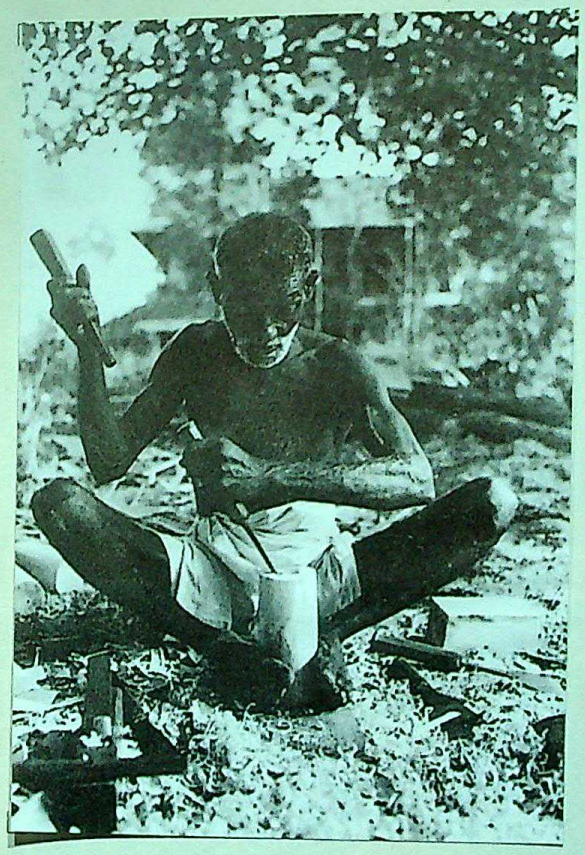
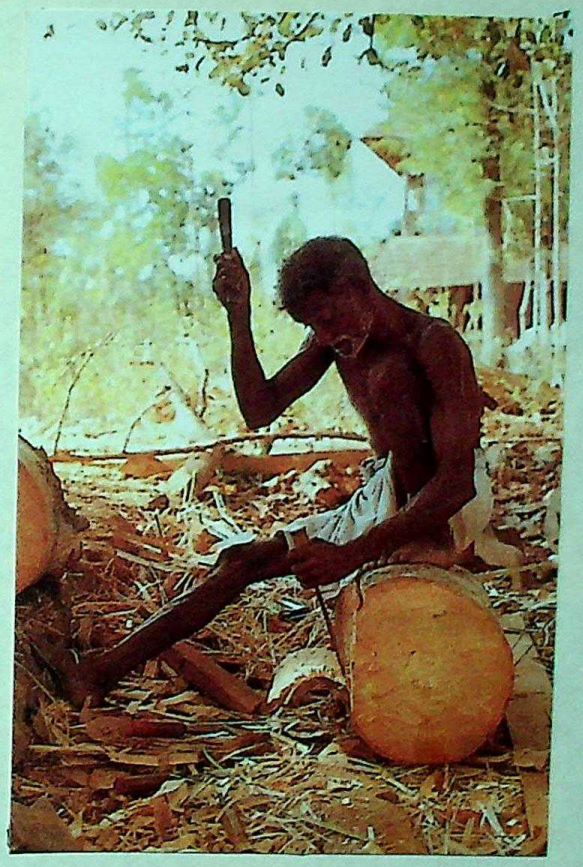
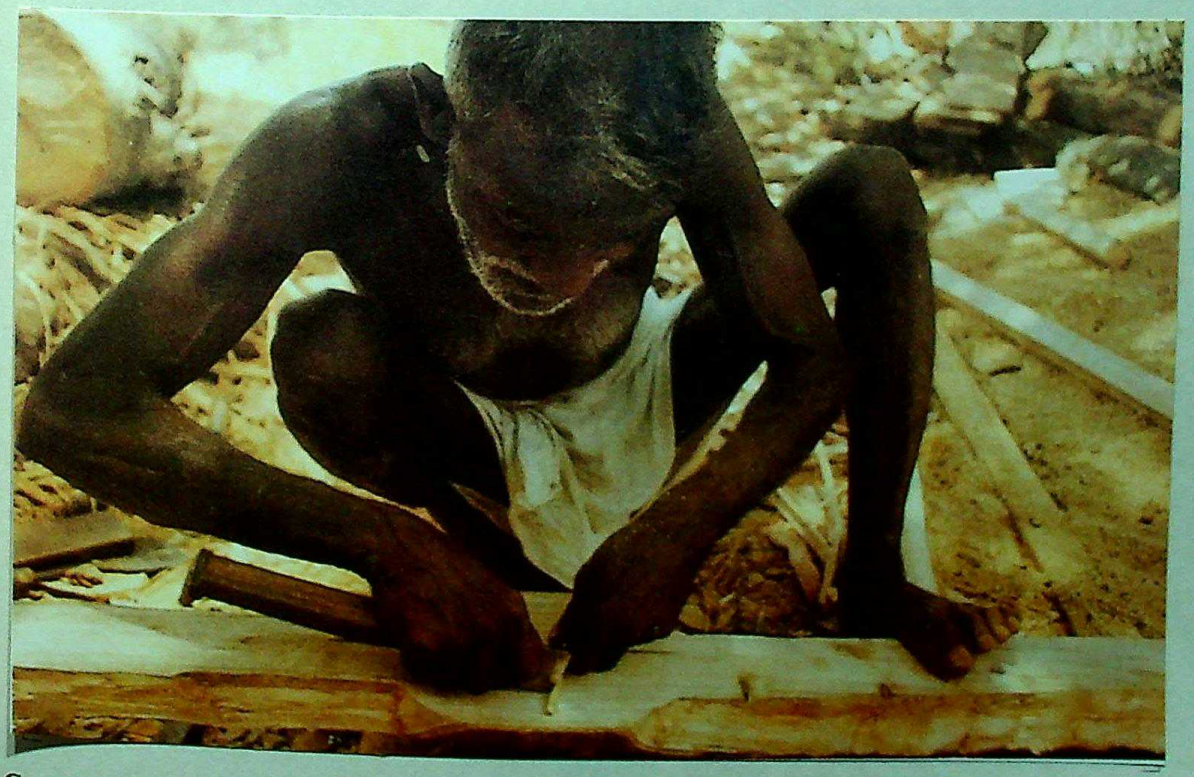


A



B



C

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PLATE 21

Soma Goblets Made of Nyagrodha Wood

A. Antaryāma-pātram, eight-cornered (*aṣṭakoṇa*)
B. Ṛtu-pātram, with a face (*mukham*)
C. Ṛtu-pātram, with two faces (*mukhe*)
D. Maitrāvaruṇa-pātram, with breasts (*stanau*)
E. Ukthya-pātram, with halves (*āyava*) and eight-cornered
F. Atigrāhya-pātram, round (*vṛtta*)

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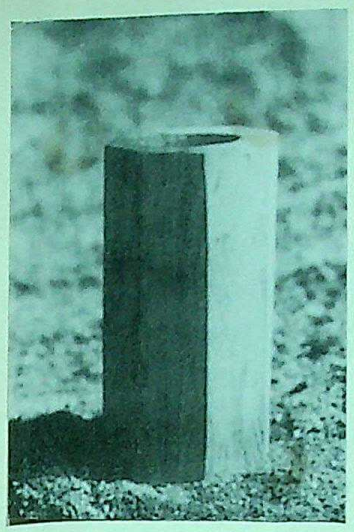
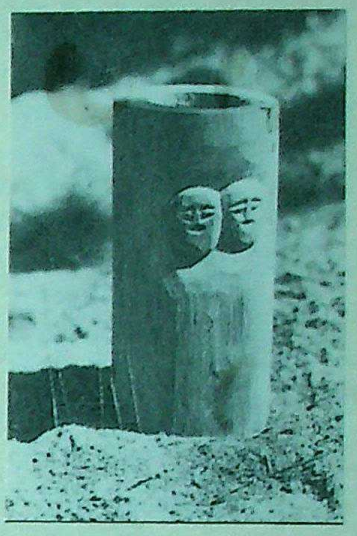
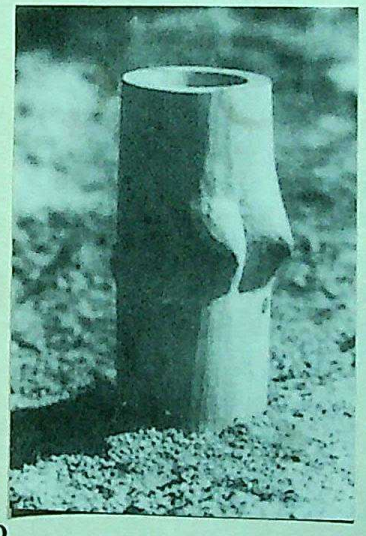


A

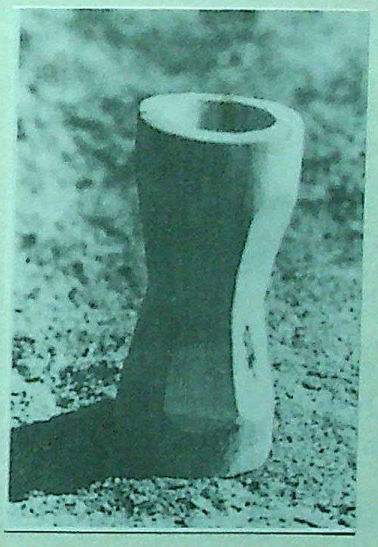
B



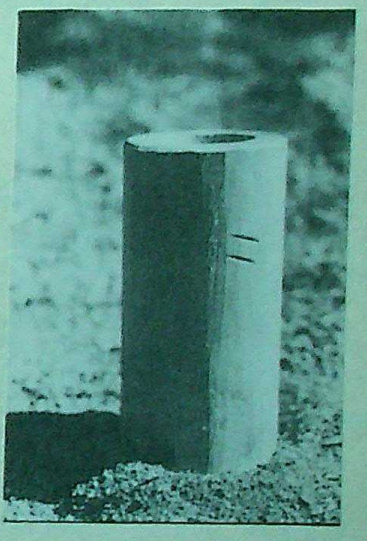
C



D



E



F

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All cups are square, each is made out of one piece of nyagrodha wood, and their handles have specific shapes. A Sanskrit verse characterizes them:

vṛttaṃ catuḥsraktir atha trikoṇam
pṛthuś ca savyāvṛta eva mukhyāḥ
adhordhvavakraṃ dvitayaṃ pradakṣiṇaṃ
rāsnā ca śaṅkuḥ camasasya lakṣaṇam
Round, square, and triangular,
wide and turned to the left are the principal ones.
Bent downward and upward, double, turning to the right,
girded and pointed, these are the cups' marks.

The order of priests is explained by another verse, which begins as follows:

praitu hotuś camasaḥ pra brahmaṇaḥ prodgātuḥ
pra yajamānasya pra sadasyasya
hotrakāṇāṃ. . . .
First the hotā's cup should come, then that of brahman and udgātā,
next of yajamāna and sadasya,
then of the hotrakas. . . .

The hotrakas are those who have a hearth in the sadas, except for the hotā. They are enumerated in the same order as their dhiṣṇya hearths, from south to north (see page 586 and Figure 42), viz., omitting the hotā, as follows: maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, potā, neṣṭā, acchāvāka, to which finally the āgnīdhra (whose hearth is further north in his own shed) is added. Summing up, the assignment of the cupbearers' cups is as follows:

SHAPE OF HANDLE OF CAMASA:	CAMASIN:
round (*vṛtta*)	hotā
square (*catuḥsrakti*)	brahman
triangular (*trikoṇa*)	udgātā
wide (*pṛthu*)	yajamāna
turned to the left (*savyāvṛta*)	sadasya
downward (*adhas*)	maitrāvaruṇa
upward (*ūrdhva*)	brāhmaṇācchaṃsin
double (*dvitaya*)	potā
turned to the right (*pradakṣiṇa*)	neṣṭā
girded (*rāsna*)	acchāvāka
pointed (*śaṅku*)	āgnīdhra

PLATES 21, 104, 105

Some oblations, called *graha*, are made to the gods in round goblets called *pātram* or *upaśayam*. They have specific names (called after gods or

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rites) and shapes. Their average height is 18 cm and diameter 7 1/2 cm, but the opening in the top that contains the liquid is only about 3 cm deep. They are from different kinds of wood:

NAME:	SHAPE:	WOOD:	
ṛtu-pātram	one- and two-faced	nyagrodha	
maitrāvaruṇa-pātram	with two breasts	nyagrodha	PLATE 20A
aindravāyava-pātram	girded	nyagrodha	
antaryāma-pātram	eight-cornered	nyagrodha	
āśvina-pātram	two-edged	nyagrodha	
āditya-upaśayam	narrow-waisted	nyagrodha	
ukthya-upaśayam	narrow-waisted and eight-cornered	nyagrodha	
upāṃśu-pātram	round	nyagrodha	
atigrāhya-patram	round	nyagrodha	
ṣoḍaśi-pātram	square	udumbara	
dadhigraha-pātram	square	udumbara	
manthi-pātram	round	vikaṅkata	
śukra-pātram	round	bilba	

The śukra-pātram will be made later, from the sacrificial pole (see page 403). Notches are again used to distinguish similar looking goblets from each other. A final cup, shaped like a leaf, is the *sārvauṣadha-pātram*, made of udumbara wood, used for making offerings of "all herbs" (*sarvoṣadha*). PLATE 60A

The optional Pravargya ceremony requires several implements made from udumbara wood: *śapham*, a pair of poles used for lifting the hot mahāvīra pot; and another stool or throne (āsandī) for installing mahāvīra pots and other Pravargya implements south of the throne for King Soma. PLATES 20C PLATE 60B

The Agnicayana calls for more items made from udumbara wood: a plough with which the field of Agni is ploughed before the altar construction begins; the *praseka*, a large ladle used for the continuous ghee offering of Flow of Wealth; and a small toy cart (*ratham*) with four spokeless wheels, used for the Holding-of-the-Realm oblations on the ninth day. PLATE 64 PLATES 88–90 PLATE 91

Like all the Vedic ritual implements, these wooden utensils are of an archaic simplicity. Zimmer has commented upon this: "The complete absence of all decorative symbolism contrasts dramatically with the rich adornment usual in Indian ritual objects." He is probably right when he adds: "The homeland of such simplicity was not India, but those Central Asian steppes whence the late descendants of the Old Stone Age hunters poured southward and westward, during the second millenium B.C., not only into India, but also into the ancient culture-lands of the Mediterranean" (1955, 39, 41).

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5. Clay Implements
(in collaboration with George Dales)

PLATES 19, 28–32

THE POTTER, WHO belongs to the *kumbhāran* caste, has as much to do as the carpenter. Many of the clay pots and dishes he makes are indistinguishable from those that are in daily use throughout India. The following descriptions are partly based upon an extra set of ritual implements, made for the use of scholars when the implements for the ritual were made. The extra set is preserved at the University of California at Berkeley. No specific observations were made of the manufacturing processes in the field, but from the Berkeley examples certain remarks can be made. Most of the vessels are made of a fine- to medium-grained paste fired to an orange buff color. Many have an orangish wash applied—often sloppily—to the exterior surfaces and over the rim. The most common exterior decorations include multiple bands of grooves and ridges, streak-burnishing, punctated designs in bands surrounding the shoulder, and multiple intersecting line patterns on the bases of jars and pots produced by a carved paddle. The most elaborate vessels have applied conical projections around the shoulder, erect penis spouts, and breasts. These three features occur in varying combinations on different types of vessels.

PLATES 40, 100

Foremost among the vessels are large pots, called *kalam* and *kuṭam* in Malayalam. The former has a bigger mouth than the latter. The corresponding Sanskrit terms are *ghaṭa* and *kumbha*. Among smaller vessels, one is used for milking (*dohana*). There are dishes of varying size called *caṭṭi* (Sanskrit *sthālī*). These bowls appear to be mass-produced items, quite indifferently fired, resulting in warping, asymmetry, and differential coloring. They follow a strict stylistic pattern, however, with externally beaked rims, shallow spiral grooves on the exterior of the upper body, and the center of the base characterized by a low nipple profile. The different sizes are carefully controlled so that each bowl nestles neatly into the next largest size to form a stacked set of bowls. One dish differs from the others in having a more elaborate external profile with deep grooves and a sharp projecting ledge dividing the shoulder from the base of the bowl. It is called *pṛṣṭhodvapanī* (in Malayalam: *arakkan caṭṭi*). Smaller, more crudely formed *kapālam* vessels are used for preparing puroḍāśa rice cakes. The name itself means "pottery sherd" and actually, sherds are sometimes used for this purpose. The smallest are used for water for washing hands.

PLATES 30, 66, 98B, 99

PLATES 62, 82

Characteristic of Kerala is a pot with a spout called *kiṇḍi* or *karaka-kiṇḍi*. They come in all sizes. A larger one with two breasts added to the spout, also called karakam, will be used by the pratiprasthātā to pour a continuous stream of water, while he circumambulates the completed altar (pages 534–537). Small kiṇḍi vessels made of brass are also used, e.g., for sprinkling water. Together with the typical brass lamps (Malayālam: *viḷakku*) and dishes (*uruḷi*) of Kerala, they are probably best regarded as Hindu intrusions into the Vedic ritual. They are outside the potter's domain.

PLATE 83

PLATES 46, 50

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Clay Implements

Special clay vessels are needed in the Soma ritual: water is poured from the *sambharaṇī*, Soma juice is mixed in the *ādhavanīya* and kept in the *pūtabhṛt*, a large vessel with two breasts. Large clay pots like these are called *piṭāvu* in Malayalam. Another large kalam vessel is the *āgrāyaṇa*, used during the Soma pressings. One of the Soma vessels, with a ring of sharp clay projections or thorns around it, is called *muḷḷu* in Malayalam. All the distinctions of shape between these pots are customary, not Vedic. They are "human" (*mānuṣa*), in the words of Erkkara Raman.

The most important object of the Pravargya ceremony is the mahāvīra pot. Use is also made of two clay ladles, called *pinvanam*. The potter prepares the mahāvīra pot on his potter's wheel and not by hand, as the ancient texts prescribe (cf. Kashikar 1969; van Buitenen 1968; Kramrisch 1975). Unlike what is suggested in the texts, the mahāvīra pot is not fired with its bottom up. It is placed in the oven sideways and generally with its opening facing east. The pinvanam ladles are put to the east, the *ājyasthālī* dish (a dish for ājya, "ghee") and the kapālam potsherds to the west of the mahāvīra pot. Unlike the other pots, the mahāvīra, though prepared by the potter, is ritually made by the priests during one of the ceremonies that take place on the second day (see below, page 336). PLATES 5B, 60B, 85, 90

The Agnicayana requires numerous clay items. Foremost among them is the ukhā pot, which has eight breasts or udders around its circumference. Like the mahāvīra, it is prepared by the potter and, subsequently, ritually made (together with eight of the bricks) by the priests during a special ceremony, the *Ukhāsambharaṇa* rite (below, pages 286–302). The construction of this elaborate vessel is of some interest. The base is actually a bottomless bowl made separately and attached up-side-down to the bottom of the large upper bowl. The ledge-rim of the base is decorated with deep concentric grooves—unusual, if this smaller bowl was originally intended to have been a base for another vessel. The breasts are hollow with a tiny aperture and are attached to the exterior solid surface of the vessel. This is true also of the other type of vessels having breasts, so they are nonfunctional as opposed to the spouts. All the surfaces of the large upper bowl of the ukhā vessel are elaborately decorated with burnished lines, especially the interior, where a center square motif is connected with the rim by radial burnish streaks. PLATES 5A, 71, 72A PLATES 41–42

One detail in the preparation of the ukhā pot is reminiscent of the special prescription given in the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (above, page 136), though it is not identical with it: when the ukhā pot is put in the fire made of cowdung, chips of firewood, and dry grass, accompanied by the recitation of Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.1.6.2 d (below, page 299), it must be placed sideways with its opening facing east. In the case of the mahāvīra, as we have just seen, this is also the general practice. In the case of the ukhā it is prescribed explicitly in the Malayalam text of the Yāgambhāṣa. The Ceṟumukkū text has: *kiḻakkū bilaṃpaṭa*, the Taikkāṭ text: *kiḻakkōṭṭū talayāyi veykkaṇam*. Both expressions mean: "put the pot with its opening facing east."

(Continues page 240)

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PLATES 22-32

Wooden and Clay Implements

At the time the carpenter and potter prepared the wooden and clay implements for the ritual, an extra set was made for the use of scholars. This was especially valuable in view of the fact that almost all ritual implements used during the ritual would be destroyed on the last day of the performance. The extra set is preserved at the University of California, Berkeley. The following eleven drawings were made from this collection by George Dales, who also assisted with their description in Chapters 4 and 5.

PLATE 22

A: dhruva B: juhū C: sruva D: sphya E: dhṛṣṭi F: prāśitra.

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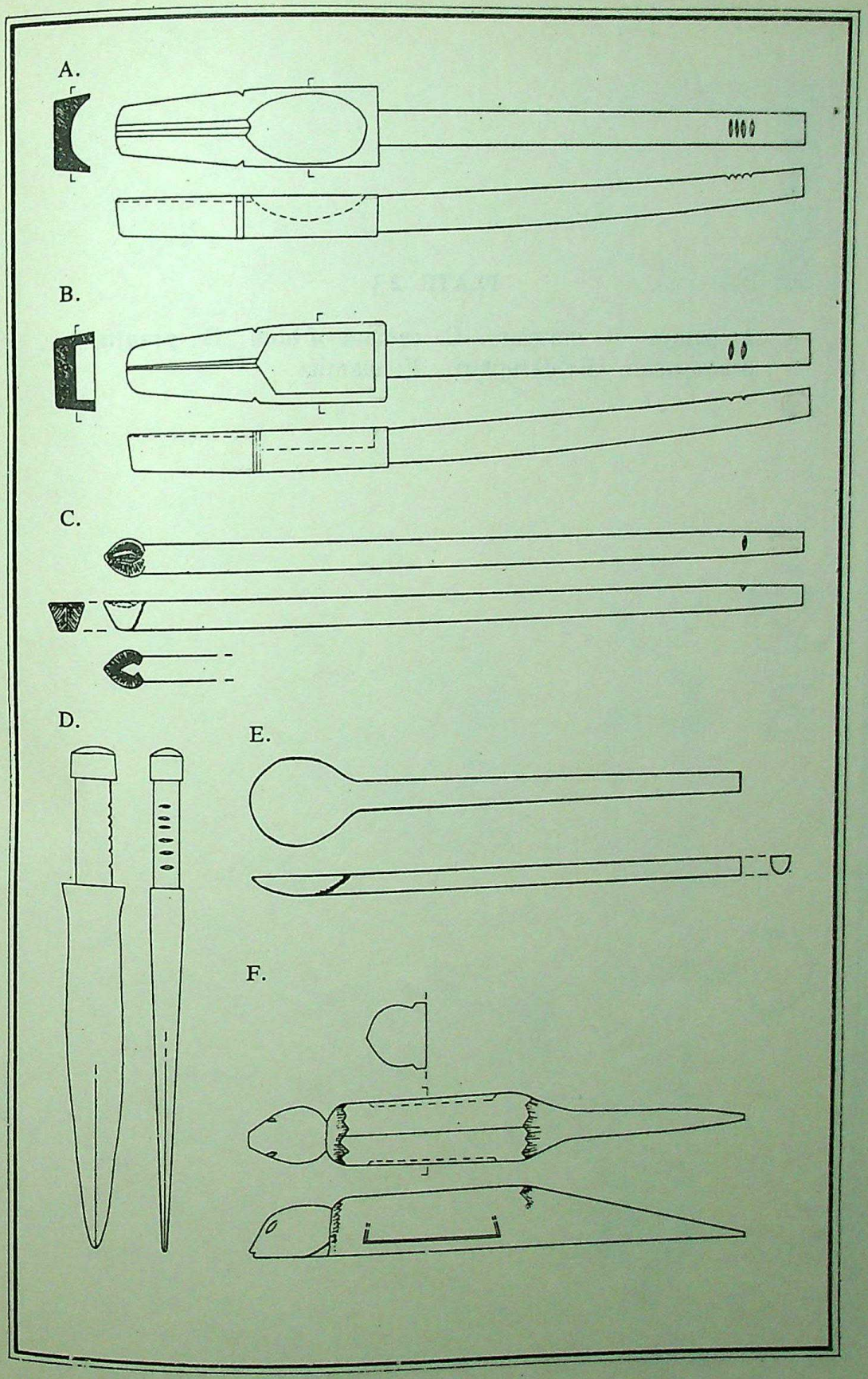

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PLATE 23

A: śamyā B: mūsalam C: camasa of hotā D: praṇīta-praṇayanam E: dārupātri. F: mantha

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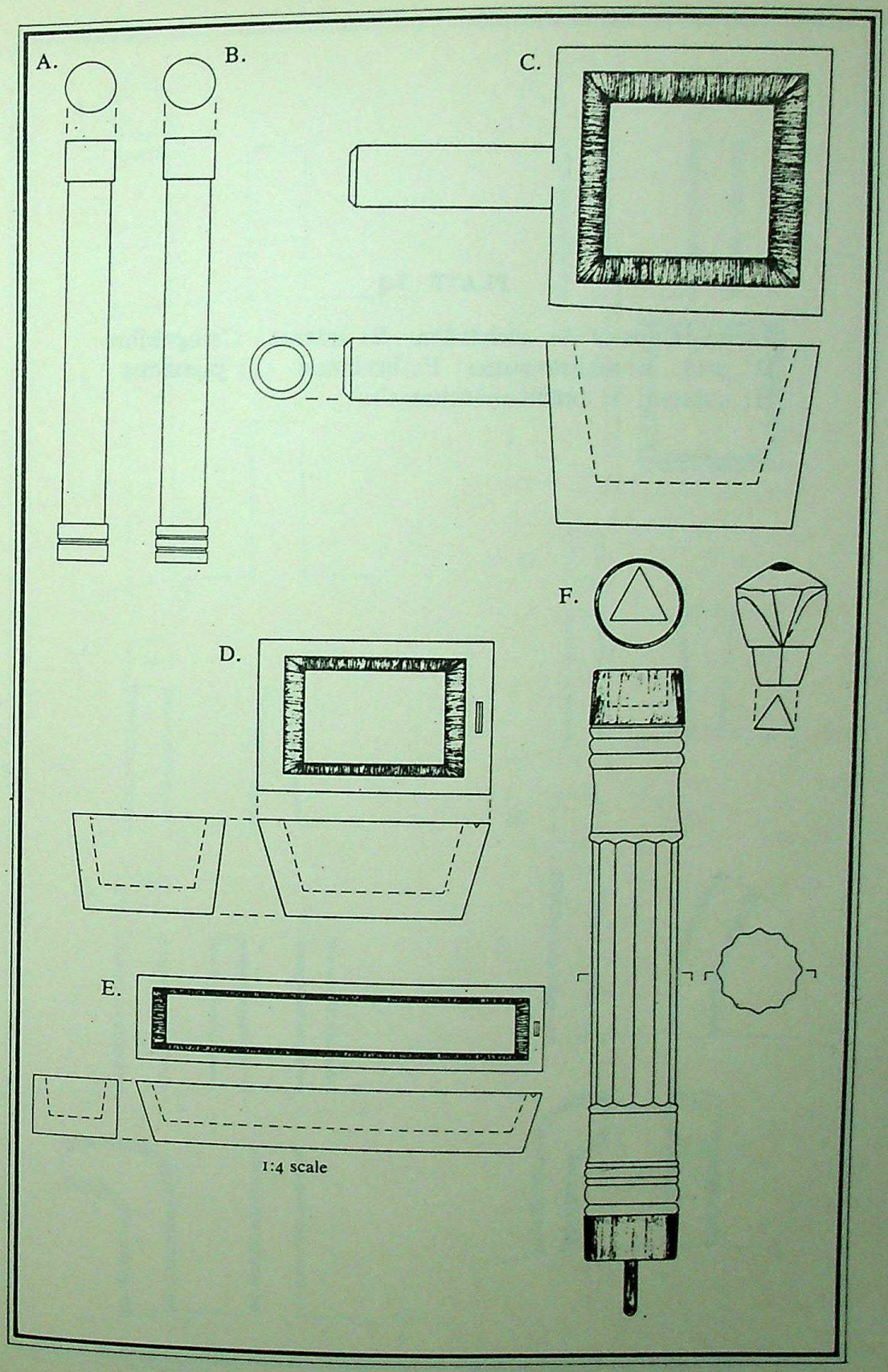

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PLATE 24

Camasa Cups of A: acchāvāka B: udgātā C: āgnīdhra
D: potā E: maitrāvaruṇa F: brahman G: yajamāna
H: sadasya I: brāhmaṇācchaṃsin.

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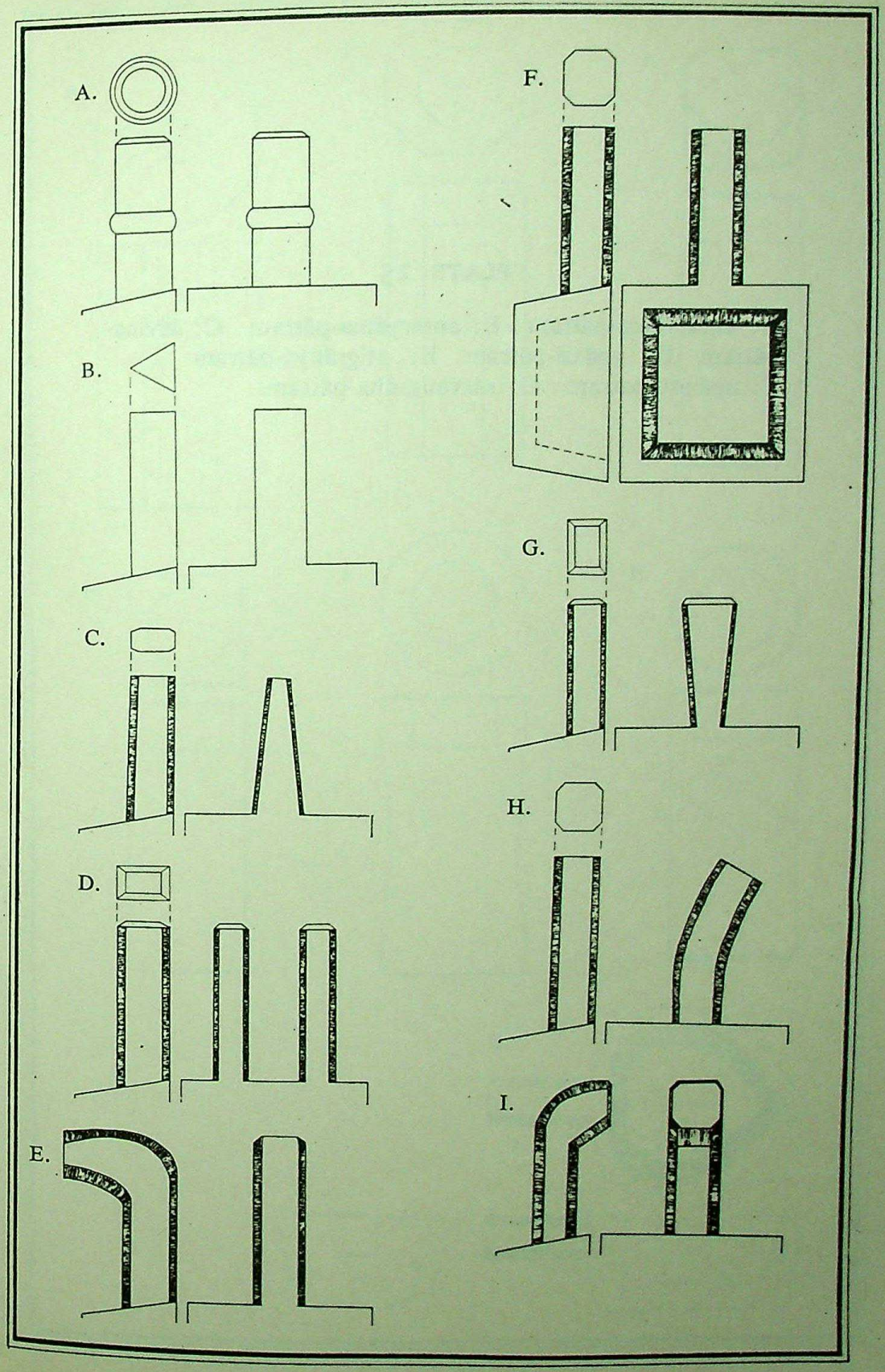

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PLATE 25

A: antaryāma-pātram B: antaryāma-pātram C: āśvina-pātram D: ṣoḍaśi-pātram E: atigrāhya-pātram F: upāṃśu-patram G: sārvauṣadha-pātram.

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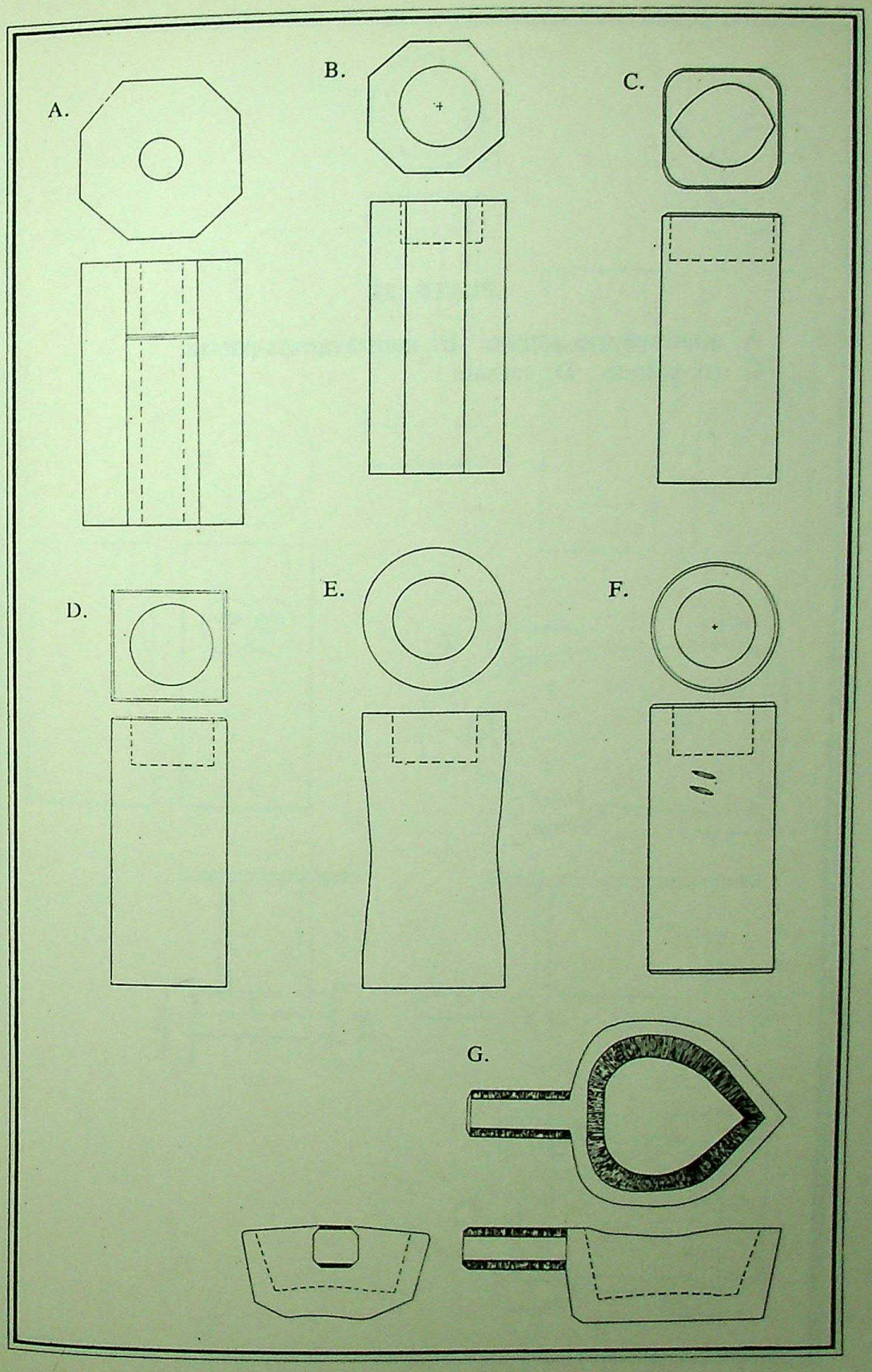

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PLATE 26

A: aindravāyava-pātram B: maitrāvaruṇa-pātram
C: ṛtu-pātram D: ratham.

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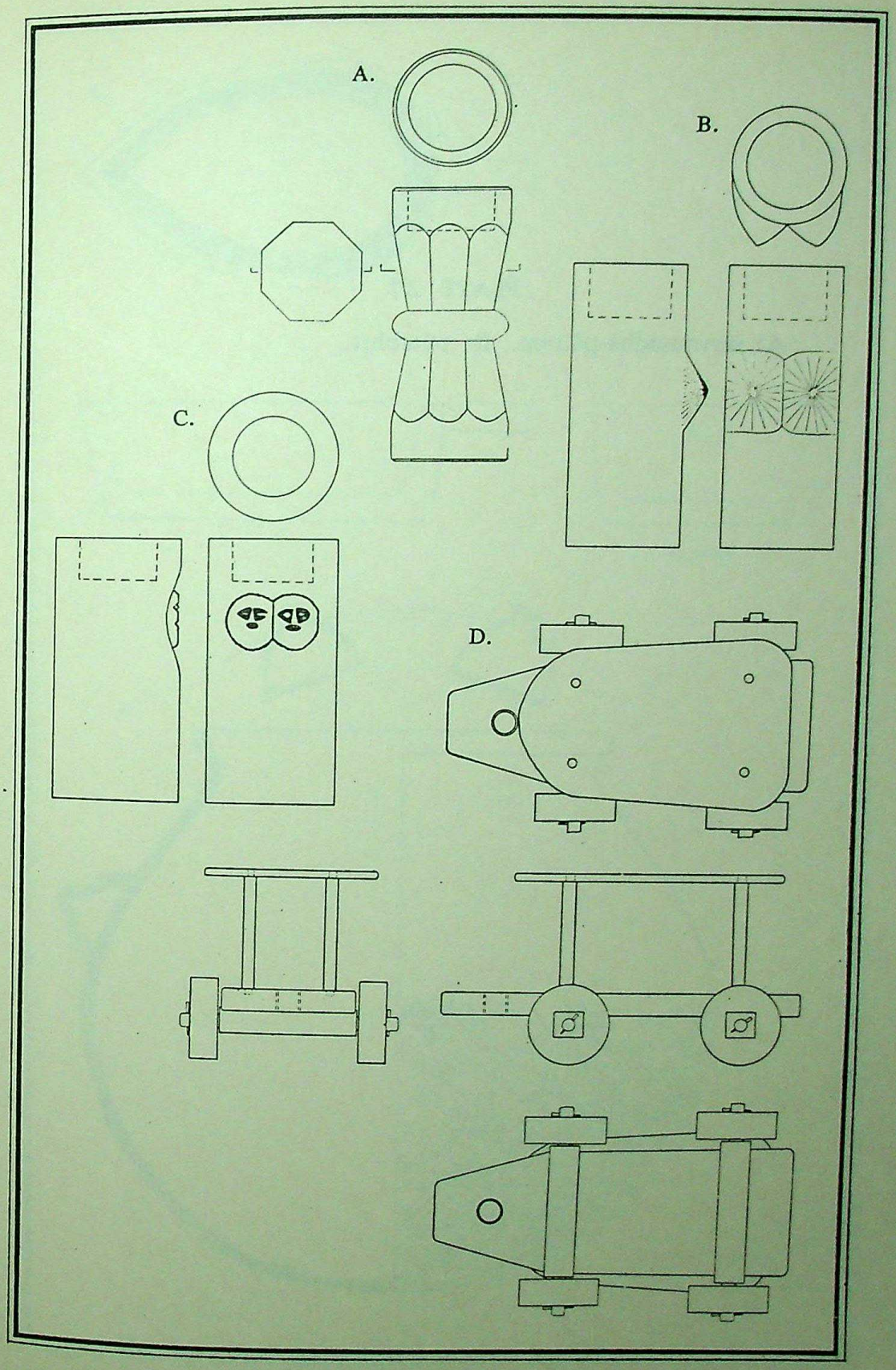

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PLATE 27

A: sārvausadha-pātram B: pūtabhṛt.

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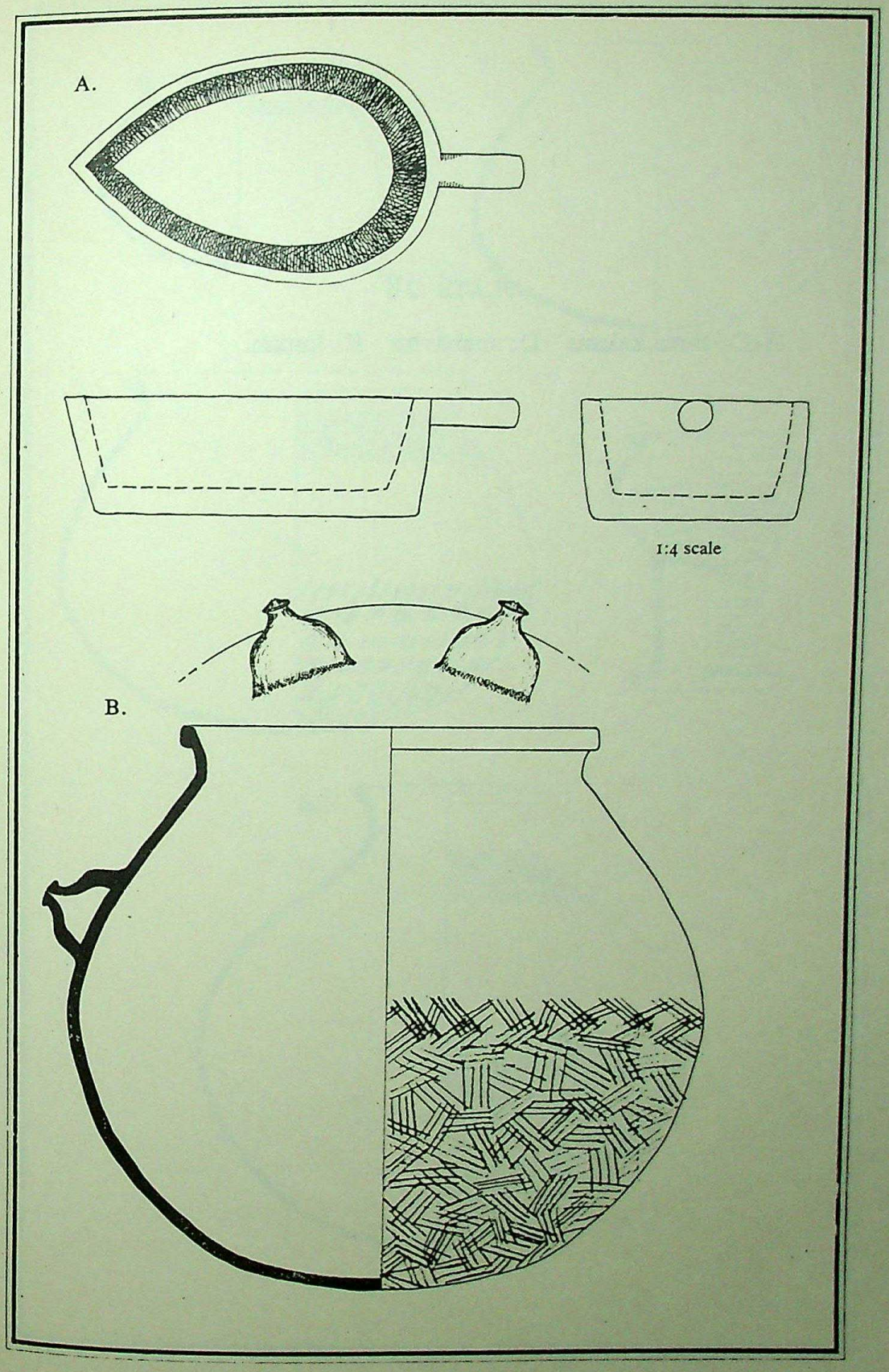

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PLATE 28

A–C: three kalams D: mahāvīra E: kuṭam.

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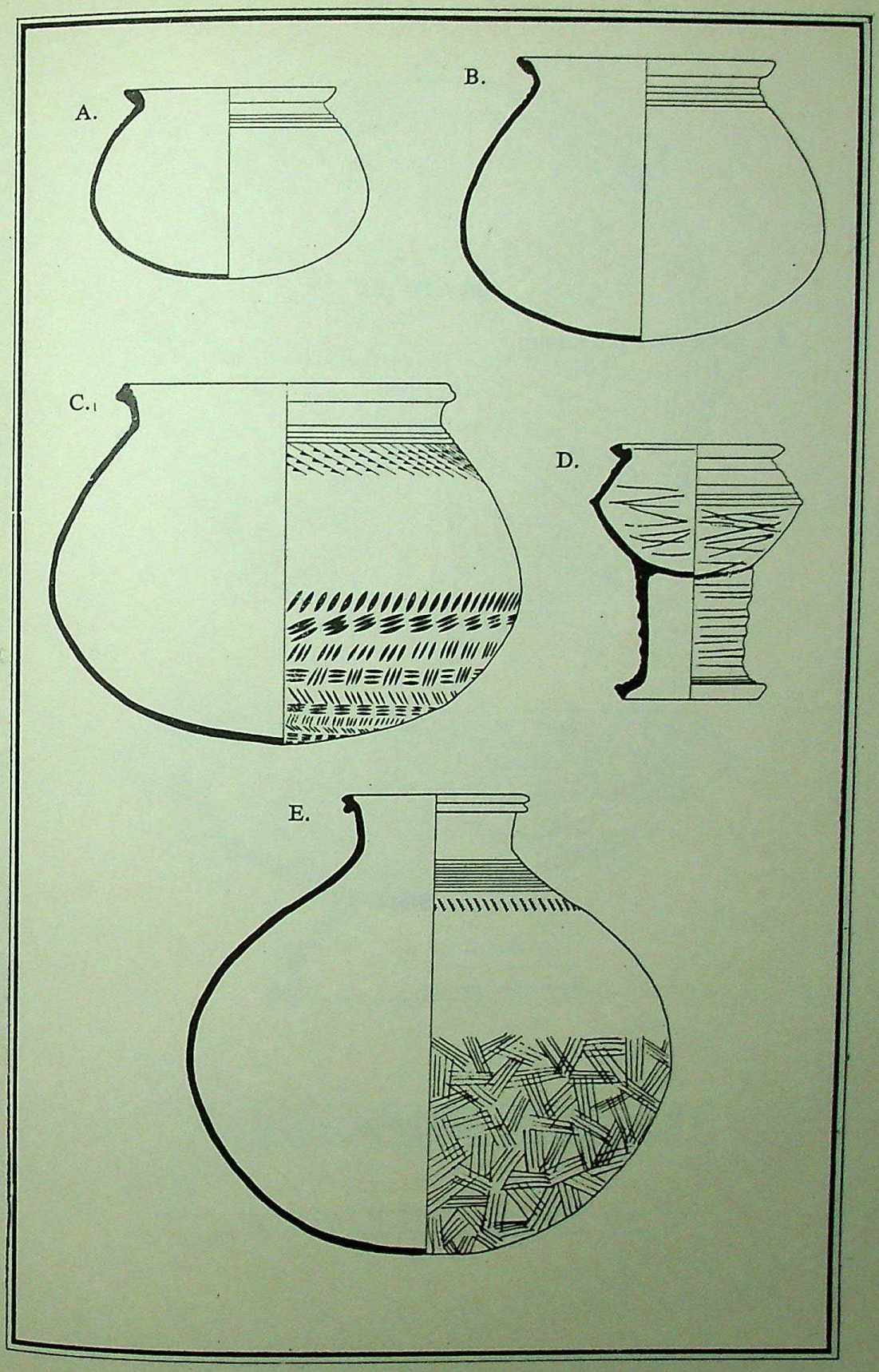

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PLATE 29

A: ukhā B: pinvanam.

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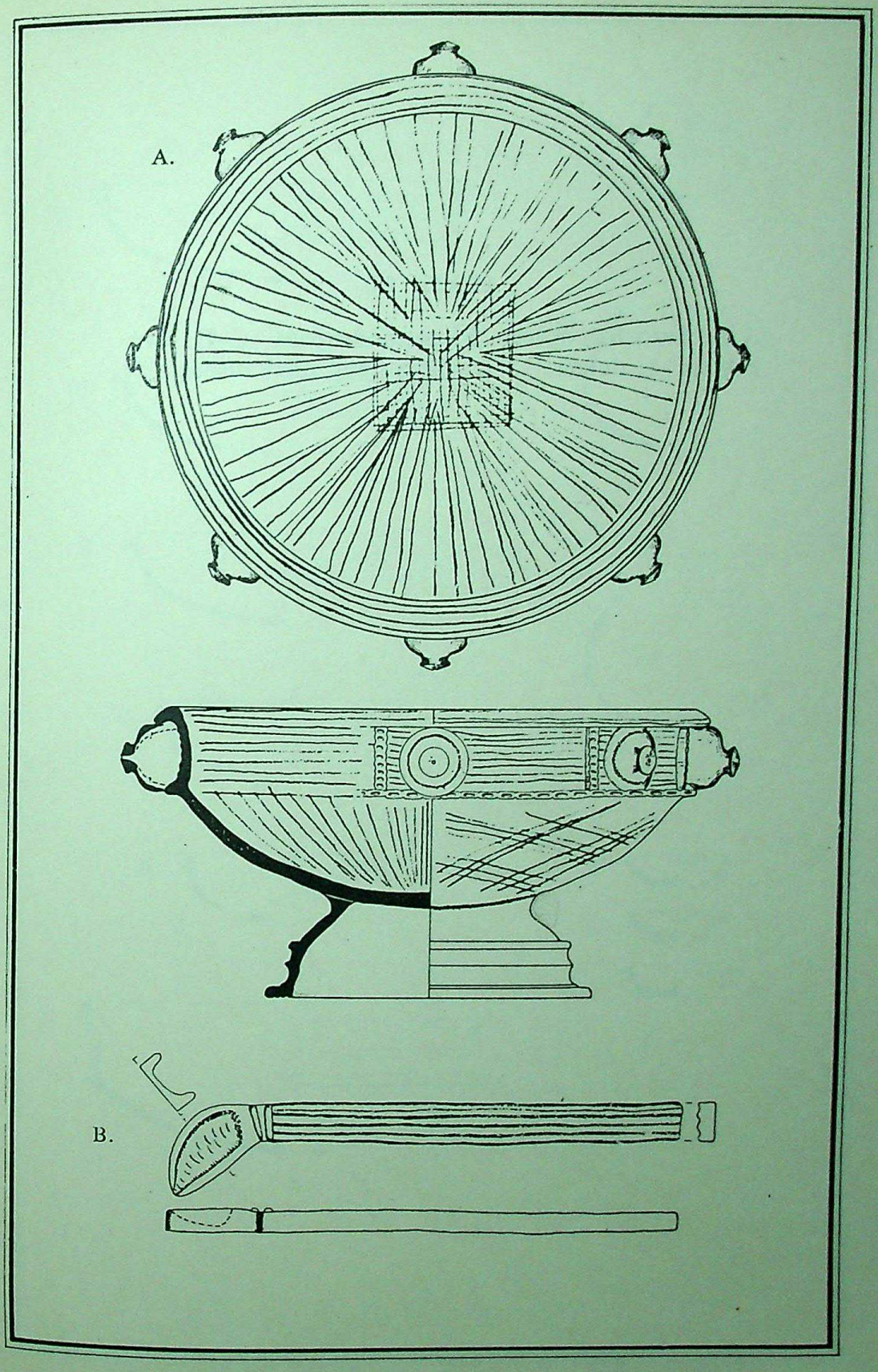

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PLATE 30

A–E: five sthālī dishes F: pṛṣṭhodvapanī G–H: two kalams I: dohana J–L: three small sthālī dishes.

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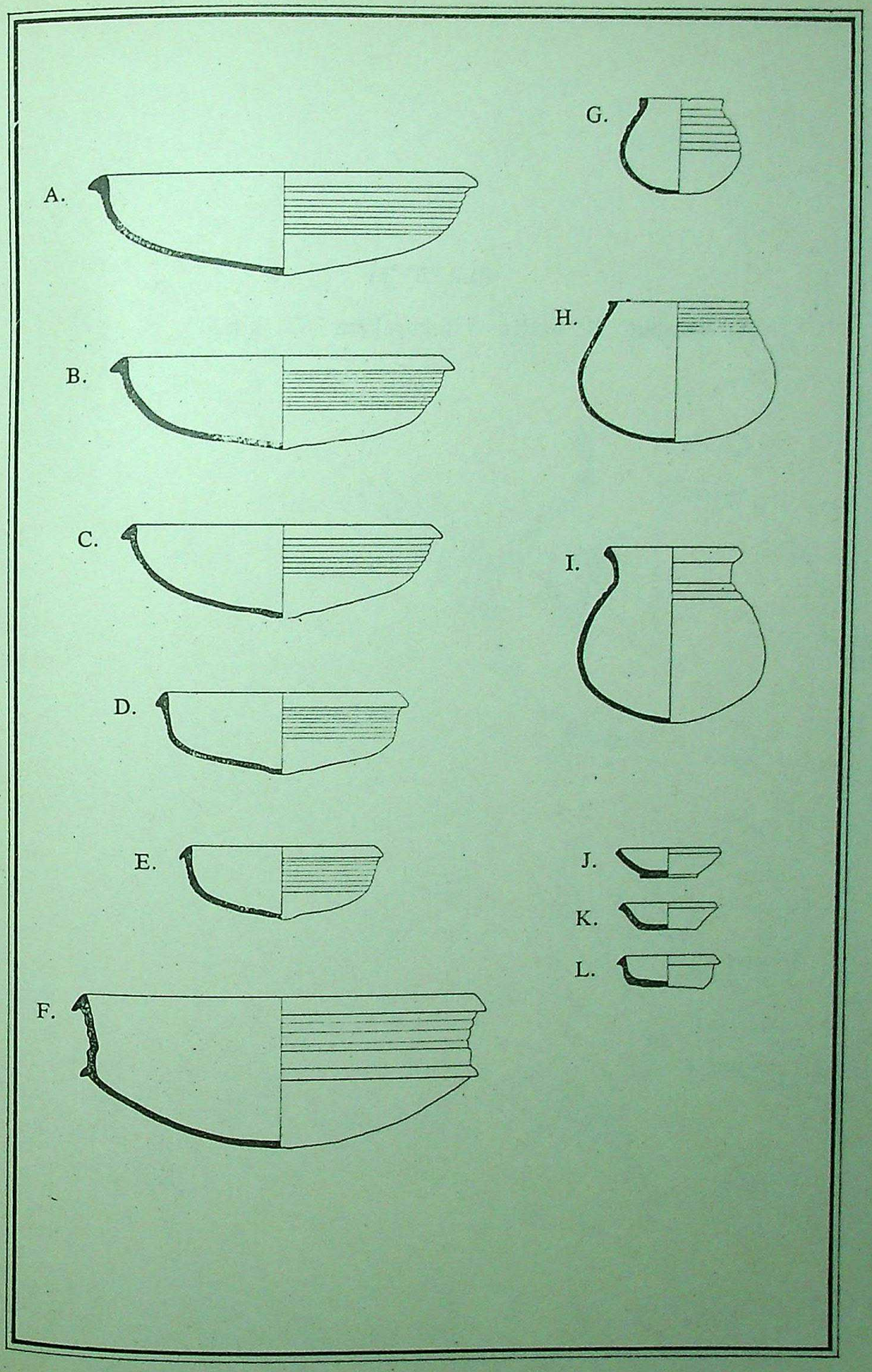

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PLATE 31

A: kumbhī B: muḷḷu C: kaṟakam D: kiṇḍi.

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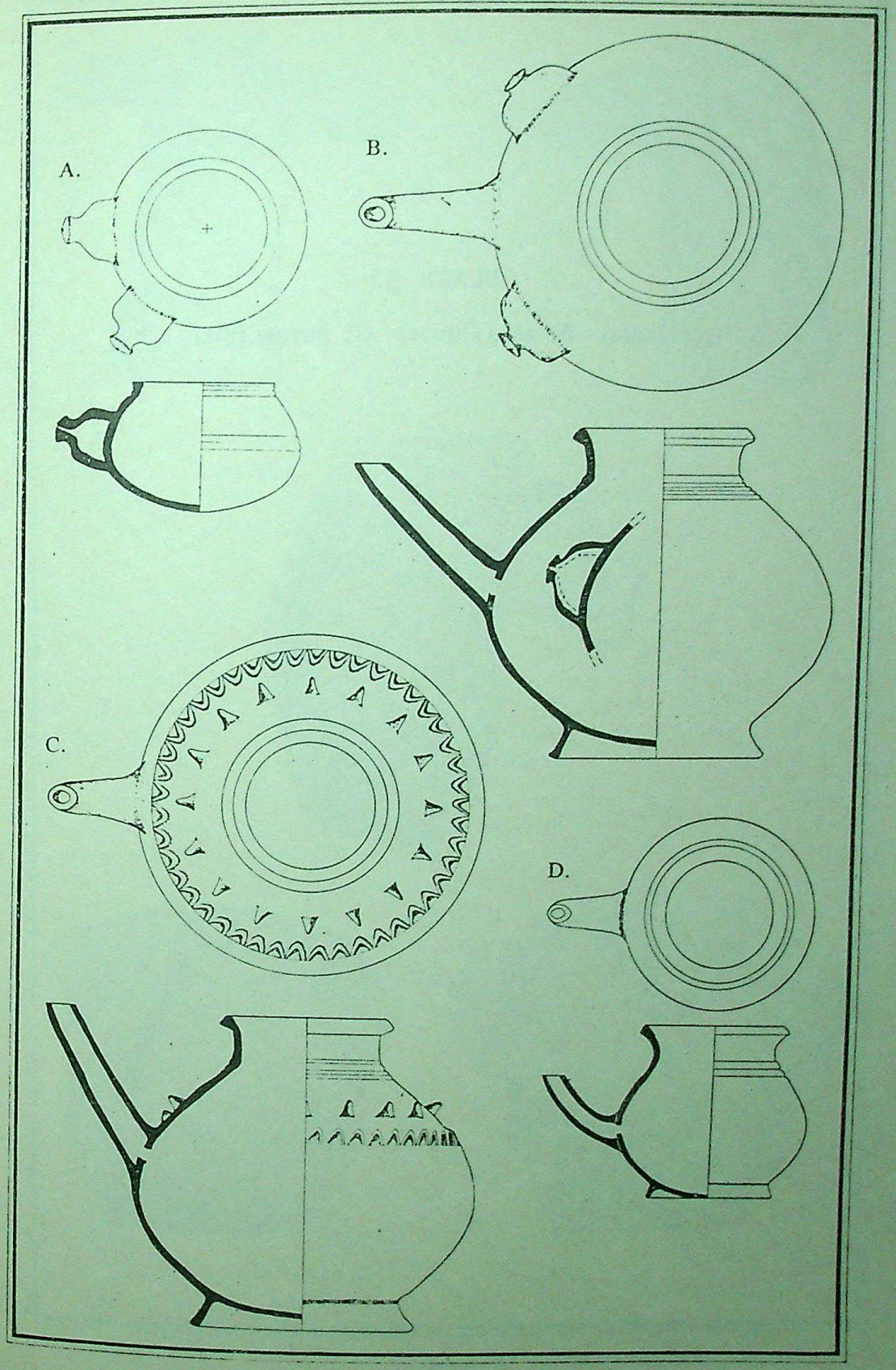

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PLATE 32

A: vṛṣṇi (ram) B: aśva (horse) C: puruṣa (man).

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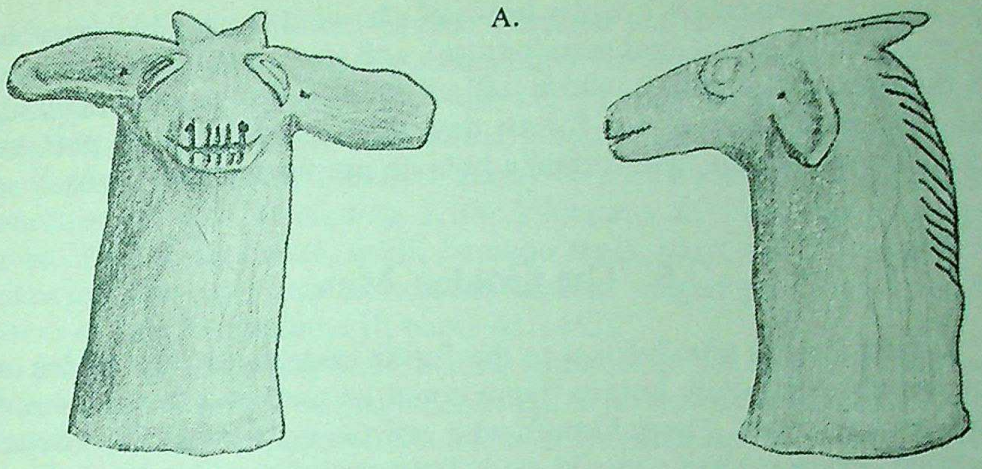
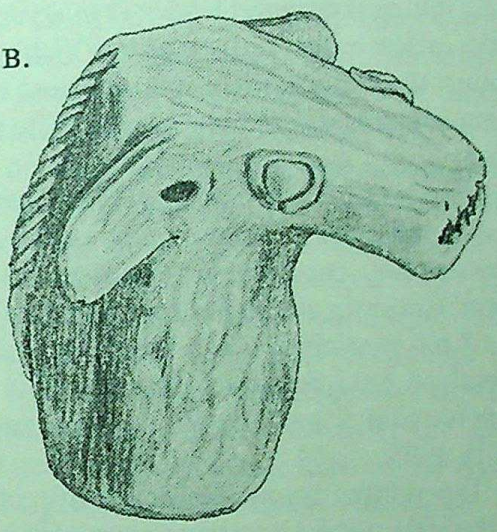
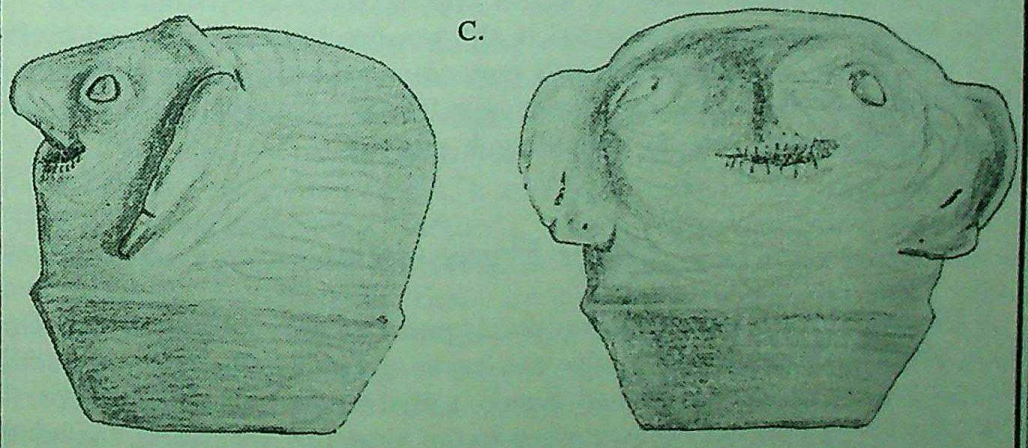
A.



B.



C.



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PLATES 44, 72A
PLATE 67

The potter also makes five clay heads of a he-goat (basta), bull (vṛṣabha), ram (vṛṣṇi), horse (aśva), and man (puruṣa), and six pairs of male and female pots (kumbha and kumbhī), which will all be buried under the main altar during the ceremonies of the fourth day. The female kumbhi pots have applied breasts but the male kumbha pots do not have penis spouts.

6. The Golden Man

PLATE 33

THE GOLDSMITH WHO belongs to the Taṭṭān caste, makes the golden man (hiraṇmayapuruṣa). Any human figure could be used as a mould, and the size is not important. The goldsmith who assisted in 1975 (and had done so on earlier occasions) had a mould made from an image of Nārāyaṇa from a temple in Palghat. The image is covered with a thin layer of gold and becomes the golden man. Like other representations of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa has four arms. In order to obtain the human form, two of these are removed from the image after it has been detached from the mould. The resulting figure measured about 4 1/2 cm.

The weight of the golden man should be a hundred (*śatamānam*), interpreted as a hundred small golden coins, each called *paṇam*. These coins, which are no longer in use, continue to function in ritual contexts. For example, the Ignorant Brahmin presents the adhvaryu with such a coin on the three occasions of his participation in the ceremonies (below, pages 419, 461, 505). Since a hundred golden coins is expensive, it is permissible to use fifty, twenty-five, twelve and a half, or six and a quarter paṇams. The last option was adopted in 1975.

PLATE 46

In addition to the golden man, the goldsmith prepares the *rukma*, a small disk worn by the yajamāna on a string round his neck at the time of his consecration. He also makes a small copper pipe, approximately 2 1/2 finger breadths long, to be inserted in the wooden toy cart prepared by the carpenter (page 227). The goldsmith may also make the earrings (*kuṇḍala*) customarily worn by Nambudiri Somayājis. The few Somayājis who attended the 1975 ceremonies already owned such earrings.

PLATE 91

PLATES 38A, 54, 55B, 84

7. Other Prerequisites

QUANTITIES OF *darbha* grass and *kuśa* grass are procured from Kaṟalmaṇṇa in South Malabar. Bundles of palāśa leaves and *avakā* plants (Malayalam: *pucakkurū*) are similarly obtained. Hemp is used for making strings, in particular the string that ties the yajamāna to the ukhā pot. Firewood, including *samidh* and *idhma* sticks, is brought in sufficient quantity.

PLATE 46

Four hundred and fifty garments (vastram) are bought in the market, ready to be used for dakṣiṇā and other purposes. Fourteen sacrificial goats

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are ready to be purchased, but the purchase was called off in 1975. Two horses, a donkey, two oxen, and a Soma cow are hired. Another cow and goat are hired for providing milk. Fifty liters of ghee are needed for the libations, as well as quantities of rice and wheat. Coconut oil is needed for the lamps. The feeding of several hundred guests (*brāhmaṇabhojana*) requires large quantities of food (including 2,100 kilograms of rice), kerosene, betel leaves, beedies, cigarettes, snuff, bamboo mats, soap, etc. The reader who wishes to know more may consult the detailed budgets published in the final section of Part III (Volume II, pages 457–463).

Stones for pounding Soma stalks, and pebbles for outlining the shapes of the altars and for putting under, inside, and on top of the bird-shaped altar, are obtained from an area on the banks of the Bharata Puzha river at Kaṇṇanūr, about one and a half miles downstream from Pattambi. These pebbles are called *kōḻipparal*, "chicken-fish." At least three among them should have holes in them: these are the svayamātṛṇṇa, "naturally perforated ones." Two of these should have (at least) three holes in them, and one (at least) five. Such holes are called *dvāra*. If no pebbles can be found with fully perforated holes, dents or small depressions are acceptable. PLATE 105

The pebbles from the Bharata Puzha river were analyzed at Berkeley and were found to consist of Vivianite, a scarce mineral named after the British mineralogist J.G.Vivian, who discovered it in Cornwall. It is an Iron Phosphate Hydrate, $Fe_3(PO_4)\cdot H_2O$, often found in beds of clay or in cavities in altered fossils. It is reasonable to suppose that there was a tradition, that pebbles of this type occur in rivers. The ancestors of the Nambudiris must have looked for them, and discovered them in the Bharata Puzha river. PLATE 6

The chicken-fish pebbles are not only used in the Agnicayana. They play a role in other ritual contexts, which throw some light on their post-Vedic and contemporary significance.[1]

Together with seven other substances, the chicken-fish constitute a mixture called *aṣṭabandha*, "eight binding substances," used for cementing the foundation of images installed in temples. The mixture is obtained by combining six parts of *śaṃkha* (Malayalam: *śaṃkhupoṭi* "powdered conch shell"), four parts of *sarja* (*ceñcalyam* "pine resin"), two parts of *abhaya* (*kaṭukkattōṭṭu* "cover of gall-nut"), one part each of *kārpāsa* (*nūtparatti* "cotton"), *apala* (*kōlarakkŭ* "shellac"), *vāluka* (*cettumaṇal* "sand mixed with clay"), *sajatukā* (*kōḻipparal* "chicken-fish" pebbles), and a half part of *amalakam* (*nellikkā* "gooseberry"). These are powdered, mixed with oil (Sanskrit *taila*, Malayalam *eṇṇa*) and pounded with a hammer for one and a half hours (3 3/4 of a *nāḻika*: see page 245) every morning and evening for thirty days.

The pebbles are also used in connexion with fire. When the *aupāsana* or *gṛhya* "home" fire, installed in the household at the time of marriage, has gone out and has to be reinstalled, the ground is prepared and purified with

[1] The following information was provided by Māṭampu Narayanan Nambudiri.

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PLATE 33A

Fashioning the Golden Man

The goldsmith fashions the golden figure of a man, which will be buried under the altar.

PLATE 33B

The Golden Man (Hiraṇmayapuruṣa)

The figure of the golden man is made with the help of a mould taken from an image of Nārāyaṇa in a temple in Palghat. Two of Viṣṇu's four arms are removed to make the figure human. It is about 4 1/2 cm. high, and weights 6 1/4 paṇams, a unit of weight equivalent to a small golden coin.

Photo Michael Beaucage

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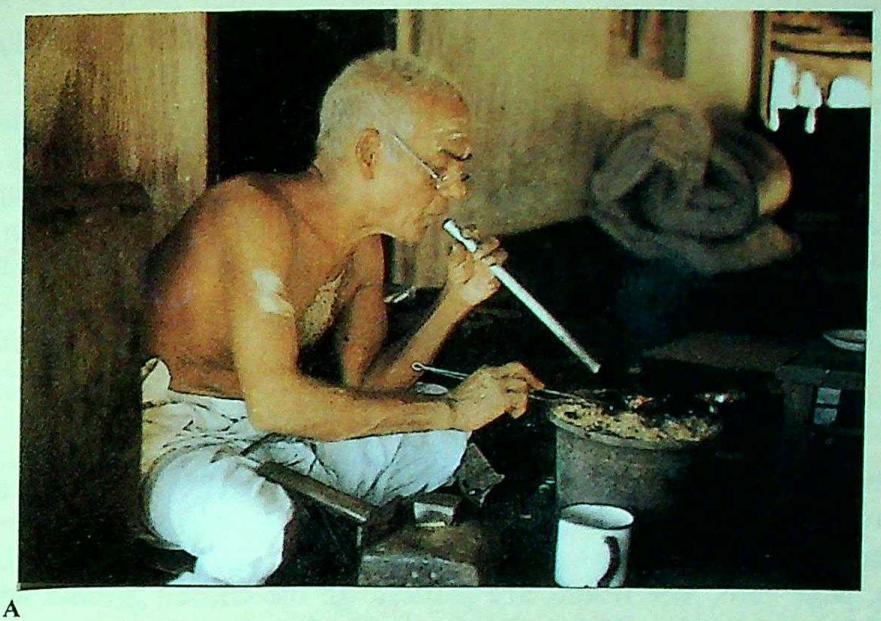
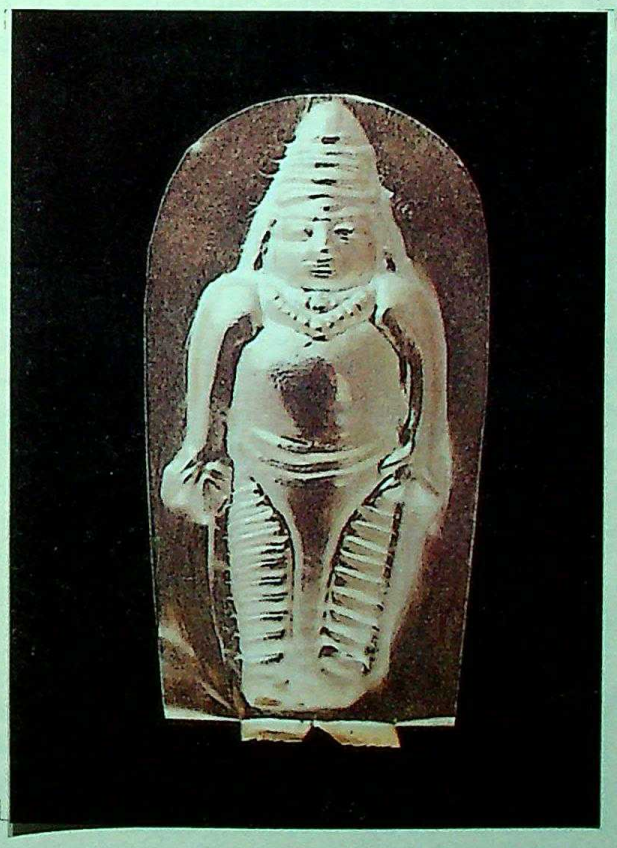


A



B

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a mixture consisting of chicken-fish and various substances, which I list here with their Malayalam names: *maṇal* (river sand from the Bharata Puzha river), *ūṣaram* (desert sand, provided by Tamil brahmins), *puṭṭumaṇṇu* (anthill), *nīṟāṟumaṇṇu* (mud from a permanently wet spot), *elippūḷi* (sand thrown up by a rat—*eli*—digging a hole), *pannippūḷi* (sand thrown up by a pig—*panni*—digging a hole), *tāmarayila* (lotus leaf), *aśani* (coconut, jack or arayāl tree struck by lightning), a branch with leaves of the arayāl, and various woods: atti, plāś, vahni, and vayyaṅkat (see page 206).

8. The Ritual Enclosure

THE CONSTRUCTION OF the ritual enclosure (*yāgaśālā*) requires precise measurements to have been made beforehand. The measurements are made with the help of the measuring sticks derived from the size of the yajamāna (above, page 196). The results are marked on the chosen ground with the help of pegs and strings.

All measurements can be marked only after determination of the east-west line (*pṛṣṭhyā*). A stick of about two to three feet is prepared, and at its two ends pegs of unequal length are inserted:

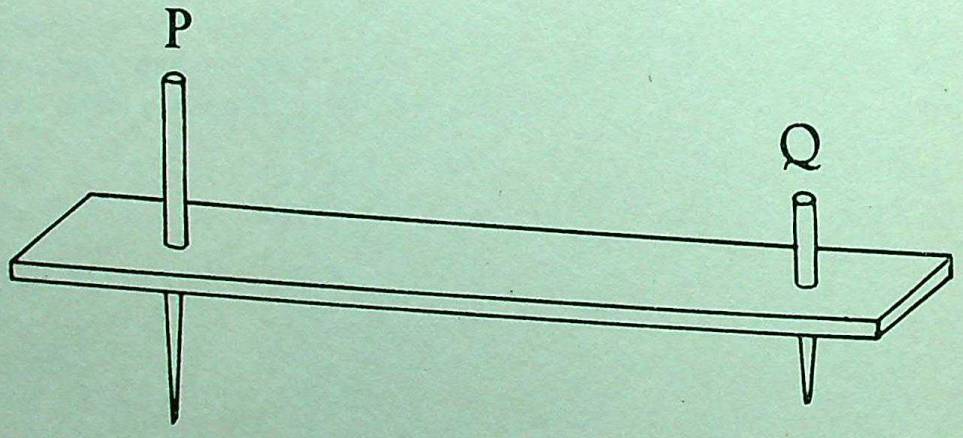

Figure 10—Stick for Tracing a Circle

The longer peg P is fixed in the ground about one foot to the north of where the east-west line is approximately planned. A circle with P as its center is scratched in the soil by turning Q around P (Figure 10; not drawn to scale).

The determination of the east-west line takes four days. At sunrise on the first day the shadow of the central peg at P cuts the circumference at a point A_1, which is marked with a peg. At sunset on that day, it cuts at B_1. Similarly, the shadow cuts the circle at sunrise and sunset on the fourth day at A_4 and B_4, respectively (Figure 11).

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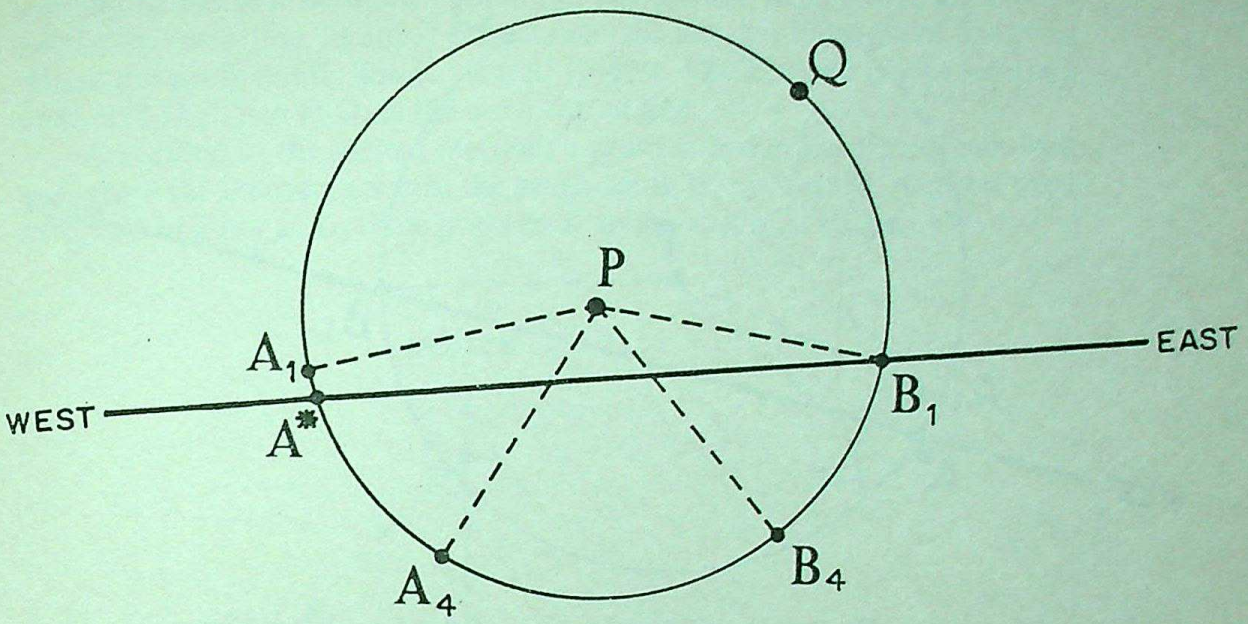

Figure 11—Determination of the East-West Line

One natural day (corresponding to twenty-four hours) is divided into sixty equal units of time, each called a *nāḻika*. Let us assume that the time elapsed between sunrise and sunset on the first day, i.e., between the determination of A_1 and B_1, was twenty-three nāḻikas. Four days last $4 \times 60 = 240$ nāḻikas. During that period, the distance between A_1 and A_4 was traversed. The arc A_1A_4 is divided into 240 equal units, of which as many parts are taken as there were nāḻikas between sunrise and sunset on the first day, viz., twenty-three. This is done by folding a thin string of the same length as the arc A_1A_4 into 240 equal parts, and unfolding twenty-three parts. The point arrived at on the arc, say A*, is marked with another peg.

Now A^*B_1 is the east-west line. A string is tied and extended further in opposite directions on both sides.

There is another method, simpler and rougher, to determine the east-west line. A circle is drawn as before (Figure 12). Let A_1 and B_1 mark the points of sunrise and sunset on the first day, and A_2 sunrise on the second day. The center A* of segment A_1A_2 is determined by folding a string of length A_1A_2. Now A^*B_1 is the east-west line.

In practice, the east-west line is not often constructed by either of these methods. Generally there will be a temple or *mana* (Nambudiri house) nearby, and these are already oriented. The directions are then obtained by constructing parallels.

Given the east-west line, there are two different methods to arrive at the north-south line, or in fact at any line at right angles to a given one. Ac-

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a mixture consisting of chicken-fish and various substances, which I list here with their Malayalam names: *maṇal* (river sand from the Bharata Puzha river), *ūṣaram* (desert sand, provided by Tamil brahmins), *puṭṭumaṇṇu* (anthill), *nīṟāṟumaṇṇu* (mud from a permanently wet spot), *elippūḷi* (sand thrown up by a rat—*eli*—digging a hole), *pannippūḷi* (sand thrown up by a pig—*panni*—digging a hole), *tāmarayila* (lotus leaf), *aśani* (coconut, jack or arayāl tree struck by lightning), a branch with leaves of the arayāl, and various woods: atti, plāś, vahni, and vayyaṅkat (see page 206).

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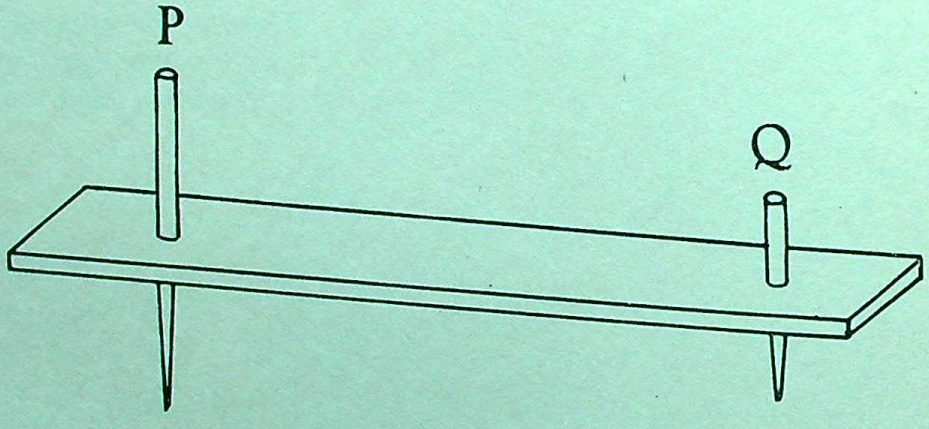

Figure 10—Stick for Tracing a Circle

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The determination of the east-west line takes four days. At sunrise on the first day the shadow of the central peg at P cuts the circumference at a point A_1, which is marked with a peg. At sunset on that day, it cuts at B_1. Similarly, the shadow cuts the circle at sunrise and sunset on the fourth day at A_4 and B_4, respectively (Figure 11).

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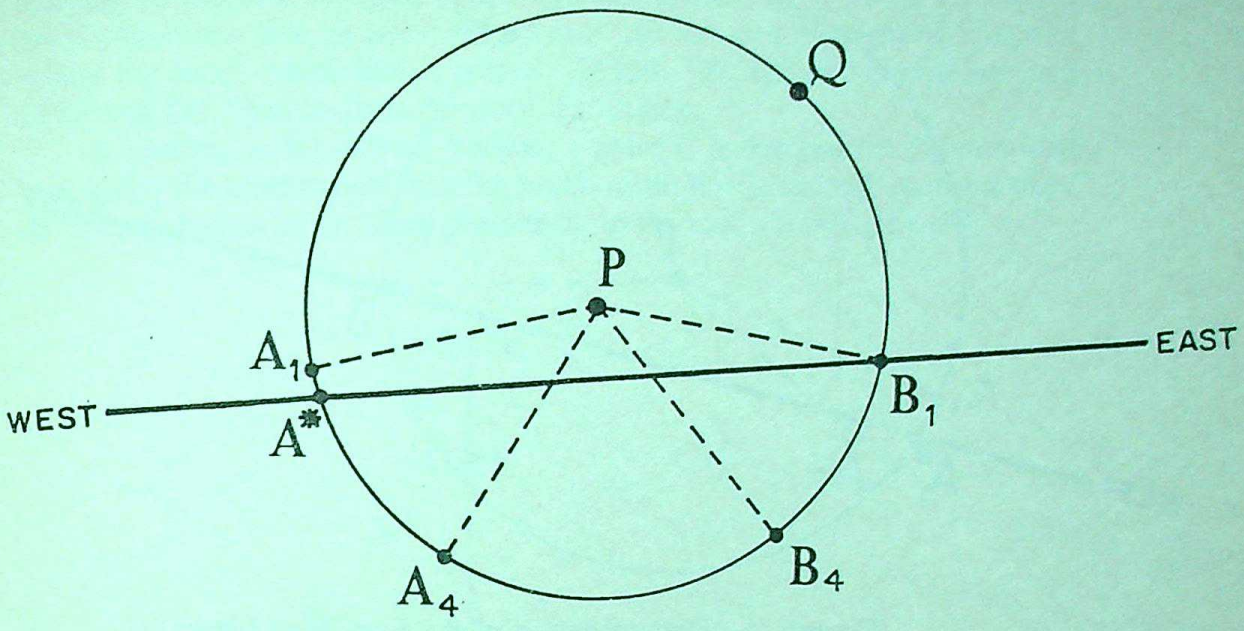

Figure 11—Determination of the East-West Line

One natural day (corresponding to twenty-four hours) is divided into sixty equal units of time, each called a *nāḷika*. Let us assume that the time elapsed between sunrise and sunset on the first day, i.e., between the determination of A_1 and B_1, was twenty-three nāḷikas. Four days last $4 \times 60 =$ 240 nāḷikas. During that period, the distance between A_1 and A_4 was traversed. The arc A_1A_4 is divided into 240 equal units, of which as many parts are taken as there were nāḷikas between sunrise and sunset on the first day, viz., twenty-three. This is done by folding a thin string of the same length as the arc A_1A_4 into 240 equal parts, and unfolding twenty-three parts. The point arrived at on the arc, say A*, is marked with another peg.

Now A^*B_1 is the east-west line. A string is tied and extended further in opposite directions on both sides.

There is another method, simpler and rougher, to determine the east-west line. A circle is drawn as before (Figure 12). Let A_1 and B_1 mark the points of sunrise and sunset on the first day, and A_2 sunrise on the second day. The center A* of segment A_1A_2 is determined by folding a string of length A_1A_2. Now A^*B_1 is the east-west line.

In practice, the east-west line is not often constructed by either of these methods. Generally there will be a temple or *mana* (Nambudiri house) nearby, and these are already oriented. The directions are then obtained by constructing parallels.

Given the east-west line, there are two different methods to arrive at the north-south line, or in fact at any line at right angles to a given one. Ac-

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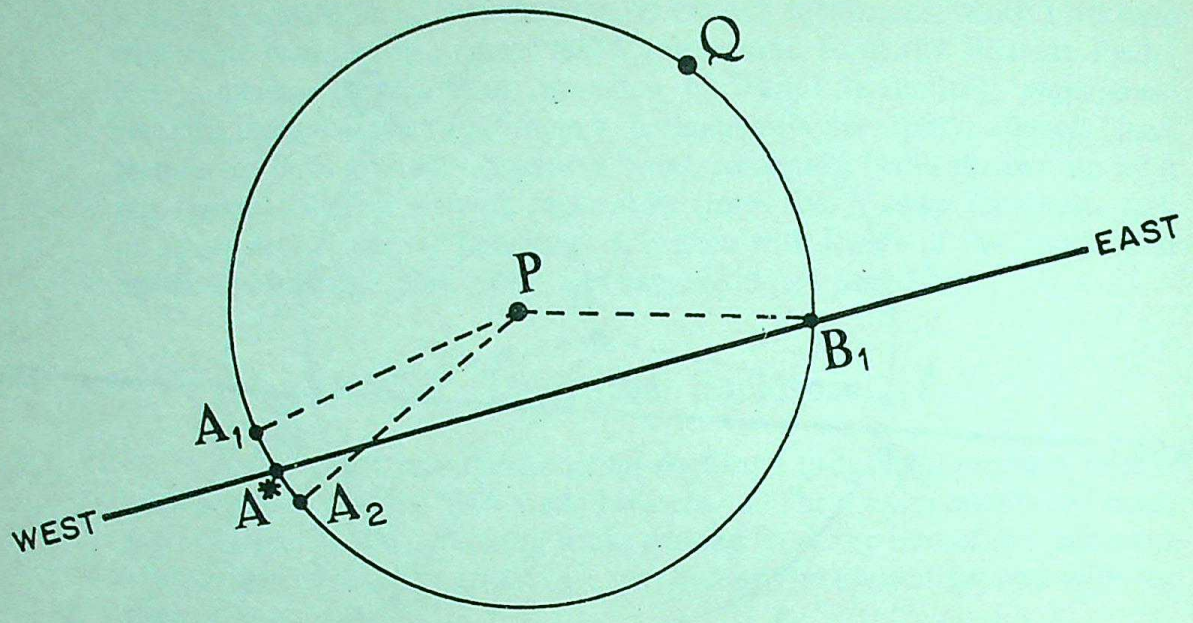

Figure 12—Determination of the East-West Line: Alternative Method

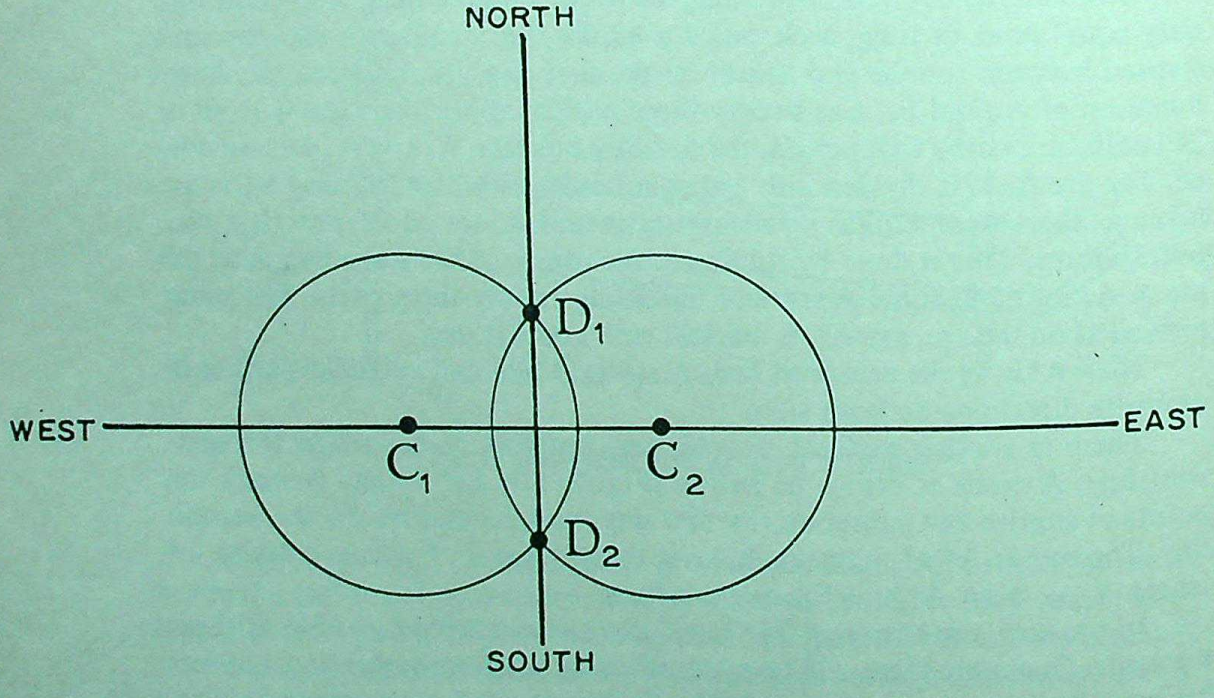

Figure 13—Determination of the North-South Line: First Method

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cording to the first method, two circles are drawn with centers C_1 and C_2 on the east-west line, at equal distances to the left and the right of the point where the north-south line is wanted (Figure 13). The two circles intersect at D_1 and D_2. Then D_1D_2 is the north-south line.

According to the second method, a point C is marked on the east-west line where the intersection with the north-south line is wanted. A peg is fixed at C, and another at D, three prakramas to the east of C (Figure 14).

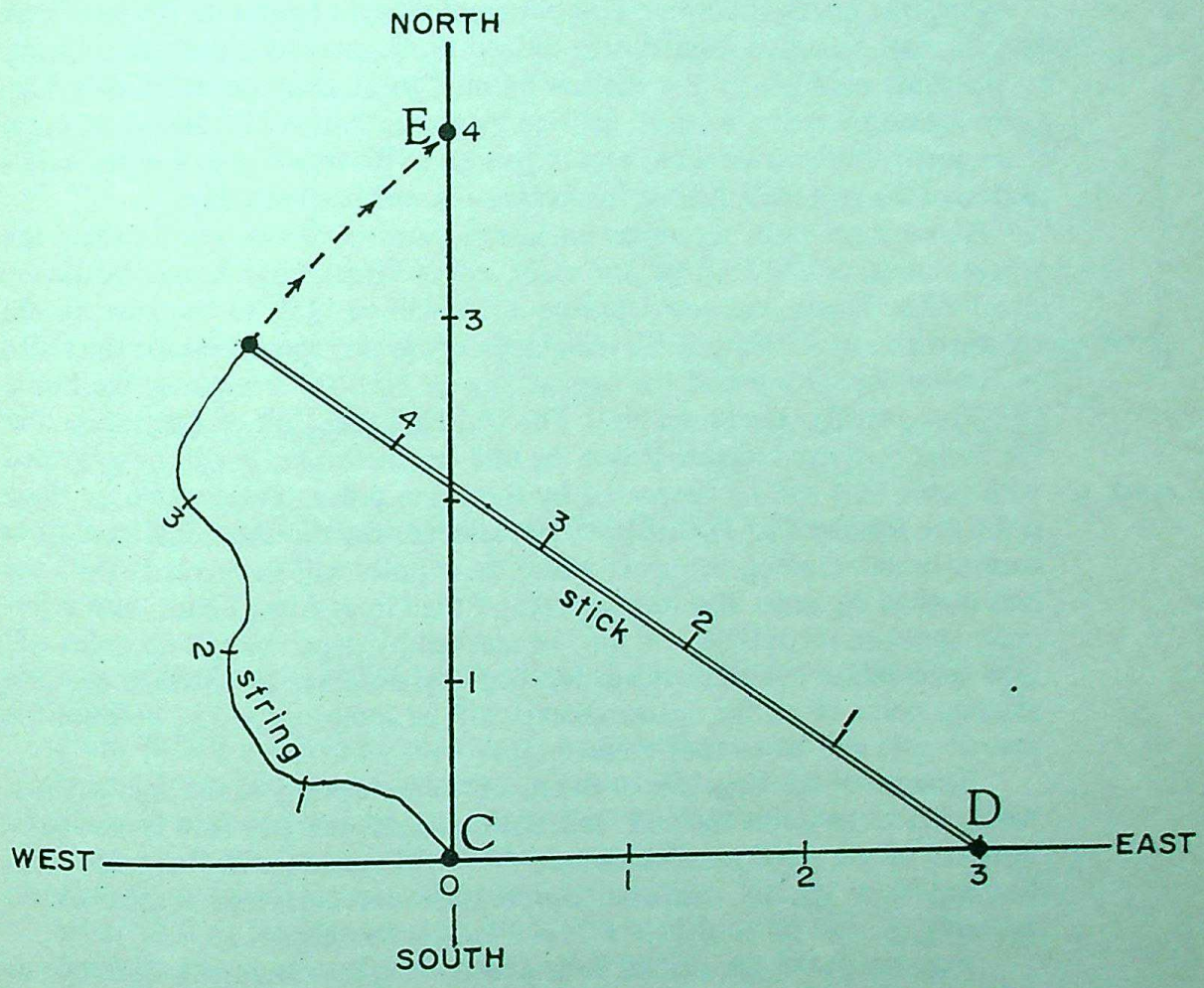

Figure 14—Determination of the North-South Line: Second Method

A string four prakramas long is tied to C, and a stick five prakramas long to D. The opposite ends of the string and stick are tied together, and then the string is stretched. This determines a point E, such that CE is the

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north-south line. Alternatively, DE is also a string, and both strings are stretched and made to meet. Or else there is a single string, CED, that is marked at E, and E is moved until both CE and DE are fully stretched.

Such right angles are generally constructed with the help of the triple (3, 4, 5). But other triples are also sometimes mentioned, e.g., (17, 17, 24), with regard to which "a slight difference" is felt to exist. The Nambudiris know the technical terms in Sanskrit for the three sides of the rectangular triangle: the two sides CE and CD are called *bhūjam* and *kōṭi*, and the hypotenuse DE is called *karṇ*[*ṇ*]*am*.

Once the north-south line is determined at right angles on the east-west line, the east-west line itself can be moved north or south, parallel to itself, by the same method, to any desired point. The starting point of all subsequent measurements is a point, marked by a peg, that will be the intersection of the pṛṣṭhyā or east-west line and the center of the western wall of the wife's section of the Old Hall. A little further west, a well has been dug.

As we have seen, the ritual enclosure consists of two main areas: the prācīnavaṃśa or Old Hall and the mahāvedi or Great Altar Space. Inside the Great Altar Space, the new Offering Altar will be built to the east, in the agnikṣetra or Field of Agni. To its west there are two special sheds: the sadas or Hall of Recitation and the havirdhāna or Hall for Preparing the Soma Oblations, briefly: the Soma Hall. The Old Hall, the Hall of Recitation and the Soma Hall are together called the śālā or Enclosure. It will be provided
PLATE 34 with roofs that will be supported by forty-one poles. Twenty-two of these poles are for the Old Hall. The measurements for the sacrificial enclosure consist in determining the spots where these poles will be erected. They are first marked by pegs. The four corners of the Great Altar Space, and a few other spots on its outline, will also be marked by pegs, though no poles will take their place. I shall indicate the pegs by numbers ① through ㊺. The starting point of all the measurements will be indicated as ②, because the second pole will be erected there.

Because of the large size of the new Domestic Altar of the Agnicayana, which has to fit inside the Old Hall, the outline of the Old Hall is measured in terms of the madhyama-prakrama of 32 1/4 viral (see above, page 196). Starting from ②, six madhyama-prakramas are measured to the south, reaching ①, and six to the north, reaching ③. See Figure 15.

Pegs are put in the ground at ② and ③. The measurements continue as follows:

from ③ four madhyama-prakramas east, reaching ④;
from ④ two madhyama-prakramas east, reaching ⑤;
from ⑤ four madhyama-prakramas south, reaching ⑥;
from ⑥ two madhyama-prakramas south, reaching ⑦;
from ⑦ six madhyama-prakramas south, reaching ⑧.

Then ①③⑤⑧ is the outline for the *patnīśālā* or Wife's Enclosure, with

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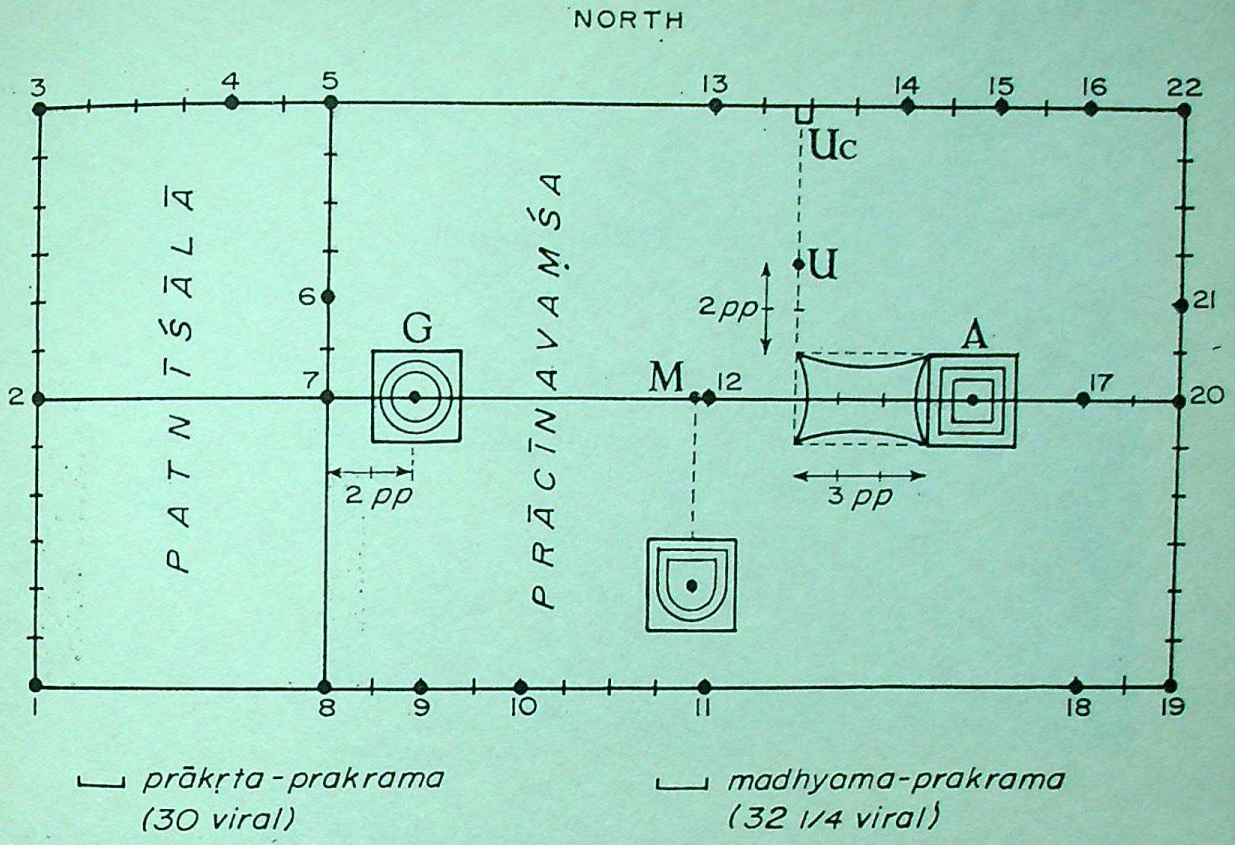

Figure 15—Dimensions of the Old Hall (Prācīnavaṃśa)

spaces for doors marked by the segments ④⑤ and ⑥⑦. Next comes the Old Hall itself:

from ⑧ two madhyama-prakramas east to ⑨;
from ⑨ two madhyama-prakramas east to ⑩;
from ⑩ four madhyama-prakramas east to ⑪;
from ⑪ six madhyama-prakramas north to ⑫;
from ⑫ six madhyama-prakramas north to ⑬;
from ⑬ four madhyama-prakramas east to ⑭;
from ⑭ two madhyama-prakramas east to ⑮;
from ⑮ two madhyama-prakramas east to ⑯;
from ⑯ six madhyama-prakramas south to ⑰;
from ⑰ six madhyama-prakramas south to ⑱;
from ⑱ two madhyama-prakramas east to ⑲;
from ⑲ six madhyama-prakramas north to ⑳;
from ⑳ two madhayma-prakramas north to ㉑;
from ㉑ four madhyama-prakramas north to ㉒.

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PLATES 34A-B

Making the Roof

The roof of the sacrificial enclosure is made from palmyra leaves, fastened onto a framework of bamboo poles, tied together with strings. This method is commonly used for constructing temporary structures, sheds, or "pandals."

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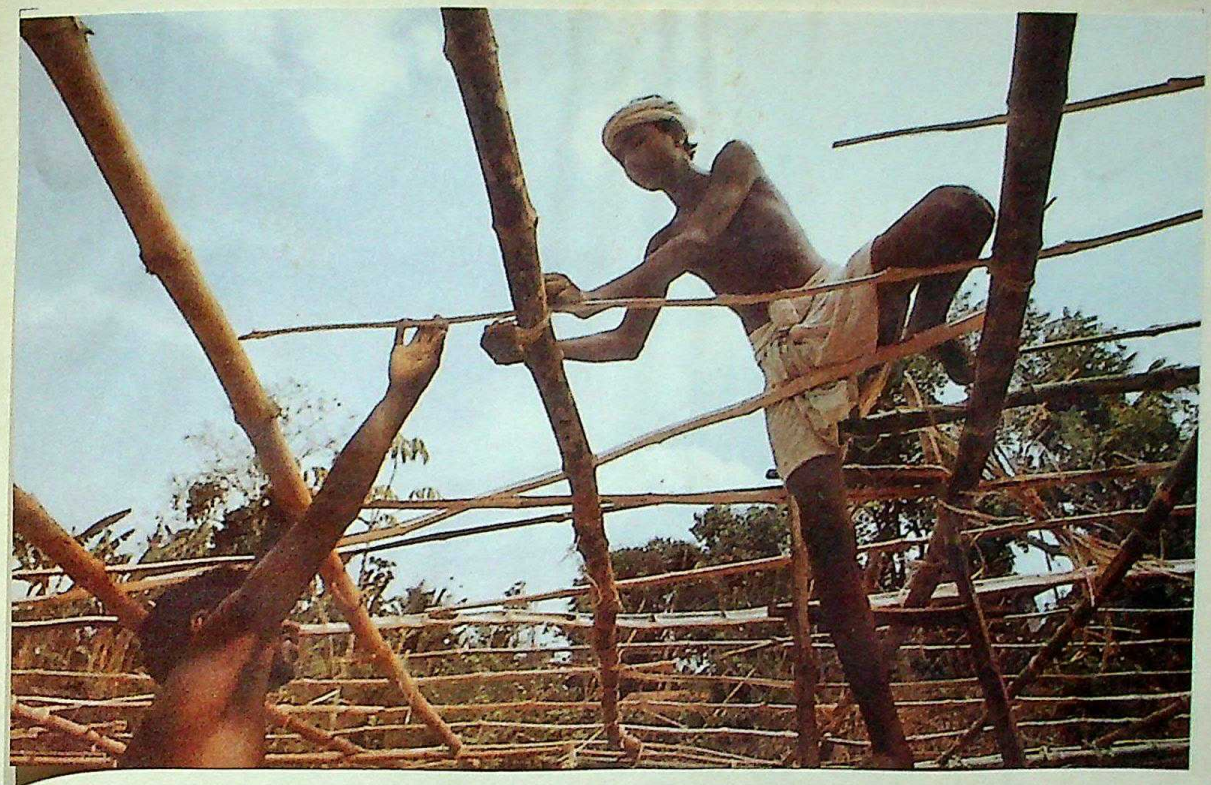
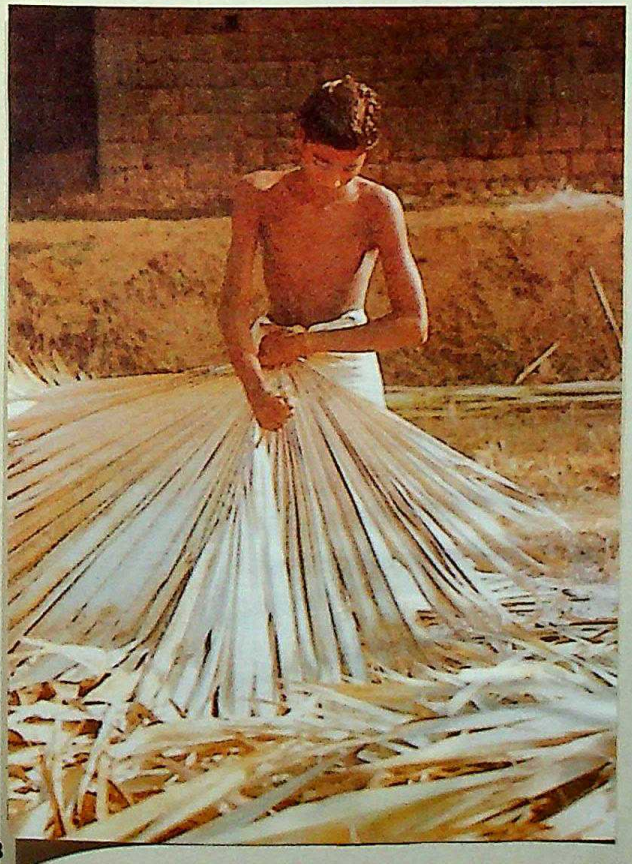


A



B

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This completes the outline of the Old Hall, ⑤⑧⑲㉒, with spaces for doors marked at ⑥⑦ (previously), ⑨⑩, ⑭⑮, and ⑳㉑. Later, bamboo poles will be erected in these spots and support a saddle-shaped roof made from palmyra leaves, with its ridge above the east-west line ②⑳ at an elevation of about 12 prakramas above the ground. A low wall of clay is made, with removable upper parts that may serve as windows.

PLATES 35, II:21

Next the location and sizes of altars and other special areas inside the Old Hall will be determined by measurement, after which they will be made from clay. For all measurements *within* the Old Hall, the unit of measurement is the ordinary *prākṛta-prakrama:*

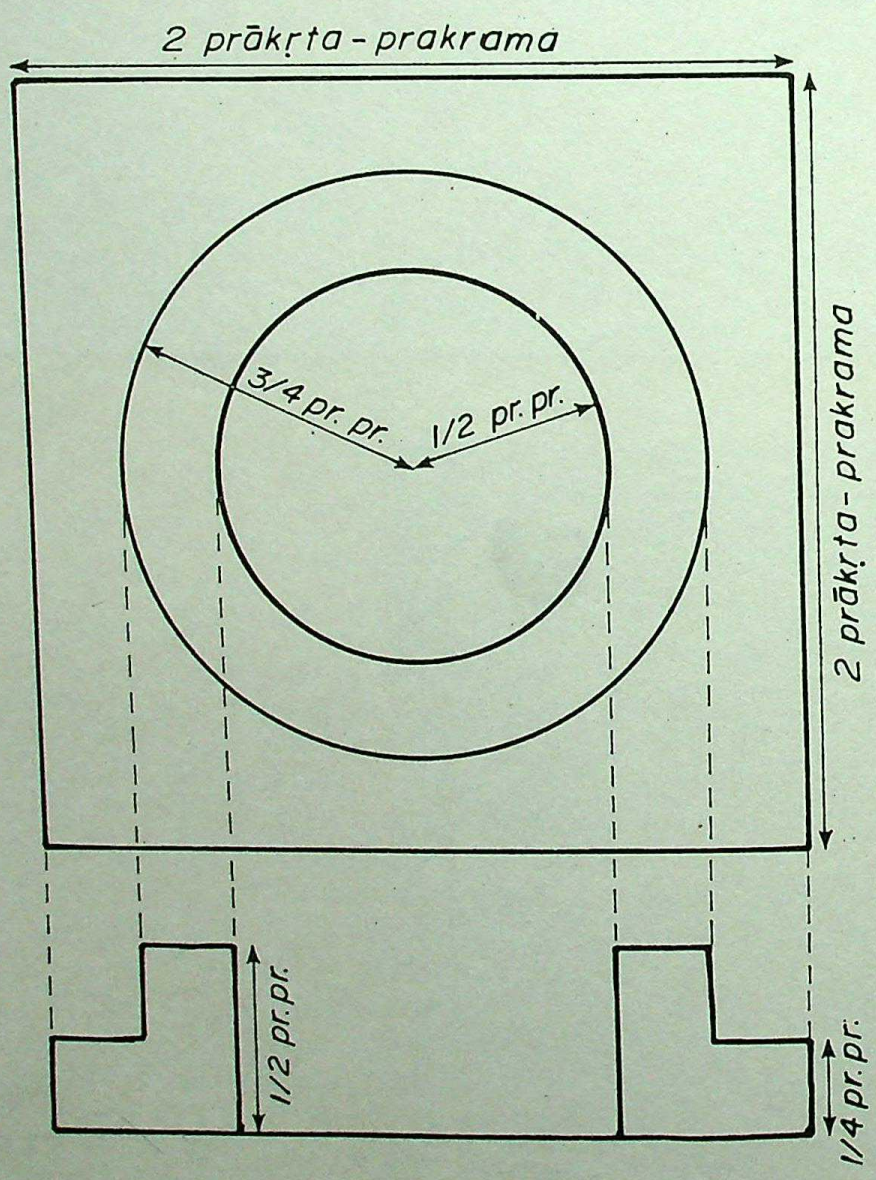

Figure 16—Dimensions of the Domestic Altar (Gārhapatya)

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I. The (old) Domestic Altar (gārhapatya), marked G. This altar occupies a square of 2 × 2 prakramas, with two concentric circles inside, the smaller one with a radius of 1/2, the larger one with a radius of 3/4 prakrama. The outer circle is elevated from the ground at about 1/4 prakrama and the inner circle at about 1/2 prakrama. The inside of the altar is on a level with the outside ground. See Figure 16.

The center of this Domestic Altar is two (ordinary) prakramas east of 7.

II. The (old) Offering Altar (āhavanīya), marked A. The outer dimensions are the same as those of the Domestic Altar. Inside are two squares, as indicated in Figure 17.

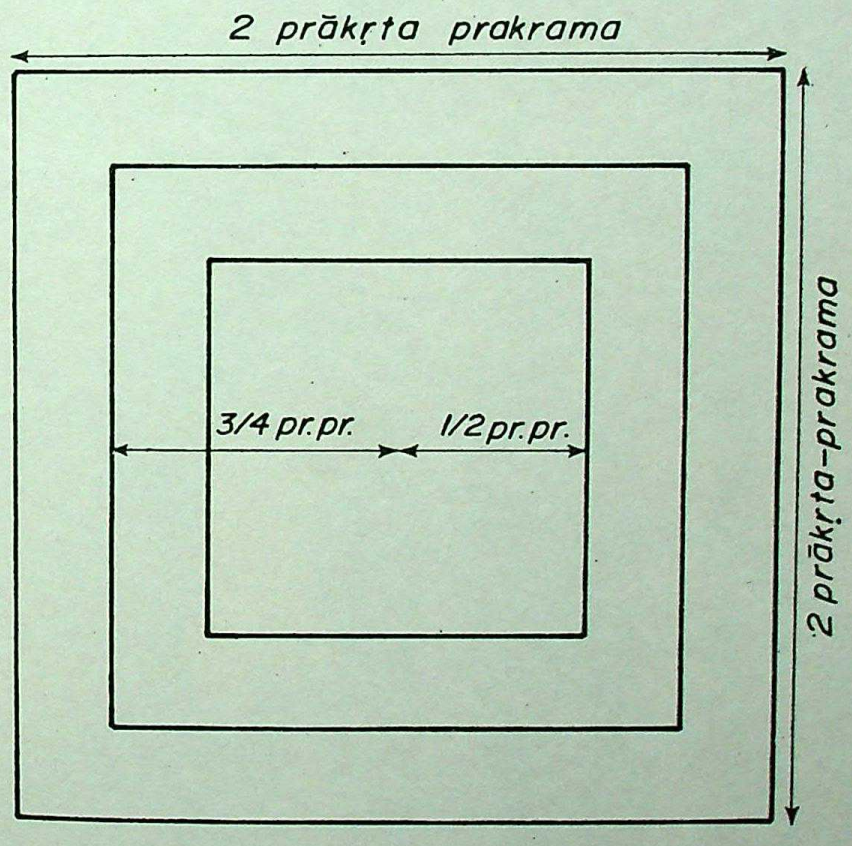

Figure 17—Dimensions of the Offering Altar (Āhavanīya)

The center of this Offering Altar is 12 (ordinary) prakramas and 18 viral east of the center of G. The distance from the center of A to ⑰ is 2 (ordinary) prakramas and 18 viral. Therefore, the total distance from ⑦ to ⑳ is:

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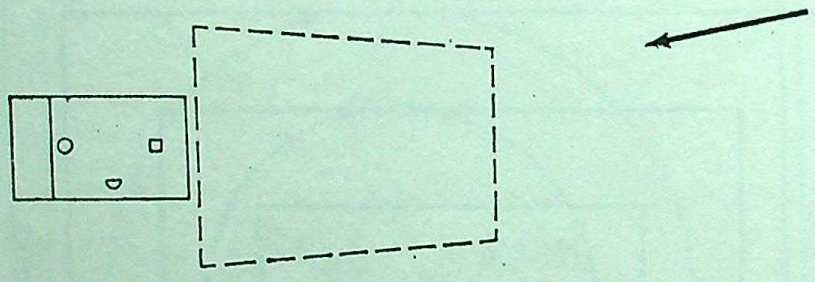
PLATE 35

The Ritual Enclosure

Overview of the ritual enclosure from the east-northeast. The Great Altar Space (mahāvedi) is in front, the Old Hall (prācīna-vaṃśa), with higher roof, in the back. See also Volume 2, Plate 21.



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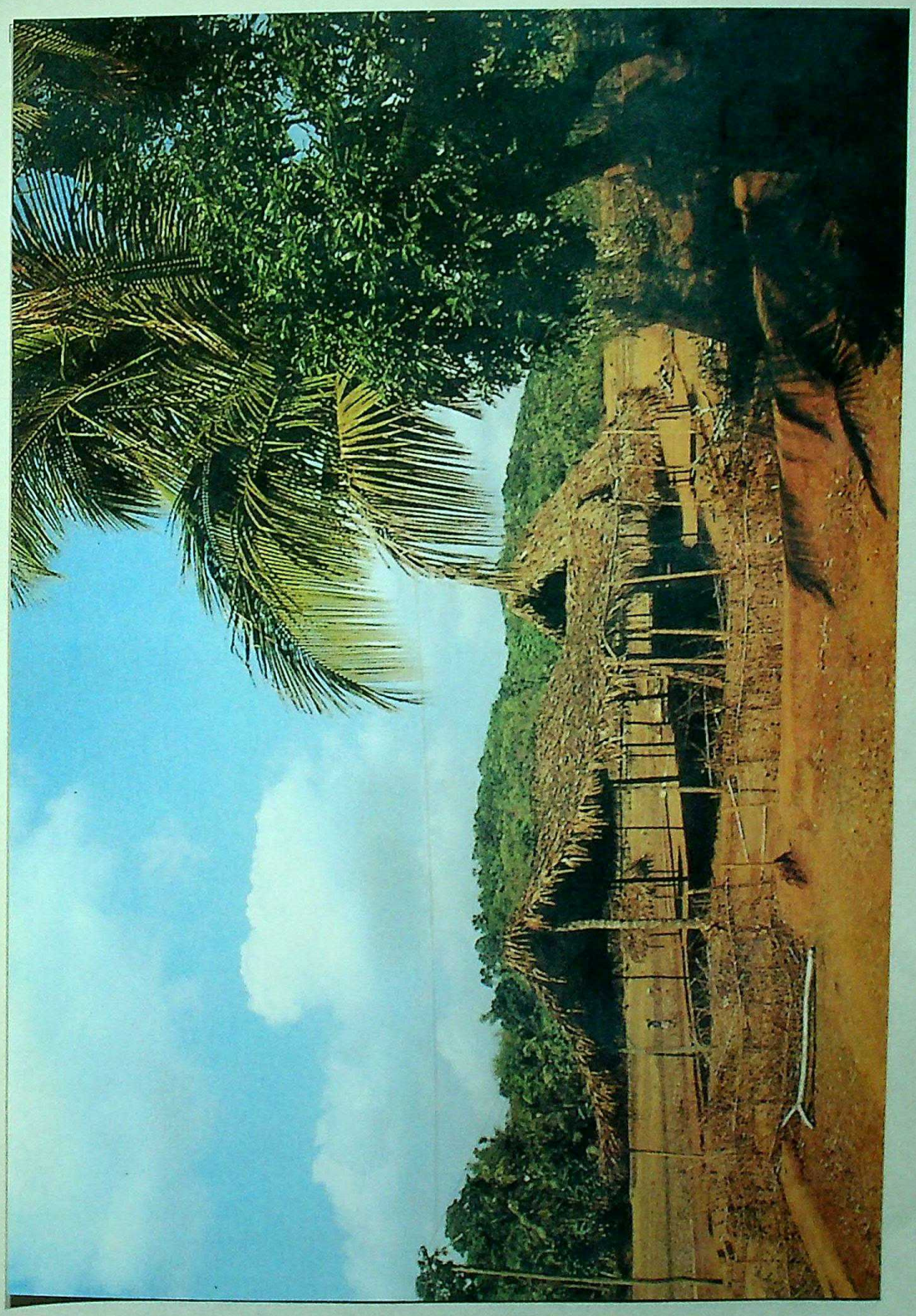

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⑦ to center of G: 2 prākṛta-prakramas =	60		viral
center of G to center of A:	378		viral
center of G to ⑰:	78		viral
⑰ to ⑳: 2 madhyama-prakramas =	64	1/2	viral
TOTAL:	580	1/2	viral

This is as it should be, for the east-west dimension of the Old Hall is eighteen madhyama-prakramas, or 18 × 32 1/4 = 580 1/2 viral.

III. The Southern Altar (dakṣiṇāgni), marked D. The outer square is again of the same dimensions. Inside there is a rectangle to the north and a semi-circle to the south. The dimensions are indicated in Figure 18.

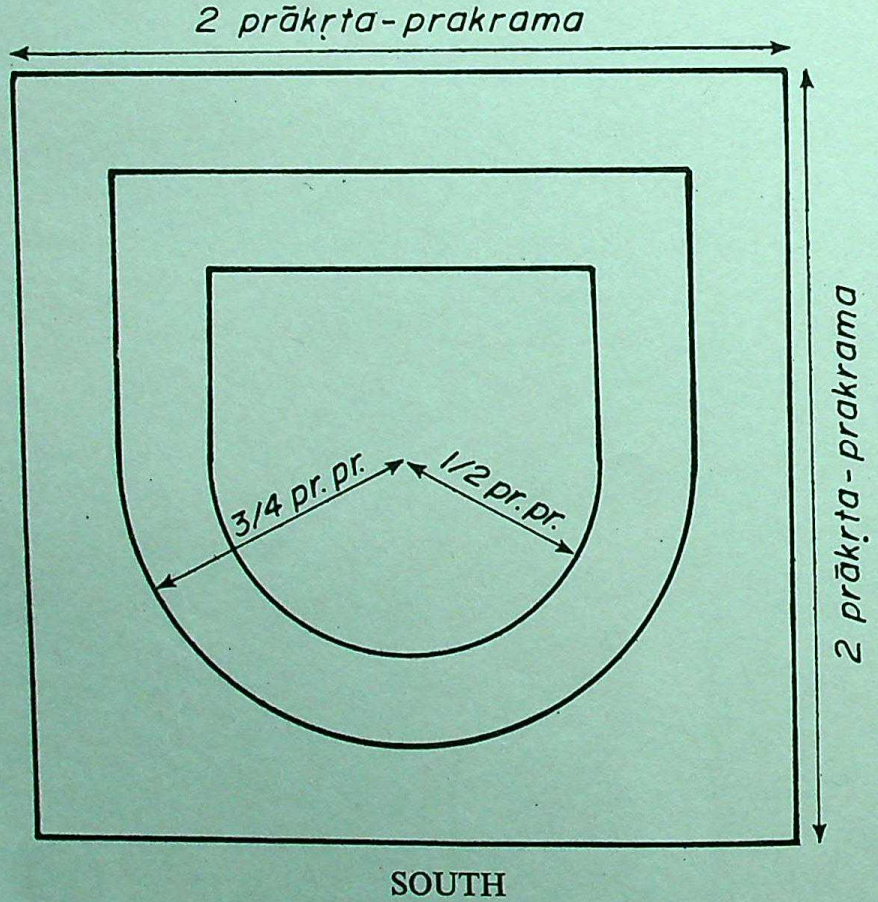

Figure 18—Dimensions of the Southern Altar (Dakṣiṇāgni)

To find the center of the Southern Altar we first determine the center M of the distance between the centers of G and A: it is 6 prakramas and 9 viral from each. The center of D is 4 prakramas and 6 viral south of M.

PLATE 36A Immediately west of the Offering Altar is the Vedi. It has the shape of an

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hourglass. The four corners form a rectangle which is 2 prakramas broad and 3 prakramas long. These corners are determined by measurement, but the hourglass shape is scratched on the ground with the sphya knife, using eye and hand.

Two ordinary prakramas north from the northwest corner of the Vedi a point U is reached, which will mark the position of the *utkara* rubbish heap, which will later be made from clay in the shape of a turtle. Another 3 prakramas and 7 1/2 viral north marks the spot where the *ucchiṣṭakhara* will be made. This is a small square, made against the northern wall, with an exhaust through the wall to the outside. It is a receptacle for water that will be used to wash some of the Pravargya utensils (Episode 9). PLATE 36B

The need for the use of the middle prakrama as the unit of measurement for the outline of the Old Hall is not apparent, of course, from the sizes of the three altars, but it will become apparent when the new domestic altar is constructed on the fourth ritual day (Episode 7).

Next the outline of the mahāvedi or Great Altar Space is measured. Use is made of the extended, vṛddha-prakrama of 34 1/3 viral (above page 195), so that the large bird-shaped altar will fit inside.[1] All the measurements *inside* the mahāvedi will again be made by means of the ordinary prakrama. The ordinary prakrama is also used to find the starting point (Figure 19). PLATE 37

The measurement of the mahāvedi or Great Altar Space begins from a point A, six ordinary prakramas east from the center of the Sacrificial Altar (A).The peg that is placed there is called Peg in Front of the Enclosure (*śālāmukhīyaśaṅku*). The sadas or Hall of Recitation is measured first:

from A one (ordinary) prakrama east, then:
one (ordinary) prakrama south to ㉔;
and one (ordinary) prakrama north to ㉕;
from ㉔ six (ordinary) prakrama south to ㉓;
from ㉕ six (ordinary) prakrama north to ㉖;
from ㉖ five (ordinary) prakrama east to ㉗;
from ㉗ eight (ordinary) prakrama south to ㉘;
from ㉘ six (ordinary) prakrama south to ㉙;
from ㉙ five (ordinary) prakrama east to ㉚;
from ㉚ six (ordinary) prakrama north to ㉛;
from ㉛ two (ordinary) prakrama north to ㉜;
from ㉜ six (ordinary) prakrama north to ㉝.

This completes the outline of the Hall of Recitation ㉓㉖㉝㉚, with spaces

[1] Erkkara Raman Nambudiri visited a performance of the Puṇḍarīka (a sattra ritual) in Andhra Pradesh in 1977. He reported that the priests not only read the recitations and chants from books, and generally without accent or proper pitch, but also that ordinary measurements had been used for the Great Altar Space so that the bird-shaped altar had to be made small, even though the yajamāna was not a midget.

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PLATE 36A

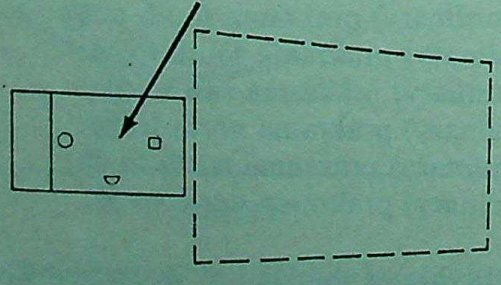
Digging the Vedi

The vedi is a receptacle for ritual implements, constructed immediately to the west of the offering altar. Its shape is that of an hourglass, with four concave sides. The ancient Śulba Sūtra texts specify these sides as arcs from four circles, and determine the center and radius of each of these circles. The Nambudiris determine only the position of the four corners by precise measurement (see Figure 15). They construct the four sides by using eye and hand. The plate shows the agnīdh scratching the outline of the vedi on the ground with the help of the wooden knife (sphya).

PLATE 36B

Preparing the Utkara

The utkara rubbish heap is used not only as a receptacle for soil and dust, but also as a place to stand on for the agnīdh and several other priests. It is fashioned in the shape of a turtle.



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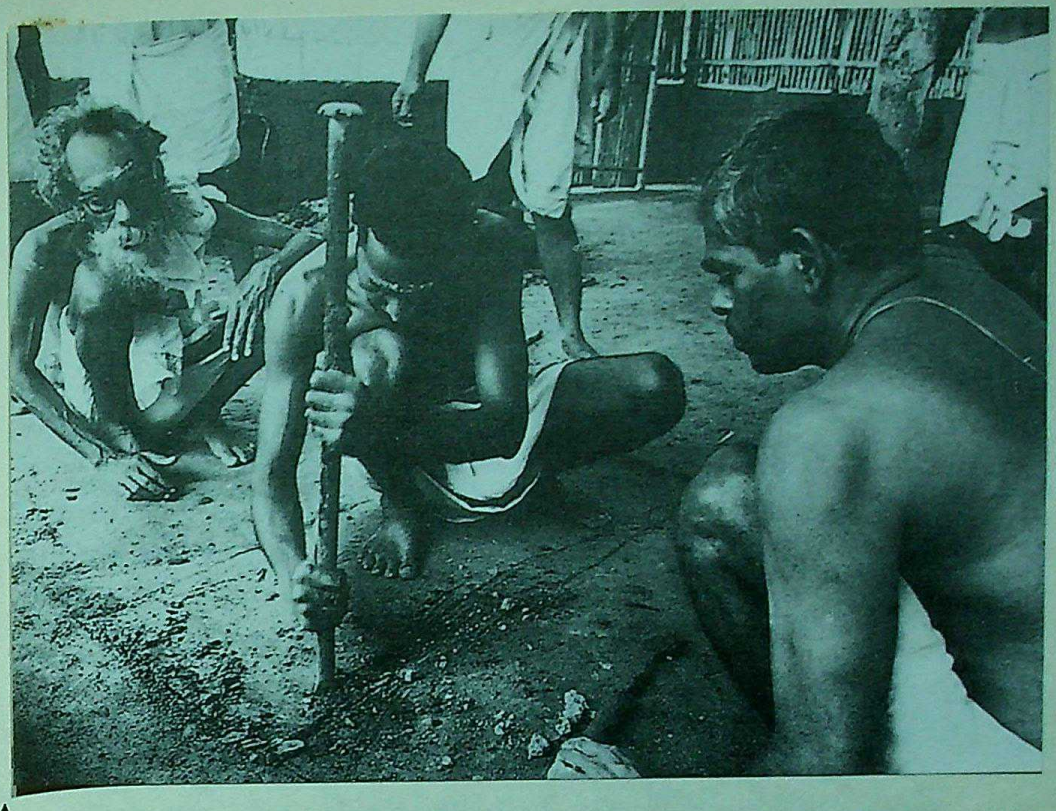
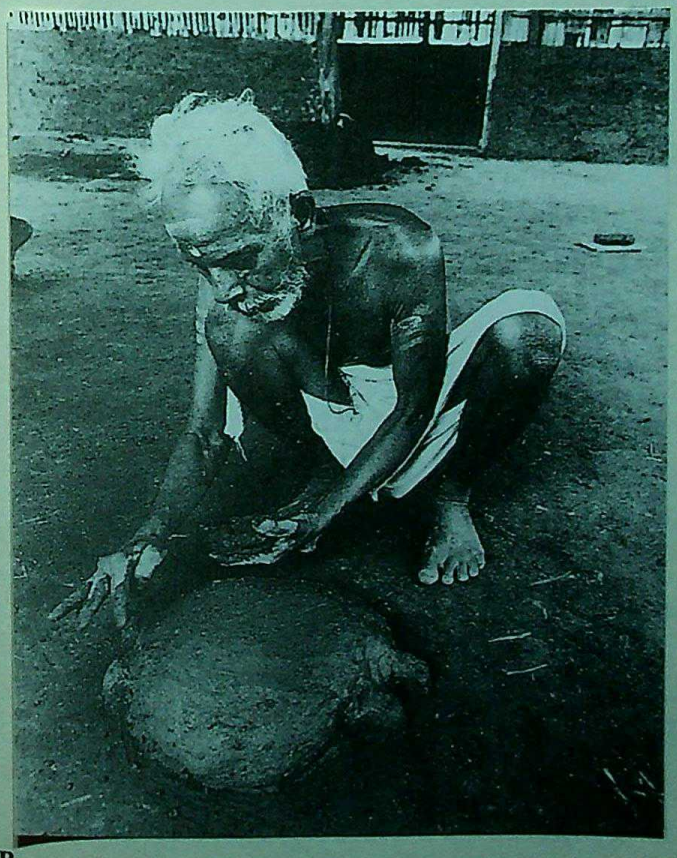


A



B

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PLATE 37A

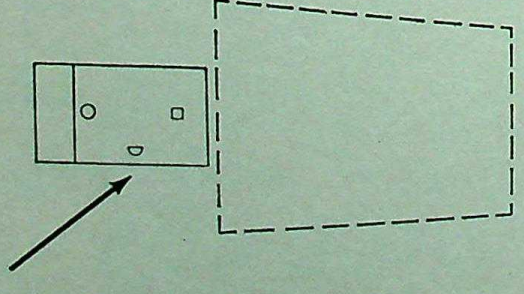
The Southern and Old Offering Altars

Inside the Old Hall (prācīnavaṃśa), the Southern Altar (dakṣiṇāgni: in front) is semicircular. When fire is installed on it, it will be used for protection against evil influences emanating from the southern direction. The old offering altar (āhavanīya: in the background) is square. It is the altar for the offering fire, into which many oblations will be made. The preparation of both altars from clay has just been completed.

PLATE 37B

The Southern and New Domestic Altars in Use

Weeks later, after the ceremonies have begun, fires are installed on the altars. The old offering altar, made from clay, has been replaced by a new domestic altar, made from bricks (see Plate 47). The new offering altar, in the shape of a bird, will be constructed later and further to the east, outside the Old Hall.



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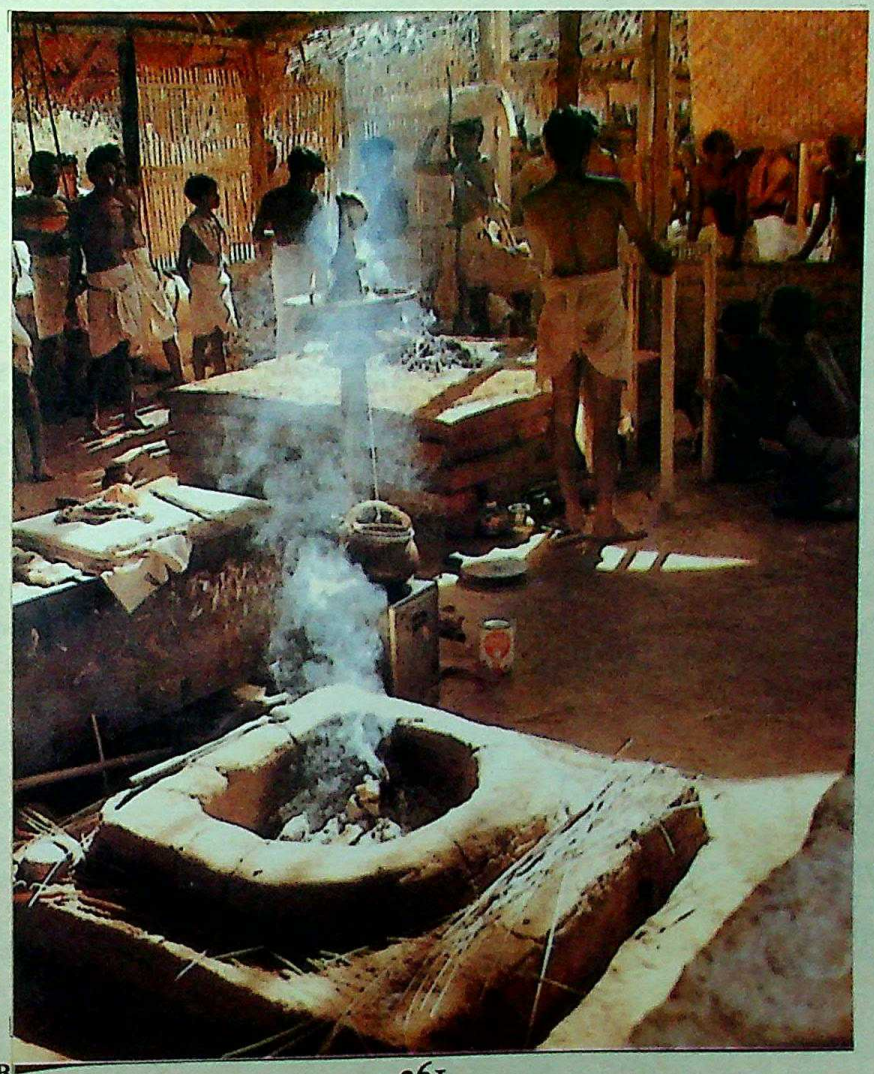

B

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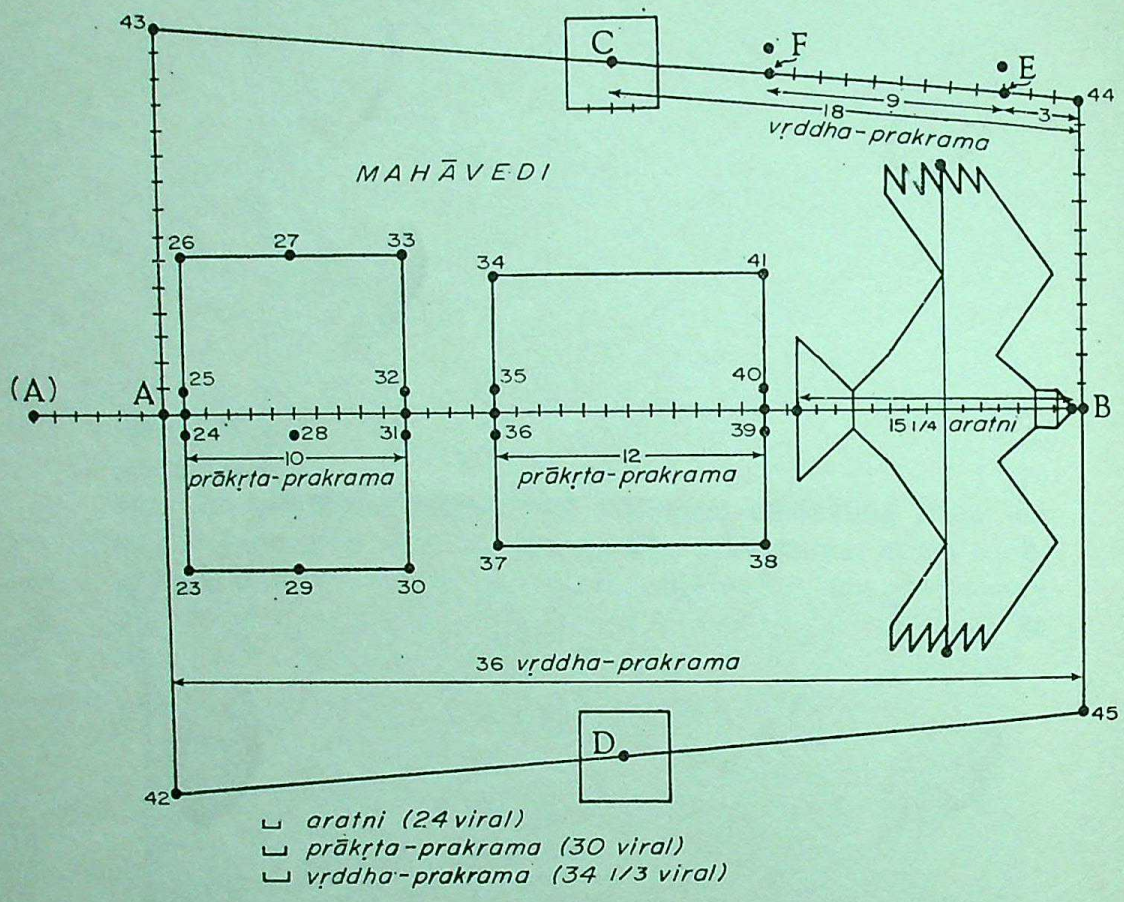

Figure 19—Dimensions of the Mahāvedi

for doors at ㉔㉕ and ㉛㉜.[1] Four ordinary prakramas to the east of the eastern side of the Hall of Recitation is the western side of the Soma Hall, a square of twelve by twelve prakramas, with outline ㉞㊲㊳㊶ and spaces for doors at ㉟㊱ and ㊴㊵.

The outline of the Great Altar Space is marked with the help of the extended vṛddha-prakrama unit of measurement of 34 1/3 viral (above, page 196):

from A, fifteen vṛddha-prakrama south to ㊷;
from A fifteen vṛddha-prakrama north to ㊸;
from A thirty-six vṛddha-prakrama east to B;

[1] This description and Figure 19 represent the measurements of the sadas as it was constructed in 1975. However, a mistake was made: according to Ceṟumukkū as well as Taikkāṭ, the sadas should measure 18 aratnis from north to south (not 14 prakramas).

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from B twelve vṛddha-prakrama north to ㊹;
from B twelve vṛddha-prakrama south to ㊺.

This completes the outline of the Great Altar Space ㊷㊸㊹㊺. From ㊹ and ㊺, 18 vṛddha-prakrama west along the outline in the direction of ㊸ and ㊷, respectively, we reach two points, C and D, respectively. C will be the middle of the *āgnidhrīya* shed, a square of four by four ordinary prakramas. Similarly, D will be the middle of the mārjālīya shed, another square of the same dimensions, half inside and half outside the Great Altar Space. Again, going west from ㊹ along the northern boundary of the Great Altar Space, we reach E after three vṛddha-prakramas and F after another nine. One vṛddha-prakrama north of E, the *cātvāla* hole will be dug; one vṛddha-prakrama north of F, the outer utkara rubbish heap will be made.

Next, poles will be erected in all the spots marked by pegs, except for ㊷–㊺ and ㉘. In the last hole, the audumbarī pole will be erected on the ninth day of the ceremony (Episode 23). Simple, saddle-shaped roofs are built over the Old Hall, the Hall of Recitation, the Soma Hall, the Field of Agni, and a small cow-shed (*gośālā*) south of the wife's quarters (*patnīśālā*). In 1975, two more sheds with roofs were built to the south of the enclosure: a shed for sound equipment and crew, south of the (old) Offering Altar, and a shed for visiting foreign scholars, south of the Field of Agni (see Volume II, page 744 and Figure 32).

Now the agnikṣetra and uttaravedi have to be measured. As if three different units of measurement were not enough, a fourth, the aratni or pañcami, is used. The measurements of the bricks of the bird-shaped altar have been in terms of aratni (see above, page 195), and so the bricks will fit in the outline. However, the entire altar would not have fitted inside the mahāvedi if the extended measure of the vṛddha-prakrama had not been used. Starting point for the measurements is the intersection of the east-west line and the eastern side of the havirdhāna: from there, 1 1/2 ordinary prākṛta-prakramas to the east a new beginning point is reached, which I shall again denote as A. This point marks the western end of the tail of the new āhavanīya or offering altar, built in the shape of the bird (Figure 20; cf. Figure 7, etc.)

From A, we go four aratnis north and four aratnis south reaching B and C, respectively. BC is the western side of the tail of the bird. From A, three aratnis east reaching D, and from D, one north and one south, reaching E and F, respectively, complete the tail BEFC. From D, two further east, reaching G, we reach the ātman of the bird. From G, three north and three south we reach H and I, respectively; and from G, H and I six east we reach J, K, and L, respectively. Thus the entire ātman HKLI has been determined. Its center is at M. From M, seven and a half aratnis north we reach N, and a further six north we reach O; in southern direction we similarly reach P and Q.

From O we move in one-aratni steps west, marking R, S, and T; and

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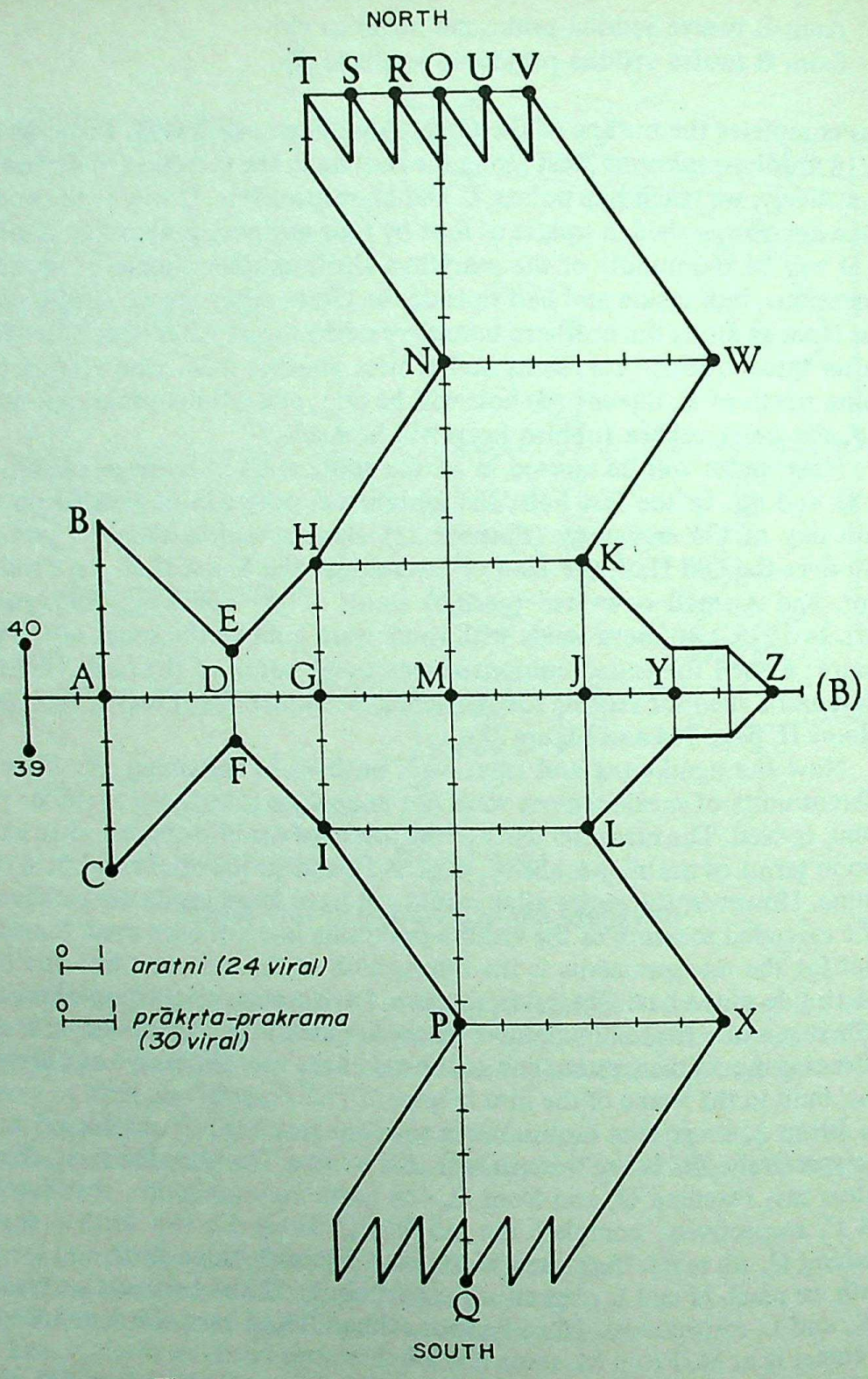

Figure 20—Dimensions of the Bird-Shaped Altar

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east, marking U and V. Now V, U, O, R, T mark the six tips of the left or northern wing. One and a half aratni south the inner sides of the tips are marked. The same operation is gone through at the southern side, starting from Q. From N and P, moving six aratnis east, we reach W and X, respectively: the shoulders (*aṃsa*). This completes the outline of the wings.

Now only the head is left. From J, two aratnis east, reaching Y, determine the neck; and another one and a quarter plus one = two and a quarter east, reaching Z, complete the head, the other steps being obvious from Figure 18. Finally a string is tied along all the outer pegs, marking the outline of the bird.

A distance of half an ordinary prakrama remains between Z and the eastern side of the mahāvedi (B in Figure 19), where the sacrificial pole will be erected on its intersection with the pṛṣṭhyā line.

Now let us check these measurements inside the mahāvedi, going east along the pṛṣṭhyā line and starting from A in Figure 19:

to sadas:	1	prakrama
sadas:	10	prakramas
to havirdhāna:	4	prakramas
havirdhāna:	12	prakramas
to bird:	1 1/2	prakramas
	28 1/2	prakramas = 28 1/2 × 30 = 855 viral

Continuing east from A in Figure 20:

tail:	AD	3	aratnis
body:	DY 2 + 6 + 2 =	10	aratnis
head:	YZ	2 1/4	aratnis
		15 1/4	aratnis = 15 1/4 × 24 = 366 viral
Remaining:	1/2 prakrama = 1/2 × 30 =		15 viral
			TOTAL: 1,236 viral

This is as it should be, for the east-west dimension of the mahāvedi is thirty-six vṛḍḍha-prakramas, or 36 × 34 1/3 viral = 1,236 viral.

The sacrificial enclosure is now ready for use. After its consecration, the enclosure can only be entered by Nambudiri brahmins.

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Part II The 1975 Performance

9. Dramatis Personae

The 1975 performance of the Atirātra-Agnicayana was largely organized by two Nambudiri brahmins: Cherumukku Vaidikan Vallabhan Somayājipad, a Kauṣītaki Ṛgvedin of the Cherumukku Vaidikan family, and Brahmaśrī Muṭṭatukkāṭṭu Itti Ravi Nambudiri, a Jaiminīya Sāmavedin, who also assumed the role of udgātā. The reader will be familiar with the work of these two men. Both have collaborated with the present author in the preparation of this volume, and there are few pages that do not carry the imprint of their vast knowledge and experience in all matters pertaining to the Vedic tradition.

PLATES 47, 48, 53, 91A, 98A

PLATES 18, II: 12–13

Erkkara Rāman Nambudiri, doyen of Nambudiri Vedic scholars, gave his support and assistance and was present throughout the ceremonies. He also assumed the role of Sadasya. Erkkara is one of those almost legendary scholars that India, throughout the centuries, has continued to produce. His name is a household word among students of the Vedas all over the world, for he recited the Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa to its editor, E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma.

PLATES 38B, 55B

Continuous assistance at the ritual was furthermore given by the two Nambudiris who performed Agnicayana in 1955 and 1956, viz., C. V. Vasudevan Akkitiripad, Cherumukku Vaidikan's eldest son, and the Sāmavedin Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad.

PLATES 1, 38A, 52

Cherumukku Vaidikan's third son, C. V. Nīlakaṇṭhan Somayājipad (now Akkitiripad) was yajamāna; his wife Pārvatī was yajamānapatnī. Cherumukku Vaidikan's fifth son, C. V. Kṛṣṇan Nambudiri, was adhvaryu, and his sixth son, C. V. Śrīdharan Nambudiri, was maitrāvaruṇa. Two of Cherumukku Vaidikan's grandsons were potā and neṣṭā. The acchāvāka was also related to the Cherumukku Vaidikan family. The pratihartā was the son of Nellikat Nīkalaṇṭhan Akkitiripad, and the prastotā and subrahmaṇya belonged to the same family. The pratiprasthātā and unnetā were brothers.

PLATES 38A, 50, 60B, 71, 91B, 93

PLATES 2, 4, 46, 51, 60A, 61A, 62, 65, 69, 80 etc.

PLATE 45 B, 62

Here follows a complete list of the priests with their sūtras and gotras (cf. pages 49, 52):

PLATES 40, 53, 60A, 75A, 88, 108

Brahman: Mūteḍam Śaṅkara Nārāyanan Nambudiri
sūtra: Āśvalāyana, gotra: Viśvāmitra

PLATES 73, 81B, 84, 93, 97, 103

Udgātā: Muṭṭatukkāṭṭu Itti Ravi Nambudiri
sūtra: Jaiminīya, gotra: Bhāradvāja

PLATES 50, 97, 103

Prastotā: Tōṭṭam Narāyaṇan Nambudiri
sūtra: Jaiminīya, gotra: Vāsiṣṭha

PLATE 103

Pratihartā: Nellikat Vāsudevan Nambudiri
sūtra: Jaiminīya, gotra: Bhāradvāja

PLATE 61

Subrahmaṇya: Tōṭṭam Āryan Nambudiri
sūtra: Jaiminīya, gotra: Vāsiṣṭha

PLATES 2, 38G, 39, 49, 50

Hotā: Nārāṇa Maṅgalath Nārāyaṇan Nambudiri
sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa

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Dramatis Personae

Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:	Tekkamparampattu Nārāyaṇan Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa	PLATES 55A, 56, 106
Maitrāvaruṇa:	Cherumukku Vaidikan Śrīdharan Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa	PLATES 43, 55A, 107
Potā:	Cherumukku Vaidikan Vallabhan Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa	PLATE 38D
Neṣṭā:	Cherumukku Vaidikan Vāsudevan Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa	PLATE 38E, 102
Acchāvāka:	Tekku Cherumukku Parameśvaran Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa	
Āgnīdhra or Agnīdh:	Kunnam Padmanābhan Nambudiri sūtra: Kausītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa	PLATES 38G, 59, 98B
Grāvastut:	Mūrtiedam Śaṅkaran Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Āṅgirasa	PLATE 38F, 104
Adhvaryu:	Cherumukku Vaidikan Kṛṣṇan Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Kāśyapa	PLATES 33, 11, 42, 63–65, 67–70, 81 A, 82, 85–89, 91, etc.
Pratiprasthātā:	Kavapra Marath Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Āṅgirasa	PLATES 42, 44A, 58, 59, 81A, 82–83, 89, 108
Unnetā:	Kavapra Marath Nīlakaṇṭhan Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Āṅgirasa	PLATES 38C, 54 PLATES 38B, 55B
Sadasya:	Erkkara Rāman Nambudiri sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Viśvāmitra	

The avidvān was Vaikkākkara Rāman Nambudiri, sūtra: Kauṣītaki, gotra: Āṅgirasa. Chief *parikarmī*, "helper," was Muri Mundanath Śrīdharan Somayājipad, sūtra: Āśvalāyana, gotra: Bhārgava. The Soma merchant was Professor E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, sūtra: Āpastamba (of the Taittirīya school of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda), gotra: Kāśyapa. PLATES 11, 69, 79 PLATE 45A

The avidvān or "Ignorant (Brahmin)" should be a Nambudiri brahmin eligible to perform Somayāga. There are several speculations about the meaning of his name. Some say he should not know what the adhvaryu has in his hand when he holds the svayamātṛṇṇā. Also, he takes a cow from the yajamāna and gives it to the adhvaryu, because, it is said, he does not own anything.

The Soma merchant is always a Tamil brahmin. He could not be a non-Brahmin Malayali of high caste, e.g., a Nāyar, because these cannot enter the sacrificial enclosure. And he could not be a Nambudiri, because Nambudiris are not merchants. Also, when asked whether the Soma is pure, and whether it comes from Mount Mūjavat (below page 347), he must always answer in the affirmative. A Nambudiri could not do this, because he always speaks the truth.

What are the priestly qualities for which these men are respected and have been chosen to officiate? The priests are chiefly praised for the clarity and precision of their pronunciation (sometimes called *akṣaraśuddhi*, "purity

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PLATE 38

38A The two Akkitiripads. During the last decades before 1975, there were only two Akkitiripads, i.e., Nambudiris who had performed the Atirātra-Agnicayana. On the left is Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad, on the right Cherumukku Vaidikan Vasudevan Akkitiripad.

38B Ērkkara Rāman Nambudiri, who had assumed the office of the sadasya priest, performing the Hiding Rite (nihnava) (see also Plates 55B).

38C The unnetā priest, whose main task is to pour the Soma liquid (see also Plate 54).

38D The potā, assistant to the hotā, at the ceremony of āpyāyana, "sprinkling the Soma with mantras".

38E The neṣṭā, assistant to the hotā, the youngest among the priests (see also Plate 102).

38F The grāvastut, who enters blindfolded to recite a hymn to the Soma pressing stones (see Plate 104); here engaged in the āpyāyana ceremony.

38G The agnīdh assisting the hotā to adjust his earstring.

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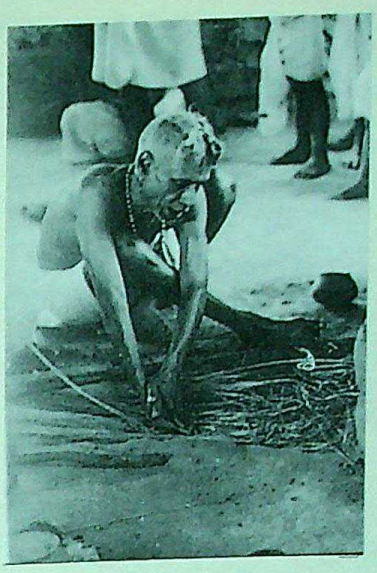
A



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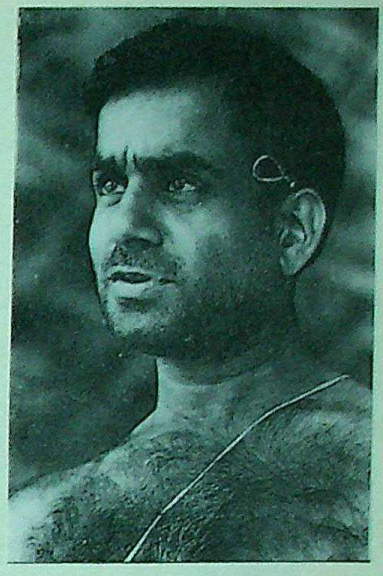

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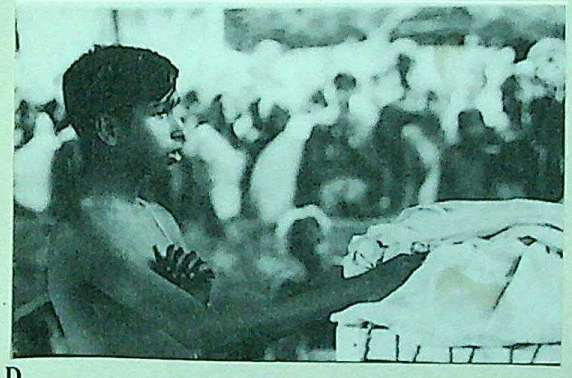

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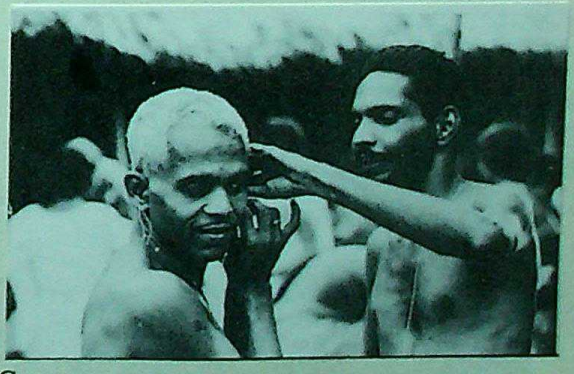
F



G

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PLATE 39

The Hotā Recites

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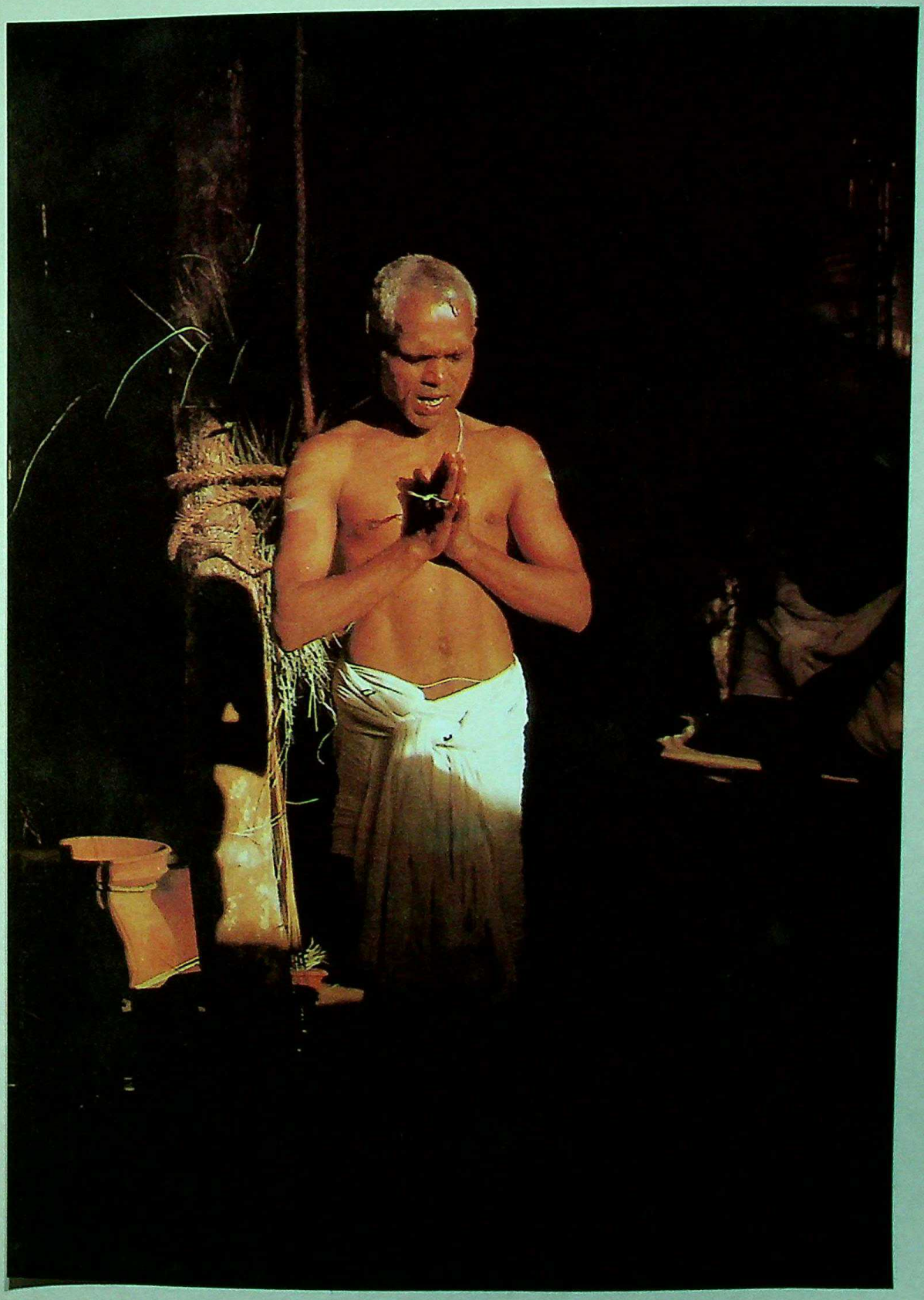

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of syllable") and for their memory. The adhvaryu's voice has a ringing sound like that of a bell and an almost metallic precision which is also conspicuous in the enunciation of the maitrāvaruṇa, his younger brother. The hotā has a soft voice, but he is extremely firm. His prodigous memory is especially appreciated when he is engaged in reciting pieces such as the Aśvin's Recitation, which comprises a thousand mantras (see below pages 683–686). The long breath of all the reciters is excelled only by the Sāmavedins, whose melodic chants are valued for their musical beauty. It takes patience to detect, experience, and appreciate these features of recitation and chant, which play a large part in the evaluation of ritual expertise by Nambudiri connoisseurs. The accompanying cassettes, described in Volume II, may convey some of these qualities.

Other priestly qualities are pictured on the plates. As for the priests' dress, it is not Vedic, for all we know. It is the attire Nambudiri men adopt on important religious occasions. To put it in its proper context, I shall quote in full what Anantha Krishna Iyer, a Tamil brahmin, has to say on the subject:

> The Nambuthiris are very sparing in their clothing, and do not seem to feel the shame of walking about almost naked, a habit which is not countenanced by the *Smrithi* which they profess to follow. The men wear an under garment (*koupinam*), which is a strip of cloth, passing between the thighs, the ends being attached to a string round the loins both at the back and at the front. They are strict *Swadéshis* and would not, on any account, go in for Manchester piecegoods, which are *taboos* to them. They wear round their loins, stretching a little below the knee, a cloth of local manufacture, four or five cubits in length, two and a half or three cubits in breadth, with a coloured border or sometimes laced at the edges. They do not use silk or coloured cloth of any kind or plain white cloth without a border. It is considered very fashionable or dignifying to wear it rather higher than the loins, that is, about the pit of the stomach. A second small cloth (*thórthumundu*) is worn over the shoulders and the chest. At home or in a temple close by, when he is at prayers, he is almost naked, either covered by a small loin cloth or only with a *koupinam*, which is a repulsive sight to others. In this he is a marked contrast to the Tamil Brahmans of the east coast, who are neatly dressed on these occasions. Their mode of dressing on religious occasions is peculiar and is known as *Thattudukkal*, which consists of a long piece of country-made cloth tied round the loin with a portion of it passing between the thighs and 'tucked in at the front and behind, with a front portion arranged into a number of reduplications.' This mode of dressing exhibits a front covered by numerous folds hanging down from

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the waist to the feet, while the buttocks are almost exposed. They wear wooden sandals, but are not averse to leather ones, though they will not allow the heel of their foot to be covered up. On ordinary occasions, they dress like the Nayars. There is a tendency among the young men of these days to wear coats and caps, when they go out, and to be slightly influenced by the vices of modern civilisation.

(1912, II, 281–282).

As mentioned before, the priests were engaged in rehearsals from December 1974 until April 1975. Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad and Itti Ravi Nambudiri supervised the Sāmaveda rehearsals in Panjal, while Cherumukku Vaidikan and Erkkara supervised all other rehearsals, which took place in Shoranur. When the preparations were complete, the ceremonies could begin, but not until offerings were made, in their respective temples, to Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Gaṇapati.

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THE PERFORMANCE

Introductory Note

AS HAS BEEN mentioned in the "General Introduction" to this work, the following description is a description of the actual performance that took place in 1975, not of the ritual as it is prescribed in texts. There are discrepancies between the two, though they are generally minor and often minute. I shall mention a few of the more important ones, but the reader interested in these relationships should compare the following description with the translation of the relevant sections of the śrauta sūtras in the second volume (Part IV).

Even though the description is confined to the events of the 1975 performance, there are limits to the degree of its empiricity. It is a description of the *ritual competence* of the participants, rather than of their *ritual performance*. For example, obvious and irrelevant mistakes have not been recorded. Rather, they have been rectified. A general example of such a mistake is a false start, immediately corrected. A specific example is the commotion caused by the adhvaryu when he tried to shoot an arrow at the outset of the setting up of the Agni field (page 387), but held the bow the wrong way round. Helpers showed him how to hold it. Such a "mistake" is not recorded. All it would show is that the adhvaryu is out of touch with archery, which fact interfered with the exercise of his ritual competence, but does not affect it. Sometimes I mention even such extraneous things, to alleviate what might be called ritual strain. Important incursions from the outside world that have ritual implications are always mentioned. For example, the menses of the wife of the yajamāna, which entailed numerous modifications in the ritual proceedings, have been referred to, and the ensuing modifications have been recorded.

As it is basically concerned with knowledge, the description is not behavioristic. For example, when the adhvaryu buries the various Agnis under the first layer, he does so in specific spots (see Figure 25). He does not determine the location of these spots by measurement. He buries the Agnis "under" the bricks that are going to be placed there only later. It is obvious that what he has in mind is the arrangement of bricks (Figure 24) which is known to him, though invisible to most of the outsiders, and certainly to the camera. Such a nonbehavioristic fact, however, is recorded as part of the description. Similarly nonbehavioristic is the description of mantras that are recited mentally (e.g., pages 417, 462).

PLATE 67

On a deeper and more general level, the description is not behavioristic in any significant sense. It does not relate what happened as a linear sequence of events; it describes the events as structured rites, and therefore always in terms of larger structures. For example, when rites of type A interrupt rites of

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type B, this is recorded as such. No pretense is made that we were witnessing a mere succession of unstructured acts. Similarly, interpretations of a non-behavioristic and structural kind occur when some rites are omitted from the description, while others are described only briefly.

The description, finally, is not complete, but selective. A complete description would fill many volumes, include repetitions, and duplicate work already done by others. My main concern has been with the Agnicayana portions of the ritual, and not with the Soma ritual, or any other specific ceremonies (such as the Pravargya) that are incorporated in the Atirātra-Agnicayana. However, characteristic features of the Atirātra that go beyond the Agniṣṭoma have been included, because they have not been described before. For all the missing rites and rituals, the reader should refer to the manuals by Caland-Henry, Hillebrandt, Schwab, van Buitenen, etc., and to the *Śrautakośa*.

Nevertheless, I shall include some of the more interesting episodes of rites that have already been described, especially when their omission would affect the continuity or intelligibility of the description. For example, the dīkṣā or consecration of the yajamāna cannot be omitted without distorting the entire ritual. Nor would it be sufficient to refer only to the modifications to the normal dīkṣā due to the Agnicayana (e.g., those relating to the ukhā pot), for the impact of such modifications can only be understood when the normal dīkṣā is understood. The resulting description is therefore continuous, but the degree of its detail varies. In some cases, a mere sketch of ritual activities is provided; in others, the rites are described in detail, and the recitations are given in full. On the whole, an attempt has been made to make the presentation self-contained. To follow it one does not need access to a Vedic library.

The simplest subdivision of the ritual is the subdivision into the twelve days of its performance. A complication arose because on the third and fourth day of the ritual, April 14 and 15, the menses of the wife of the yajamāna occurred. The ritual was interrupted for these two days, and the rites of the third and fourth day were combined and performed on April 16. After that date the proceedings continued their regular course. The days of the ritual, therefore, occurred on the following dates:

1st day: April 12
2nd day: April 13
3rd day: April 16 [one rite postponed to April 21]
4th day: April 16
5th day: April 17
6th day: April 18
7th day: April 19
8th day: April 20
9th day: April 21

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10th day: April 22
11th day: April 23
12th day: April 24

For ease of reference, the description will be further subdivided into smaller episodes, consecutively numbered 1–32.

Abbreviations

THE RECITATIONS AND chants of the ritual have been identified by reference to Vedic texts. The system of reference employed here is the customary system used by Vedic scholars. It is sometimes different from the Nambudiri system of reference (cf. Staal 1961). For the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda texts, which have not been published, see the following note.

AG – (Jaiminīya) Araṇyegeyagāna (*candrasāmāni*)
AV – Atharvaveda Saṃhitā
BŚS – Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
GG – (Jaiminīya) Grāmegeyagāna
JA – Jaiminīya Ārcika
JB – Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa
JŚS – Jaiminīya Śrauta Sūtra
KB – Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
RG – (Jaiminīya) Rahasyagāna (*ūṣāṇi*)
RV – Ṛgveda Saṃhitā
ŚK – Śrautakośa
ŚŚS – Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
TA – Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
TB – Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS – Taittirīya Saṃhitā
UG – (Jaiminīya) Ūhagāna

A Note on the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda

THE TEXTS OF the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda have not been published, with the exception of Caland's edition of the Jaiminīya Ārcika of 1907 (reproduced by Raghu Vira in 1938). However, there are manuscripts (see Parpola 1973, especially pages 16–22). For the chants published in the present volume, use has been made not only of our 1975 and other recordings, but also of manuscripts prepared by Itti Ravi Nambudiri and now in the possession of Asko Parpola. (I have copies of these manuscripts, but Dr.

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Parpola put the originals at my disposal during the preparation of the present publication.)

I have adopted the system of reference used in Itti Ravi's manuscripts. In these manuscripts—written down in Malayalam script, without sound notation, and largely from memory (that of Itti Ravi, his elders, and his pupils)—the Jaiminīya Ārcika is divided into 112, the Grāmegeyagāna into 59, and the Araṇyegeyagāna into 25 *ōttus* ("songs"). The Nambudiris call the sāmans of the Araṇyegeyagāna *candrasāmāni*, "moon chants." A reference such as AG 25.7 refers to the seventh sāman of the 25th ōttu of the Jaiminīya Araṇyegeyagāna. The textual sources of these chants, which are listed in the Jaiminīya Ārcika, can be found without difficulty in Caland's edition, which uses a different system of reference but has an excellent index.

The Ūhagāna is divided into 8 *pattus* ("decade": Sanskrit *daśati*), together comprising 77 ōttus. The first seven pattus contain 10 ōttus each, the eighth pattu contains seven. A reference such as UG 4.1 refers to the first sāman of the fourth ōttu (which therefore belongs to the first pattu) of the Jaiminīya Ūhagāna, UG 14.1 refers to the first sāman of the fourteenth ōttu (which belongs to the second pattu), etc.

The Rahasyagāna or Ūhyagāna, which the Nambudiris call ūṣāṇi, is divided into 16 ōttus. A reference such as RG 2.3 refers to the third sāman of the second ottu.

While most of the ritual chants of the Agnicayana come from the Grāmageyagāna and Araṇyegeyagāna, the twenty-nine stuti chants that characterize the Atirātra are listed in the Ūhagāna and Ūṣāṇi.

Here is a synopsis of the Jaiminīya corpus and its main subdivisions into ōttus:

JAIMINĪYA ĀRCIKA
Āgneyam: 1–12
Aindram: 13–48
Pavamānam: 49–59
Dvādaśāham: 60–106
Āraṇyakam: 107
Uttaram: 108–112

GRĀMAGEYAGĀNA
Āgneyam: 1–12
Aindram: 13–48
Pavamānam: 49–59

ARAṆYEGEYAGĀNA
Vrata: 1–12
Arka: 13–18
Dvandva: 19–24
Śukriya and
Aupaniṣadam: 25

ŪHAGĀNA
I: 1–10
II: 11–20
III: 21–30
IV: 31–40
V: 41–50
VI: 51–60
VII: 61–70
VIII: 71–77

ŪṢĀṆI (ŪHYAGĀNA)
1–16

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Part II The 1975 Performance

As mentioned in the General Introduction, the inclusion of some of these chants in the present volume is primarily of interest to specialists. While the recitations from the other Vedas will generally be given in translation and in the original Vedic printed in the Nāgarī script, the texts of the Jaiminīya chants are given in Roman transliteration. This serves to illustrate their distinctive character, and also gives the reader an idea of their sound and structure. They are not translated, since they are largely devoid of literal meaning. There is an additional reason for their Roman transliteration. The Jaiminīya Sāmaveda is essentially a South Indian tradition. Such sounds as the Dravidian "ḷ" (above page 173) or the distinction between short and long "e" and "o" (maintained in the Jaiminīya tradition but nonexistent in Vedic or Sanskrit) cannot be expressed in Nāgarī, which is a North Indian script (see pages xxxiv-xxxv).

The manuscript readings are not always consistent. For example, we find: o yi ḷā, as well as: ō yi ḷā. In spite of such real or apparent inconsistencies, I have reproduced the manuscript readings as I found them, correcting mistakes only rarely when they were obvious from the sound recordings, and confirmed during a final round of checking with Itti Ravi Nambudiri in December, 1978. The subdivision of the flow of chant into words and syllables is not always clear, and may sometimes be arbitrary. I have omitted graphic variants, such as *-rmma* for *-rma*, etc. I have written *-yya*, even though the first "*y*" is clearly nasalised, since the manuscripts do not indicate it.

When dealing with these songs and chants it should be remembered that the Sāmaveda is replete with what, from a textual point of view, are unexpected variations and varieties. These features are characteristic of the Sāmaveda, Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya as well as Jaiminīya. Whenever regular patterns seem to emerge, there are new deviations that break the pattern. To treat the text as if it were corrupt would be to miss its very raison d'être. But even if we accept its playful deviations, we find that the rules of this game often escape us. Many forms that may seem to be printing mistakes or mistakes of the manuscripts are therefore in fact what they should be.

The inclusion of these chants has increased the length of a description that would be long enough without them. However, I have added them because they constitute an essential part of the ritual, and also because they constitute a sample of the rare Jaiminīya tradition. A complete edition of the chants, the only part of the Vedic corpus that has not been published, clearly remains a desideratum.

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First Day: April 12, 1975

EPISODE I

Ritual Preparation of the Ukhā Pots and Introductory Rites
(*Ukhāsambharaṇam, Puṇyāhavacanam, Upavyāharaṇam, Saṃkalpa*)

THE THREE FIRES that will be installed on the altars are the fires of the yajamāna, for it is on his behalf that the rites are performed. Since he had not kept his fires burning, the ritual for reinstalling the fires (punarādheya: see above, page 44) had to be performed first. It was done on April 10, 1975. In the early morning of April 12, the iṣṭi for the new moon (*darśeṣṭi*) is performed. When it is completed, the yajamāna goes to the ritual enclosure in procession with his wife and the priests. A helper goes in front, carrying the Agnihotra implements in a basket on his head, with the dārupātrī on top. The three fires are carried in clay pots on a plank, from back to front: the domestic fire, the southern fire, the wooden blocks for churning fire, and the offering fire. PLATE 40

By the time the procession arrives at the enclosure, the Old Hall has already been fully prepared, but the mahāvedi or Great Altar Space does not yet exist. However, its outline is marked on the ground and its roofs have been completed. Generally, Nambudiris carry out the ritual preparation of

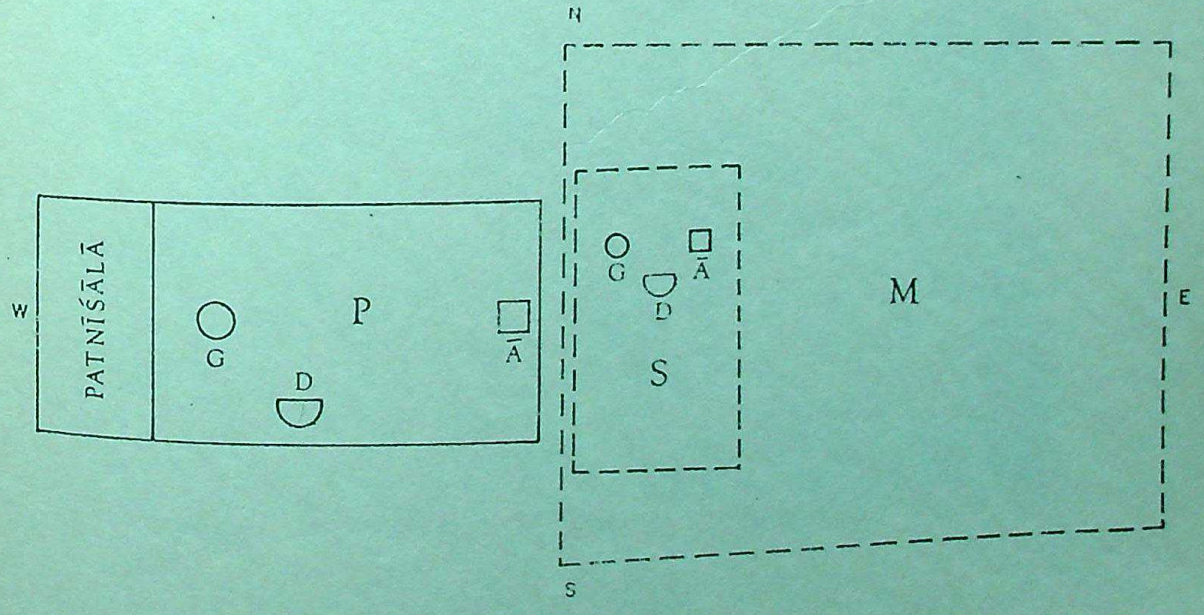

Figure 21—Ritual Enclosure for Preparing the Ukhā Pots

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PLATE 40

Arrival of the Fires

At the outset of the ceremony, the three sacred fires and implements for making fire are carried towards the ritual enclosure: from left to right, the domestic fire, the southern fire, the wooden blocks, and the churning stick for making fire (see Plate 1), and, partly hidden behind the brahmin priest, the offering fire.

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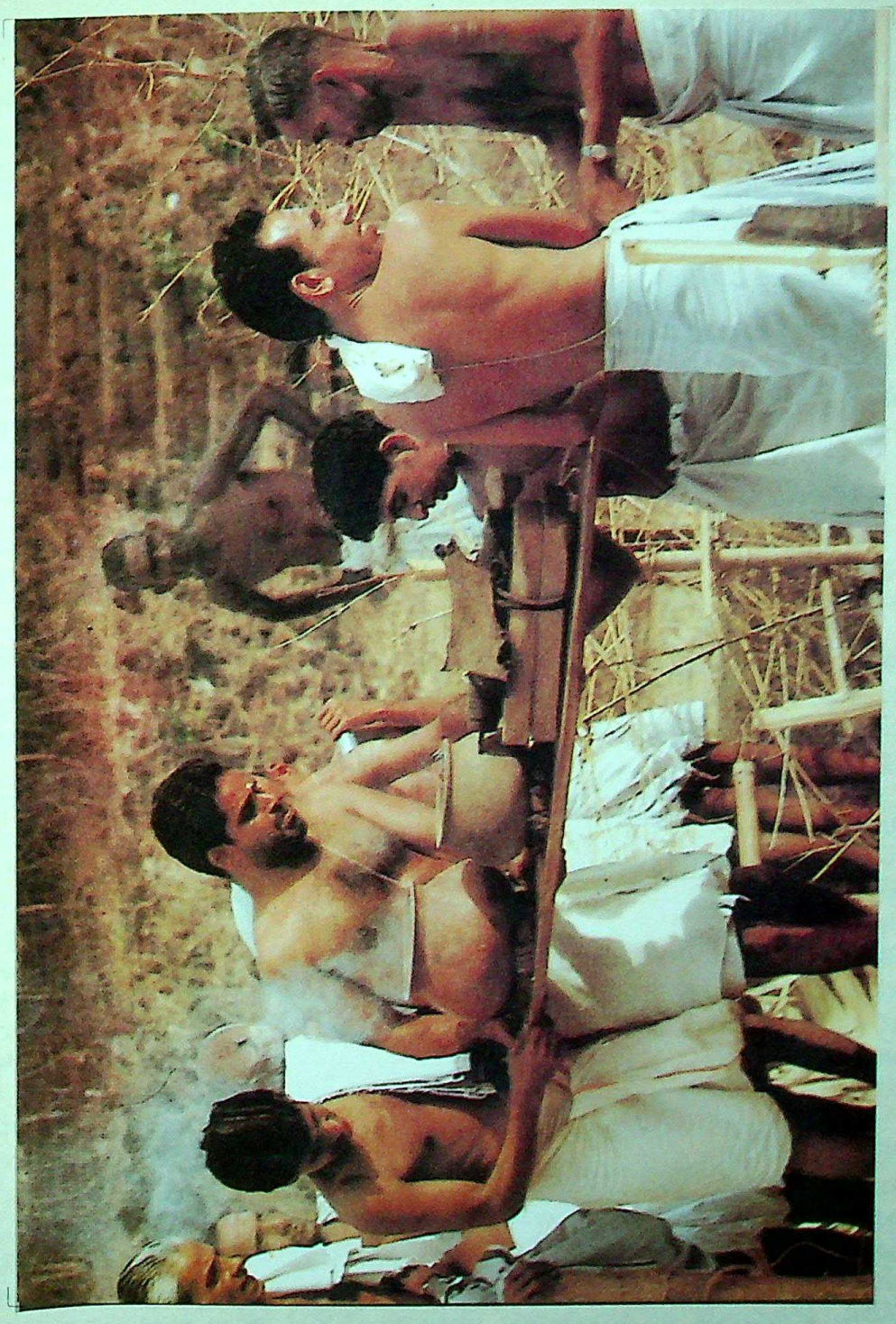

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the ukhā pots (ukhāsambharaṇam) and the animal sacrifice for Vāyu (vāyavyaṃ paśu) in small enclosures constructed somewhere between the house of the yajamāna and the large enclosure. However, in 1975, the ritual preparation of the ukhā pots takes place in the area east of the Old Hall, roughly where later the Sadas will be constructed. The three altars and utkara rubbish heap have already been prepared, as in Figure 21.

The plank with the sacred fires is put down north of the three altars. The yajamāna's wife sits down under her parasol west of the domestic altar, her usual place, on a "tortoise seat" (kūrmāsana), a wooden plank in the shape of a tortoise, used by all the chief participants. The yajamāna measures the three altars with his sphya, and sprinkles water on them from a clay kiṇḍi. He then sits down on the utkara and recites:

आपो॒ हि ष्ठा म॑यो॒भुव॒स्ता न॑ ऊर्जे॑ दधातन ।
म॒हे रणा॑य॒ चक्ष॑से ॥
यो वः॑ शि॒वत॑मो॒ रस॒स्तस्य॑ भाजयते॒ह नः॑ ।
उ॒श॒तीरि॑व मा॒तरः॑ ॥
तस्मा॒ अर॑ं गमाम वो॒ यस्य॒ क्षया॑य॒ जिन्व॑थ ।
आपो॑ ज॒नय॑था च नः ॥

b. Waters! You are givers of health.
Give us strength to see great joy!
c. Like eager mothers grant us here the most
auspicious essence that you possess.
d. To this may we suitably come, to whose power
you impel us. Waters, propagate us!
(TS 4.1.5.1b-d).

Between the mantras he sips water (*ācamana*). Then, sprinkling his face, he recites: "earth—sky—heaven." Again he measures the three altars with his sphya, and then installs his three fires on the three altars. The wooden blocks stay to the north.

The yajamāna is ritually measured; the actual measurements have already taken place (above, page 196). The ukhā pot, two spare ukhā pots, five bricks called ṛṣabha ("bull") and three called maṇḍaleṣṭakā ("circle
PLATE 41 bricks," i.e., bricks with a circle on them) are ritually prepared. They have already been physically made by the potter and brick makers. The potter has also prepared the five clay heads that are now kept at hand. The adhvaryu takes some clay, which he has received from the potter. One śamyā throw (cf. above page 98) from the eastern gate of the Old Hall, he ritually prepares a piece of ground by sprinkling water and touching it with the sphya. He places a banana leaf there, and puts the clay on top of it.

The first major rite is *saṃkalpa*, the solemn declaration by the yajamāna of his intention to perform the ceremony. This ritual, which occurs several times during the ceremonies, consists of a sequence of rites. First is "external purification" (*bāhyaśuddhi*), which is comprised of *snāna* (bathing), *pavana* (cleansing), *ācamana* (sipping water) and *puṇyāha*(*vacana*) (proclamation of auspiciousness). This is followed by "internal purification" (*antaḥśuddhi*), comprised of *prāṇāyāma* (breathing) and *ākūtyāvedana* (another declaration of intention). This is followed by the saṃkalpa proper.

For the proclamation of auspiciousness (puṇyāhavacana), the adhvaryu puts *cuṇṭaṅga* berries, *candana* (sandal-paste), *puṣpa* (a flower), *akṣata* (rice

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and paddy mixed together), and water in a brass dish (in Malayalam, *uruḷi*). The yajamāna first recites together with adhvaryu, brahman, and a helper, standing up and jointly holding this dish. This is followed by prāṇāyāma (breathing); the yajamāna recites thrice without breathing out:

OM! earth OM! sky OM! heaven!
OM! greatness OM! people,
OM! austerity OM! truth.

May we receive this desirable
light of the god Savitṛ, who
shall impel our thoughts.
(RV 3.62.10)

ओं भूः । ओं भुवः । ओं सुवः ।
ओं महः । ओं जनः ।
ओं तपः । ओं सत्यम् ।
ओं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं
भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

OM! water OM! essence of light,
Immortality, Brahman,
Earth sky heaven OM!

ओमापो ज्योतीरसो
ऽमृतं ब्रह्म
भूर्भुवः सुवरोम् ॥

Then he breathes out. Next comes the ākūti declaration of intent:

Those that flow before, those
that flow behind, with those
purifying rays, with confidence
I undertake the ritual.
You gods that know the way,
find the way to the ritual!
May the ritual be propelled
by the wind, through the god,
master of mind!
(TB 3.7.4.1)

याः पुरस्तात्प्रस्रवन्त्यु-
परिष्टात्सर्वतश्च याः ।
ताभी रश्मिपवित्रामिः
श्रद्धां यज्ञमारभे ।
देवा गातुविदो
गातुं यज्ञाय विन्दत ।
मनसस्पतिना देवेन
वातोद्यज्ञः प्रयुज्यताम् ॥

Śraddhā, come here!
I call you with truth!
I honor you for intent, desire,
prosperity,
and for immortality, for life.
His intent for help, his desire
for success,
Indra's thoughts are harnessed.
I honor the divine intent of the mind,
Mother of the ritual, may she be
easily invoked by me.
What I, full of desire wish with my mind
May I find that reposing in my heart!
(TB 2.5.3.2)

श्रद्ध एहि
सत्येन त्वाह्वयामि ॥
आकूत्यै त्वा कामाय त्वा समृधे त्वा ।
पुरो दधे अमृतत्वाय जीवसे ॥
आकूतिमस्यावसे ।
काममस्य समृद्धये ।
इन्द्रस्य युज्जते धियः ॥
आकूतिं देवीं मनसः पुरो दधे ।
यज्ञस्य माता सुहवा मे अस्तु ।
यदिच्छामि मनसा सकामः ।
विदेयमेनद्धृदये निविष्टम् ॥

These introductory recitations are the same for each saṃkalpa. In the Agnicayana, the first saṃkalpa is pronounced at the beginning of the ritual preparation of the ukhā pots. The yajamāna sits down on a blade of grass,

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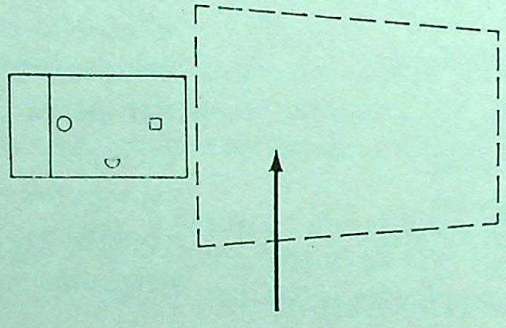
PLATE 41

Ukhā Pots; Bull and Circle Bricks

The ukhā pot (Plate 5A), two spare ukhā pots, five bricks called ṛṣabha, Bull, and three called maṇḍaleṣṭakā, Circle bricks, are ritually prepared during the first rites of the Agnicayana ceremony. They have already been physically made by the potter and brick makers. On the left is the donkey that has assisted in fetching clay.



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placed upon his tortoise seat, and declares six times (three times softly and three times loudly, so that the gods will hear):

Desirous of all I shall pile Agni! सर्वकामोऽग्निं चेष्ये ।

According to Erkkara Raman Nambudiri, the expression *sarvakāmaḥ* here means "desirous of the common good." In the corresponding ceremony of the Agniṣṭoma, the expression is: *svargakāmaḥ*, "desirous of heaven." This expression is prescribed by Baudhāyana for both the Agnicayana and the Soma rituals (BŚS 2.1:34.15).

The yajamāna then addresses his priests:

May this succeed for me, may it be fulfilled for me;
then may my wish come about!

तन्म ऋध्यतां तन्मे समृध्यतां
तन्मे सम्पद्यतां कामः ॥

The priests answer:

May this succeed for you, may it be fulfilled for you;
then may your wish come about—let it be so!
(BŚS 2.1:34.16–19).

तन्त ऋध्यतां
तन्ते समृध्यतां
तन्ते सम्पद्यतां कामः । ओं तथा ॥

Adhvaryu and subsequently pratiprasthātā stand on the utkara, facing east, and recite:

इडा देवहूर्मनुर्यज्ञनीः ।
बृहस्पतिरुक्थामदानिं
शꣳसिषत् ।
विश्वे देवास्सूक्तवाचः ।
पृथिवि मातर्मा मा हिꣳसीः ।
मधु मनिष्ये
मधु जनिष्ये ।
मधु वक्ष्यामि
मधु वदिष्यामि ।
मधुमतीं देवेभ्यो वाचमुद्यासम् ।
शुश्रूषेण्यां मनुष्येभ्यः ।
तं मा देवा अवन्तु ।
शोभायै पितरोऽनुमदन्तु ॥

May Iḍā be invoker of the gods, may Manu be leader of the ritual, may Bṛhaspati recite the hymns and lauds!
The All-gods are reciters of the hymns.
Do not harm me, mother earth!
I shall think of honey,
I shall produce honey,
I shall announce honey,
I shall speak honey.
May I raise my voice full of honey for the gods and acceptable to men!
May the gods further me towards splendor, may the ancestors applaud me!
(TS 3.3.2.1c-2h)

The adhvaryu, accompanied by yajamāna and his wife, goes east and continues with the ritual preparation of the ukhā pots and the ṛṣabha and maṇḍala bricks. Back at the three altars, he sprinkles the fires and cuts darbha grass. He prepares a ghee oblation (*ājya-saṃskāra*) in a small dish at the domestic fire. Sitting down west to northwest of the sacrificial fire, with the sruva he pours four spoonfuls from this dish into the sruc. The yajamāna,

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who has been sitting together with the brahman south of the sacrificial altar (their usual place), gets up and goes to the west of the sacrificial altar. When he passes in front of the adhvaryu, the adhvaryu passes the sruc around him. The yajamāna sits down to the right of the adhvaryu, and touches the sruc, which the Adhvaryu holds in his right hand. Throughout the following recitation, the adhvaryu holds the sruc, which the yajamāna touches.

Prompted, mantra for mantra, by Vallabhan (Vasudevan Akkitiripad's son and Cherumukku Vaidikan's grandson) who stands behind him, the adhvaryu recites the beginning mantras of the fourth kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, which mark the beginning of the Agnicayana:

युञ्जानः प्रथमं मनस-
स्तत्त्वाय सविता धियः ।
अग्निं ज्योतिर्निचाय्य
पृथिव्या अध्याऽभरत् ॥

युक्त्वाय मनसा देवा-
न्त्सुवर्यतो धिया दिवम् ।
बृहज्ज्योतिः करिष्यतः
सविता प्र सुवाति तान् ॥

युक्तेन मनसा वयं देवस्य सवितुः सवे ।
सुवर्गेयाय शक्त्यै ॥

युञ्जत मन उत युञ्जते धियो
विप्रा विप्रस्य बृहतो विपश्चितः ।
वि होत्रा दधे वयुनाविदेक इन्-
मही देवस्य सवितुः परिष्टुतिः ॥

युजे वां ब्रह्म पूर्व्यं नमोभिर्-
वि श्लोका यन्ति पथ्येव सूरयः ।
शृण्वन्ति विश्वे अमृतस्य पुत्रा
आ ये धामानि दिव्यानि तस्थुः ॥

यस्य प्रयाणमन्वन्य इद्ययुर्-
देवा देवस्य महिमानमर्चतः ।
यः पार्थिवानि विममे स एतशो
रजांसि देवः सविता महित्वना ॥

देव सवितः प्र सुव यज्ञं
प्र सुव यज्ञपतिं भगाय
दिव्यो गन्धर्वः ।
केतपूः केतं नः पुनातु
वाचस्पतिर्वाचमद्य स्वदाति नः ॥

इमं नो देव सवितर्यज्ञं प्र सुव
देवायुवꣳ सखिविदꣳ
सत्राजितं धनजितꣳ सुवर्जितम् ॥

a. First harnessing the mind, Savitṛ,
creating thoughts and
perceiving light,
brought Agni from the earth.

b. Harnessing the gods with mind,
they who go with thought to the sky, to heaven,
Savitṛ impels those
who will make great light.

c. With the mind harnessed,
we are impelled by god Savitṛ
For the ability to go to heaven.

d. The priests of the lofty wise priest
harness their minds, they harness their thoughts.
He who alone is possessed of knowledge
distributed the priestly duties:
Great be the praise of god Savitṛ.

e. I harness with honor your ancient hymn.
The verses go like Sūras on their way.
All the sons of immortality
who have ascended to divine dwellings listen.

f. Whose journey the other gods follow,
praising the power of the god,
who measured off the radiant regions of the earth,
He is the great god Savitṛ.

g. God Savitṛ, impel the sacrifice!
Impel for good fortune the lord of the sacrifice!
Divine Gandharva, purifier of thought, purify
our thoughts!
Today may the lord of speech make our words
sweet!

h. God Savitṛ, impel for us this sacrifice,
honoring the gods, gaining friends,
always victorious, winning wealth, winning
heaven!

(TS 4.1.1.1a-3h)

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Afterwards the adhvaryu makes an oblation for Savitṛ with *svāhā*! The yajamāna says his tyāga:

This is for god Savitṛ—not for me! देवाय सवित्रे इदं न मम

After the Savitṛhoma, the actual preparation of the ukhā pots begins. The adhvaryu begins by establishing a connection between meters of the Ṛgveda and chants of the Sāmaveda:

With the ṛc make the *stoma* prosper;
with the *gāyatra* the *rathantara*;
the *bṛhat*, whose meter is *gāyatrī*.
(TS 4.1.1.3i)

ऋचा स्तोमꣳ समर्धय
गायत्रेण रथन्तरम्।
बृहद्गायत्रवर्तनि॥

Then the adhvaryu picks up a spade (*abhri*) and recites:

k. At the impulse of god Savitṛ,
with the arms of the Aśvins,
with the hands of Pūṣan.
with the gāyatrī meter,
I take you in the fashion of the Aṅgirases.

देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे-
ऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां
पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां
गायत्रेण छन्दसा-
ऽऽददेऽङ्गिरस्वत्॥

l. You are the spade.
You are the woman.
From the dwelling of the earth
bear the muddy Agni.
With the *triṣṭubh* meter I take you
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases.

अभ्रिरसि नारिरसि
पृथिव्याः सधस्थादग्निं
पुरीष्यमाङ्गिरस्विदा भर
त्रैष्टुभेन त्वा
छन्दसाऽऽददेऽङ्गिरस्वत्॥

m. You are the bearer.
You are the woman.
From you may we have the strength
to dig the muddy Agni in his dwelling.
With the *jagatī* meter I take you
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases.

बभ्रिरसि नारिरसि
त्वया वयꣳ सधस्थ आऽग्निꣳ शकेम
खनितुं पुरीष्यं जागतेन त्वा
छन्दसाऽऽददेऽङ्गिरस्वत्॥

n. Savitṛ, taking in your hand,
holding the golden spade,
digging Agni with that,
bring to us undying light!
With the *anuṣṭubh* meter I hold you
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases.
(TS 4.1.1.3k-4n)

हस्त आधाय सविता-
बिभ्रदभ्रिꣳ हिरण्ययीम्।
तया ज्योतिरजस्रमिद-
ग्निं खात्वी न आ भरा-
ऽऽनुष्टुभेन त्वा
छन्दसाऽऽददेऽङ्गिरस्वत्॥

After entrusting the abhri spade to the Brahman, the adhvaryu takes a rein (Sanskrit *rasanā*, Malayalam *kayaṛ*) and recites:

At their ceremonies in ancient times
the sages grasped this rein of order.
Thereby the gods gained the pressed

इमामगृभ्णन् रशनामृतस्य
पूर्व आयुषि विदथेषु कव्या।

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(Soma juice)—
During the Sāman of order (*ṛta*) it proclaims
the stream (*saram ārapantī*).

तया॑ दे॒वाः सु॒तमा ब॑भूवु॒र्-
ऋ॒तस्य॒ सामं॑न्त्स॒रमा॒रप॑न्ती ॥

(TS 4.1.2.1a)

He fastens the rein to the horse, which is kept waiting, with:

Run swiftly here, horse,
along the wide expanse of space.
Your highest birth is in heaven,
your navel in the sky,
your womb on earth.

प्रतू॑र्तं वाजिन्ना द्रव॑.
वरि॑ष्ठामनु॑ सं॒वर्त॑म् ।
दि॒वि ते॒ जन्म॑ पर॒मम॒न्तरि॑क्षे॒
नाभिः॑ पृथि॒व्यामधि॒ योनिः॑ ॥

(TS 4.1.2.1b)

He makes the horse face east and takes another rein with the same mantra (TS 4.1.2.1a), and fastens it to the donkey, which has also been brought:

c. You two of great wealth,
yoke on this course the donkey that bears Agni
who seeks us.
d. In every battle and every contest
as friends we invoke Indra, the very strong,
to help us.

यु॒ञ्जाथा॒ꣳ रास॑भं यु॒व-
म॒स्मिन् या॒मे वृ॑षण्वसू ।
अ॒ग्निं भ॑र॒न्तमस्म॒युम् ॥
योगे॑योगे त॒वस्त॑रं
वाजे॑वाजे हवामहे ।
सखा॑य इन्द्र॒मू॒तये ॥

Yajamāna, brahman, and adhvaryu move east while addressing the horse with:

Come here quickly,
trampling the enemy!
Come at Rudra's command
to give us pleasure!
Traverse the expanse of the sky
so that we may have pastures
full of cows and freedom from danger!

प्र॒तू॒र्व॒न्नेह्य॑-
व॒क्रामन्न॒शस्ती॑
रु॒द्रस्य॒ गा॑णपत्यान् ।
मयो॒भूरे॑हि ।
उ॒र्वन्त॑रि॒क्षमन्वि॑हि
स्व॒स्ति॒गव्यू॑ति॒र-
भ॑यानि कृण्वन् ॥

(TS 4.1.2.2e)

and the donkey with:

f. Together with Pūṣan,
go from the region of earth
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases
towards Agni hidden in the mud.

पू॒ष्णा स॒युजा॑ स॒ह ।
पृ॑थि॒व्याः स॒धस्था॑-
द॒ग्निं पु॑रीष्य-
म॒ङ्गि॒र॒स्वद॑च्छेहि ॥

Then a "Vaiśya," in fact one of the Nambudiri helpers, sitting close to an anthill (a heap of sandy mud), addresses the three priests:

Men, what are you going to fetch?

पुरु॑षाः किमच्छेथ ।

(BŚS 10.2:2.11)

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Yajamāna, brahman, and adhvaryu answer:

In the fasion of the Aṅgirases,
we are going to fetch Agni
hidden in the mud.

अग्निं पुरीष्य-
मङ्गिरस्वदच्छेमः ॥

(TS 4.1.2.2g)

Yajamāna, brahman, and adhvaryu address the anthill with:

In the fashion of the Aṅgirases,
we shall carry Agni
hidden in the mud.

अग्निं पुरीष्य-
मङ्गिरस्वद्भरिष्यामः ॥

(TS 4.1.2.2h)

The adhvaryu leads the horse further east with:

k. Agni, the all-knower, the first one,
looked out over the beginning of the dawns,
out over the days,
and out in many ways along the rays
of the sun.
He spread over sky and earth.

अन्वग्निरुषसामग्रमख्यद-
न्वहानि प्रथमो जातवेदाः ।
अनु सूर्यस्य पुरुत्रा च रश्मी-
ननु द्यावापृथिवी आ ततान ॥

By this time the procession has reached the point where the adhvaryu had earlier placed some clay on top of a banana leaf. He makes the horse step on the clay with its right foreleg, reciting:

The stallion coming from the way
scatters all the enemies.
He desires to discern with his eye Agni
in his great place.
Striding on earth, Stallion,
search for Agni with your brilliance.
Turning from the ground tell us
where we should dig for him.

आगत्य वाज्यध्वनः
सर्वा मृधो वि धूनुते ।
अग्निꣳ सधस्थे महति
चक्षुषा नि चिकीषते ॥
आक्रम्य वाजिन् पृथिवी-
मग्निमिच्छ रुचा त्वम् ।
भूम्या वृत्वाय नो ब्रूहि
यतः खनाम तं वयम् ॥

(TS 4.1.2.3 *l*-m)

The adhvaryu rubs the back of the horse, saying.:

n. Your back is heaven;
your dwelling earth;
your spirit the sky;
your womb the ocean.
Perceiving with your eyes,
destroy the enemy!

द्यौस्ते पृष्ठं
पृथिवी सधस्थ-
मात्मान्तरिक्षꣳ
समुद्रस्ते योनिः ।
विख्याय चक्षुषा त्व-
मभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतः ॥

(TS 4.1.2.3n)

The adhvaryu leads the horse further:

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o. O wealth-giving stallion!
Arise for great prosperity from this place.
May we enjoy the blessing of earth,
as we will be digging for Agni in her lap.

उत्क्रम महते सौभगाया-
स्मादास्थानाद् द्रविणोदा वाजिन ।
वयꣳ स्याम सुमतौ पृथिव्या
अग्निं खनिष्यन्त उपस्थे अस्याः ॥

p. The strong stallion has come forward,
giving wealth!
He has made the piece of earth lucky.
From there let us dig the beautiful-faced Agni,
as we ascend to heaven, to the highest vault.

उदक्रमीद् द्रविणोदा वाज्यर्वा-
ऽकृः स लोकꣳ सुकृतं पृथिव्याः ।
ततः खनेम सुप्रतीकमग्निꣳ
सुवो रुहाणा अधि नाक उत्तमे ॥

(TS 4.1.2.4o-p)

At the farthest point of their journey, the abhvaryu ties the two animals, returns to the mud, fills a pot with water, and pours some water into the footprint that the horse has left in the mud, reciting:

q. Pour, for the good health of men,
the divine waters full of sweetness!
From their place may plants
spring up with beautiful fruit.

अपो देवीरुप सृज मधुमती-
रयक्ष्माय प्रजाभ्यः ।
तासाꣳ स्थानादुज्जिहता-
मोषधयः सुपिप्पलाः ॥

The adhvaryu takes the shovel from the brahman and uses it to part the mud into two. He places a piece of gold on the southern portion and makes an oblation over it, saying:

With mind, with butter I sprinkle Agni
who dwells in all worlds;
widespread, vast, full of pervading energy,
most expansive, the impetuous winner of food.

जिघर्म्यग्निं मनसा घृतेन
प्रतिक्ष्यन्तं भुवनानि विश्वा ।
पृथुं तिरश्चा वयसा बृहन्तं
व्यचिष्ठमन्नꣳ रभसं विदानम् ॥

(TS 4.1.2.5r)

He does the same over the northern portion, reciting:

I sprinkle you with speech, with butter.
Enjoy it with a friendly mind.
Possessed of youthful splendor,
and of an enviable color,
bristling Agni cannot be
touched along his body.

आ त्वा जिघर्मि वचसा घृतेना-
रक्षसा मनसा तज्जुषस्व ।
मयश्रीः स्पृहयद्वर्णो अग्नि-
र्नाभिमृशे तनुवा जर्हृषाणः ॥

(TS 4.1.2.5s)

In order to facilitate the taking out of the mud, the adhvaryu thrice digs a trench round the area, using the shovel and reciting:

t. Lord of booty, sage,
Agni has gone around the offerings
and given jewels to the donor.
u. Agni! Sage! Mighty one!

परि वाजपतिः कवि-
रग्निर्हव्यान्यक्रमीत् ।
दधद्रत्नानि दाशुषे ॥
परि त्वाऽग्ने पुरं वयं

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May we place you around us each day
as a secure fort,
you who are courageous each day
and the destroyer of what is
crooked.

विप्रꣳ सहस्य धीमहि ।
धृषद्वर्णं दिवेदिवे
भेत्तारं भङ्गुरावतः ॥

v. Agni, throughout the days,
desire to shine upon us!
From the waters, from the rock,
from the forests, from the plants,
you, lord of men, are born pure.

त्वमग्ने द्युभिस्त्वमाशुशुक्षणि-
स्त्वमद्भ्यस्त्वमश्मनस्परि ।
त्वं वनेभ्यस्त्वमोषधीभ्य-
स्त्वं नृणां नृपते जायसे शुचिः ॥

The adhvaryu digs clay twice, using the spade. In the southern half he recites:

a. At the impulse of Savitṛ,
with the arms of the Aśvins,
with the hands of Pūṣan,
in the dwelling of the earth,
I dig Agni in the mud
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases.

देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे-
ऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां
पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां
पृथिव्याः सधस्थेऽग्निं
पुरीष्यमङ्गिरस्वत् खनामि ॥

In the northern half:

b. Agni! In the region of the earth,
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases
I dig you from the earth,
full of light, of beautiful appearance,
shining with perpetual radiance,
benevolent and harmless to our offspring.

ज्योतिष्मन्तं त्वाऽग्ने सुप्रतीक-
मजस्रेण भानुना दीद्यानम् ।
शिवं प्रजाभ्योऽहिꣳसन्तं
पृथिव्याः सधस्थेऽग्निं
पुरिष्यमङ्गिरस्वत् खनामि ॥

(TS 4.1.3.1a-b)

He takes a lotus leaf to be used as a receptacle for the clay:

c. You are the broad, expansive ridge of waters
that will bear Agni,
not to be cast aside.
Spread across the broad measure of heaven
like a lotus growing to maturity.

अपां पृष्ठमसि सप्रथा उर्वग्निं
भरिष्यदपरावपिष्टम् ।
वर्धमानं मह आ च पुष्करं
दिवो मात्रया वरिणा प्रथस्व ॥

He places the skin of a black antelope (kṛṣṇājina) on the ground, puts the lotus leaf on it, and touches both:

d. You two, vast and unbroken,
are a shelter and protection.
Expanding, remain together!
Support Agni of the mud!

शर्म च स्थो वर्म च स्थो
अच्छिद्रे बहुले उभे ।
व्यचस्वती सं वसाथां
भर्तमग्निं पुरीष्यम् ॥

e. Remain together winning heaven
in the union of heart and self

सं वसाथा२ सुवर्विदा
समीची उरसा त्मना ।

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that will support within the eternal Agni
full of light.

अग्निमन्तर्भरिष्यन्ती
ज्योतिष्मन्तमजस्रमित् ॥

(TS 4.1.3.2d-e)

The adhvaryu divides the mud into four portions. He picks up the first portion while reciting the first of the following mantras. He places it on the antelope skin with the second mantra. He does the same three more times, using the three remaining portions of mud and the following eight mantras in the same manner:

f. You are of the mud,
supporter of the all.
Atharvan first drew you out, Agni!

पुरीष्योऽसि विश्वभराः ।
अथर्वा त्वा प्रथमो निरमन्थदग्ने ॥

g. Agni! Atharvan first drew you out
from the lotus,
from the head of every priest.

त्वामग्ने पुष्करादध्यथर्वा निरमन्थत ।
मूर्ध्नो विश्वस्य वाघतः ॥

h. Dadhyañc, son of Atharvan, kindled you,
the slayer of Vṛtra,
destroyer of fortresses.

तमु त्वा दध्यङ्ङृषिः पुत्र ईधे अथर्वणः ।
वृत्रहणं पुरन्दरम् ॥

i. Pāthya Vṛṣan fully kindled you,
best destroyer of enemies,
the winner of wealth in every battle.

तमु त्वा पाथ्यो वृषा समीधे दस्युहन्तमम् ।
धनञ्जयꣳ रणेरणे ॥

k. Sit, hotā, shining in your own world
and place the sacrifice in the womb
of good deeds!
Eager for the gods, you shall worship
them with an oblation
Agni, place great strength
into the yajamāna!

सीद होतः स्व उ लोके
चिकित्वान्त्सादया यज्ञꣳ
सुकृतस्य योनौ ।
देवावीर्देवान् हविषा यजास्य-
ग्ने बृहद्यजमाने वयो धाः ॥

l. The hotā, pure-tongued Agni,
most wealthy, bearing a thousand,
undeceivable intentions and vows,
wise, brilliant, shining, and clever,
has sat down in the place of the hotā.

नि होता होतृषदने विदान-
स्त्वेषो दीदिवाꣳ असदत् सुदक्षः ।
अदब्धव्रतप्रमतिर्वसिष्ठः
सहस्रम्भरः शुचिजिह्वो अग्निः ॥

m. Sit down! You are mighty.
Burn, greatest gratifier of the gods!
Agni, eater of the oblation,
famous one,
release your clearly visible, reddish smoke.

सꣳ सीदस्व महाꣳ असि
शोचस्व देववीतमः ।
वि धूममग्ने अरुषं मियेध्य
सृज प्रशस्त दर्शतम् ॥

n. At the beginning of the days
be born noble, properly red
amid the proper woods.
Placing seven jewels in every home,
Agni is sealed as the hotā,
the excellent ritualist.

जनिष्वा हि जेन्यो अग्रे अह्नाꣳ
हितो हितेष्वरुषो वनेषु ।
दमेदमे सप्त रत्ना दधानो-
ऽग्निर्होता निषसादा यजीयान् ॥

(TS 4.1.3.2f-4n)

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The hole from which the clay has been taken is filled with mud. Then water is poured over it with:

a. May Vāyu, Mātariśvan, unite the broken heart
of you who are stretched out.
To him who moves with the exhaling of the gods,
and to you, goddess, be the *vaṣaṭ* exclamation!
(TS 4.1.4.1a)

सं ते वायुर्मातरिश्वा दधात्-
त्सानायै हृदयं यद्विलिष्टम् ।
देवानां यश्चरति प्राणथेन
तस्मै च देवि वषडस्तु तुभ्यम् ॥

The mud is then covered with a leaf, and a grass string is tied around it:

b. Well born with light
you sat in heaven,
a protector, a guardian.
Agni, full of light, envelop
yourself in your clothing of many colors!

सुजातो ज्योतिषा सह
शर्म वरूथमाऽसदः सुवः ।
वासो अग्ने विश्वरूप्य्
सं व्ययस्व विभावसो ॥

The adhvaryu stands up with the clay in his hands, reciting:

c. You, good at ritual
rise up and aid us with divine tenderness!
Blazing with lofty radiance for us to see,
come here, Agni, in response to our invocations.

उदुतिष्ठ स्वध्वरा-
वा नो देव्या कृपा ।
दृशे च भासा बृहता सुशुक्रनि-
राऽग्ने याहि सुशस्तिभिः ॥

d. Rise up to help us like god Savitṛ,
erect to give reward,
when we invoke you with the shining sacrificers.
(TS 4.1.4.1c-2d)

ऊर्ध्व ऊ षु ण ऊतये
तिष्ठा देवो न सविता ।
ऊर्ध्वो वाजस्य सनिता यदञ्जिभिर्
वाघद्भिर्विह्वयामहे ॥

The adhvaryu goes towards the donkey, reciting:

e. Agni! You are born the lovely child
of heaven and earth,
distributed among the plants.
You come forth, thundering from your mothers,
a many-colored child spread out beyond darkness.

स जातो गर्भो असि रोदस्यो-
रग्ने चारुर्विभृत ओषधीषु ।
चित्रः शिशुः परि तमांस्यक्तः
प्रमातृभ्यो अधि कनिक्रदद्गाः ॥

They put mud on the donkey with:

f. Be firm with powerful limbs!
Be swift, a mighty stallion!
Be broad, a friendly seat!
You are supporter of the mud for Agni.

स्थिरो भव वीड्वङ्ग
आशुर्भव वाज्यर्वन् ।
पृथुर्भव सुषदस्त्व-
मग्नेः पुरीषवाहनः ॥

After this, the adhvaryu recites:

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g. Be auspicious to men's offspring, Aṅgiras!
Do not scorch the heavens,
the earth, the sky, or the trees!
(TS 4.1.4.3g)

शिवो भव प्रजाभ्यो
मानुषीभ्यस्त्वमङ्गिरः ।
मा द्यावापृथिवी अभिशोशुचो
माऽन्तरिक्षं मा वनस्पतीन् ॥

The adhvaryu unties the horse and the donkey, and addresses them, respectively, with the two halves of:

h. Thundering may the stallion advance
and bellowing the donkey, swift!
As it bears Agni of the mud,
may it not fall before its time!

प्रैतु वाजी कनिक्रदन्-
नार्नदद्रासभः पत्वा ।
भरन्नग्निं पुरीष्यं
मा पाद्यायुषः पुरा ॥

He continues:

i. You virile ones!
May the thundering donkey, that swift messenger,
well yoked to your chariot,
carry Agni of the mud from here!

रासभो वां कनिक्रदत्
सुयुक्तो वृषणा रथे ।
स वामग्निं पुरीष्य-
माग्ने वहादितः ॥

k. The virile, bearing the virile Agni,
oceanic seed of the waters, o Agni!
Come here to pursue cosmic order,
truth!

वृषाऽग्निं वृषणं भर-
न्नपां गर्भꣳ समुद्रियम् ।
अग्न आ याहि वीतय
ऋतꣳ सत्यम् ॥

The final words, *ṛtam*, "order," and *satyam*, "truth," are recited thrice. Each time the adhvaryu bends his head down when he recites "order," and lifts it when he recites "truth." They return to the place where the vaiśya was sitting, and he asks them:

Men, what are you carrying?
(BŚS 10.4:4.14)

पुरुषाः किं भरथ ।

They answer:

In the fashion of the Aṅgirases,
we are carrying Agni
hidden in the mud.
(TS 4.1.2.2i)

अग्निं पुरीष्य-
मङ्गिरस्वदभरामः ॥

Finally the clay is placed on a *khara*, a small earthen platform north of where the vaiśya has been sitting, while the adhvaryu recites:

l. Plants! Accept this Agni
who is coming to you with benevolence!
Throwing aside all hostilities,
all malignity, seating himself,
he shall drive misfortune away from us!

ओषधयः प्रति गृह्णीताग्निमेतꣳ
शिवमायन्तमभ्यत्रं युष्मान् ।
व्यस्यन् विश्वा अमतीररातीः
निषीदन् नो अप दुर्मतिꣳ हनत् ॥

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m. Plants, rich in fruit and flowers,
welcome him with joy!
This seed of yours has sat
at the proper time in his ancient seat.
(TS 4.1.4.4*l*-m)

ओषधयः प्रति मोदध्वमेनं
पुष्पावतीः सुपिप्पलाः ।
अयं वो गर्भ ऋत्वियः
प्रत्नꣳ सधस्थमाऽसदत् ॥

The ukhā pot will now be ritually and symbolically fashioned from the mud that has been obtained. Physically it has already been prepared by the potter. First the adhvaryu unties the string from the mud, reciting:

a. Radiant, broadly shining,
drive off the enemy, demons, hostility!
May I be protected by the great protector!
May I be led forward by Agni, easy to invoke!
(TS 4.1.5.1a)

वि पाजसा पृथुना शोशुचानो
बाधस्व द्विषो रक्षसो अमीवाः ।
सुशर्मणो बृहतः शर्मणि स्या-
मग्नेरहꣳ सुहवस्य प्रणीतौ ॥

He removes the leaf and pours water three times from a kiṇḍi over the mud with:

b. Waters! You are givers of health.
Give us strength to see great joy!
c. Like eager mothers grant us here the most
auspicious essence that you possess.
d. To this may we suitably come, to whose
power you impel us. Waters, propagate us!
(cf., above, page 282)

आपो हि ष्ठा मयोभुव स्ता न ऊर्जे दधातन ।
महे रणाय चक्षसे ॥
यो वः शिवतमो रस स्तस्य भाजयतेह नः ।
उशतीरिव मातरः ॥
तस्मा अरं गमाम वो यस्य क्षयाय जिन्वथ ।
आपो जनयथा च नः ॥

He adds four substances to the mud: some pebbles (*śarkara*), some brick dust, some hair from the black antelope, and some hair from a goat, reciting:

e. Mitra, uniting earth and ground with light;
Agni, well born, all knowing,
common to all men, all pervading.
f. I join you for well being,
for children.
May the Viśvedevas common to all men
unite you with the anuṣṭubh meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
(TS 4.1.5.2e-f)

मित्रः सꣳसृज्य पृथिवीं
भूमिं च ज्योतिषा सह ।
सुजातं जातवेदसमग्निं
वैश्वानरं विभुम् ॥
अयक्ष्माय त्वा सꣳ
सृजामि प्रजाभ्यः ।
विश्वे त्वा देवा वैश्वानराः
सꣳ सृजन्त्वानुष्टुभेन
छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ॥

He mixes it thoroughly, reciting:

g. The Rudras brought together the earth
and kindled a great light.
Their undying ray shines
bright among the gods.

रुद्राः सम्भृत्य पृथिवीं
बृहज्ज्योतिः समीधिरे ।
तेषां भानुरजस्र इ-
च्छुक्रो देवेषु रोचते ॥

Three times the adhvaryu hands some mud to the pratiprasthātā:

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h. The mud for the sacrifice is mixed
by the Vasus, the clever Rudras.
Smoothing it with her hands,
may Sinīvālī fashion this.

सꣳ सृष्टां वसुभी रुद्र-
धीरैः कर्मण्यां मृदम् ।
हस्ताभ्यां मृद्वीं कृत्वा
सिनीवाली करोतु ताम् ॥

i. Aditi! Great One!
May Sinīvālī with beautiful braids,
with beautiful head dress,
with beautiful hair,
place the ukhā pot in your hands!

सिनीवाली सुकपर्दा
सुकुरीरा स्वौपशा ।
सा तुभ्यमदिते मह
ओखां धत्तु हस्तयोः ॥

k. May Aditi fashion the ukhā with skill,
with her arms, with wisdom.
May she bear Agni in her womb
as a mother a child in her lap.

उखां करोतु शक्त्या
बाहुभ्यामदितिर्धिया ।
माता पुत्रं यथोपस्थे
साऽग्निं बिभर्तु गर्भ आ ।

(TS 4.1.5.2h-3k)[1]

Before each portion of mud is handed over, it is rolled into a stick three times, with the recitation:

l. You are the head of Makha

मखस्य शिरोऽसि ।

and subdivided into three smaller portions with:

m. You are the two feet of the ritual.

यज्ञस्य पदे स्थः ।

The pratiprasthātā rubs bits of mud on the base of the ukhā pot while the adhvaryu addresses the Vasus; on its middle while he addresses the Rudras; on its top while he addresses the Ādityas; and all over while he addresses the All-gods:

n. May the Vasus prepare you
with the gāyatrī meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
You are the earth.

वसवस्त्वा कृण्वन्तु
गायत्रेण छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत्
पृथिव्यसि

May the Rudras prepare you
with triṣṭubh meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
You are the sky.

रुद्रास्त्वा कृण्वन्तु
त्रैष्टुभेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्व-
दन्तरिक्षमसि

May the Adityas prepare you
with the jagatī meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
You are heaven.

आदित्यास्त्वा कृण्वन्तु
जागतेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वद्
द्यौरसि

May the Viśvedevas, common to all men,
prepare you with the anuṣṭubh meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
You are the directions.

विश्वे त्वा देवा वैश्वानराः कृण्व-
न्त्वानुष्टुभेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वद्
दिशोऽसि

[1] In the alphabetical order introduced in Weber's text, and followed by Keith, the letter "j" is always omitted.

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At the end of each of these four verses he adds:

PLATE 42

You are the unchanging direction.
Make unchanging in me children,
abundance of wealth,
abundance of cattle, heroism,
and similar things for the yajamāna.

ध्रुवाऽसि धारया मयि प्रजाꣳ
रायस्पोषं गौपत्यꣳ सुवीर्यꣳ
सजातान् यजमानाय ।

(TS 4.1.5.3–4n)

The pratiprasthātā touches the rim with a stick, reciting:

You are the waist band of Aditi.

अदित्यै रास्नाऽसि ।

(TS 4.1.5.4o)

He hollows it out by pounding inside, reciting:

p. May Aditi grasp your hole
with the paṅkti meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!

अदितिस्ते बिलं गृह्णातु
पाङ्क्तेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ॥

and places it on the khara, reciting:

q. Having fashioned the great ukhā
made of clay as a womb for Agni,
Aditi gave it to her sons saying,
"Fire it!"

कृत्वाय सा महीमुखां
मृन्मयीं योनिमग्नये ।
तां पुत्रेभ्यः संप्रायच्छ-
ददितिः श्रपयानिति ॥

The adhvaryu makes two spare ukhā pots in a similar manner, as well as five bull (vṛṣabha) bricks and three circle (maṇḍala) bricks. Then he gets a small dish (caṭṭi) with some smouldering sticks of firewood inside. Some dried horse dung is put in it and catches fire, so that smoke arises. The ukhā pots and bricks are dried one by one by holding them in this smoke and slowly turning them round. While drying the pots, the adhvaryu recites:

a. May the Vāyus make you smoke with the gāyatrī meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May the Rudras make you smoke with the triṣṭubh meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May the Adityas make you smoke with the jagatī meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May the Viśvedevas, common to all men, fumigate you with the anuṣṭubh meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May Indra make you smoke in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!

वसवस्त्वा धूपयन्तु
गायत्रेण छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ।
रुद्रास्त्वा धूपयन्तु
त्रैष्टुभेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ।
आदित्यास्त्वा धूपयन्तु
जागतेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ।
विश्वे त्वा देवा वैश्वानरा धूपय-
न्त्वानुष्टुभेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ।
इन्द्रस्त्वा धूपयत्वङ्गिरस्वत् ।

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May Viṣṇu make you smoke in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May Varuṇa make you smoke in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!

विष्णुस्त्वा धूपयत्वङ्गिरस्वत् ।
वरुणस्त्वा धूपयत्वङ्गिरस्वत् ।

(TS 4.1.6.1a)

The group moves a little further north, and the adhvaryu marks the ground and digs a trench, saying:

b. May Aditi, the goddess,
in union with the All-gods,
dig you, trench, in the realm of earth
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!

अदितिस्त्वा देवी
विश्वदेव्यावती
पृथिव्याः सधस्थे-
ऽङ्गिरस्वत् खनत्ववट ।

He places the ukhā there with:

c. May the wives of the gods, the goddesses,
united with the Viśvedevas,
put you, ukhā, in the realm of earth
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!

(TS 4.1.6.2c)

देवानां त्वा पत्नीर्देवी-
र्विश्वदेव्यावतीः
पृथिव्याः सधस्थे-
ऽङ्गिरस्वद् धत्तूखे ।

Burning chips of firewood, cow dung, and dry grass are placed in the trench. The ukhā pot is placed over these, sideways, and with its opening facing east (see above page 217). The two spare ukhā pots are also placed there in the same manner, together with the five "bull" bricks and the three "circle" bricks. Everything is covered with more dry grass, chips of firewood, cow dung, and finally a layer of mud. Four openings are made in the four directions. Fire is put through these openings: from the east, addressing the Dhīṣaṇās; from the south, addressing the wives of the All-gods; from the west, addressing the protecting goddesses; and from the north, addressing the mothers:

d. May the Dhīṣaṇās, the goddesses,
united with the Viśvedevas,
fire you, ukhā, in the realm of the earth
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May the wives, the goddesses,
united with the Viśvedevas,
fire you, ukhā, in the realm of the earth
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May the protecting goddesses, the women,
hear you, ukhā, in the realm of the earth
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!

(TS 4.1.6.2d)

धिषणास्त्वा देवी-
र्विश्वदेव्यावतीः
पृथिव्याः सधस्थे-
ऽङ्गिरस्वदभीन्धतामुखे ।
ग्नास्त्वा देवी-
र्विश्वदेव्यावतीः
पृथिव्याः सधस्थे-
ऽङ्गिरस्वच्छ्रपयन्तूखे ।
वरूत्र्यो जनयस्त्वा देवी-
र्विश्वदेव्यावतीः
पृथिव्याः सधस्थे-
ऽङ्गिरस्वत् पचन्तूखे ॥

In order that the pots and bricks will dry and not break, the adhvaryu recites:

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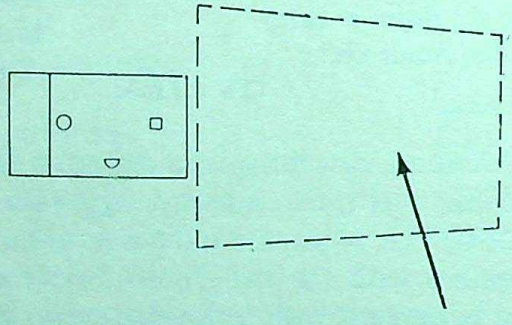
PLATE 42

Ritual Preparation of the Ukhā Pots

"You are the waistband of Aditi!"

(TS. 4.1.5.4o)

The pratiprasthātā rubs mud around the rims of the ukhā pots.



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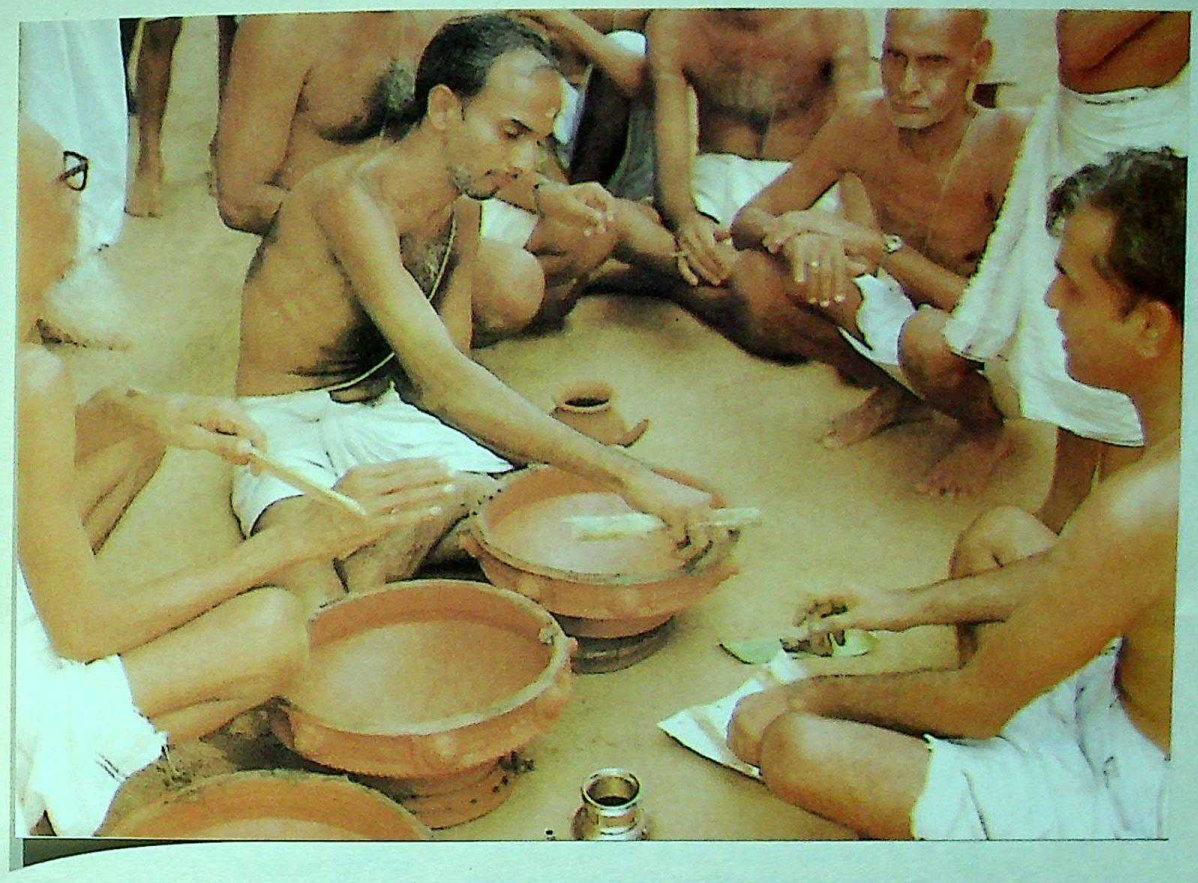

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e. Mitra! Fire this pan! Do not let it break! — मित्रैतामुखां पचैषा मा भेदि ।
f. I place this around you to prevent breaking. — एतां ते पारं ददाम्यभित्यै ॥

The adhvaryu brings several items from the Old Hall: a big basket, a pair of tongs (*saṃdaṅśa*), goat's milk, and cow's milk. This is accompanied by:

g. Mitra, spreading out,
encompassed this heaven with his might,
and the earth with his fame.
h. The fame of god Mitra,
supporter of the people,
is rich, majestic, and brilliantly glorious.
(TS 4.1.6.3g-h)

अभीमां महिना दिवं
मित्रो बभूव सप्रथाः ।
उत श्रवसा पृथिवीम् ॥
मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतः
श्रवो देवस्य सानसिम् ।
द्युम्नं चित्रश्रवस्तमम् ॥

Ashes and mud are removed from the pot with a stick made of vikaṅkata wood, while the adhvaryu recites:

i. May god Savitṛ with beautiful hands,
beautiful fingers, beautiful arms,
dig you up with his strength!

देवस्त्वा सवितोद्वपतु
सुपाणिः स्वङ्गुरिः ।
सुबाहुरुत शक्त्या ॥

The pot is lifted up by placing the stick inside, reciting:

Rise up! Become lofty!
Stand upright and remain firm!
(k, second half; cf. BŚS 10.7:7.10)

अपप्यमाना पृथिव्या-
शा दिश आ पृण ।

The pot is put down so that the stick stands upright. The adhvaryu recites:

Without breaking, earth,
fill the quarters, the directions!
(k, first half; cf. BŚS 10.7:7.11)

उत्तिष्ठ बृहती भवो-
र्ध्वा तिष्ठ ध्रुवा त्वम् ॥

Goat's and cow's milk are poured into the pot. While the goats' milk is poured, the adhvaryu recites:

l. May the Vasus fill you with the gāyatrī meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May the Rudras fill you with the triṣṭubh meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
May the Viśvedevas, common to all men,
fill you with the anuṣṭubh meter
in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!

वसवस्त्वाऽऽच्छृन्दन्तु
गायत्रेण छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ।
रुद्रास्त्वाऽऽच्छृन्दन्तु
त्रैष्टुभेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ।
आदित्यास्त्वाऽऽच्छृन्दन्तु
जागतेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ।
विश्वे त्वा देवा वैश्वानरा आच्छृन्द-
न्त्वानुष्टुभेन छन्दसाऽङ्गिरस्वत् ॥

The same procedures are gone through in connection with the two spare ukhā pots (accompanied by mantras), and the bull and circle bricks (without mantras). The ukhā pots have now been fully prepared and are placed inside the big basket.

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First Day: April 12, 1975

EPISODE 2

Animal Sacrifice for Vāyu and Preparation of the Five Heads (*Vāyavyaṃ Paśu*)

THE ANIMAL SACRIFICE of a he-goat for Vāyu (*vāyavyaṃ paśu*) is the first of the fourteen animal sacrifices that characterize the Agnicayana. Its dedication to Vāyu, "wind," is fitting since Vāyu, the swiftest deity, plays an important role in the Agnicayana: the first, third, and fifth brick layers of the bird-shaped altar are connected with earth/fire, atmosphere/wind, and sky/sun, respectively, so Vāyu is the intermediary.

The paradigm of the animal sacrifice has been described several times, notably by Schwab. Here an outline will be given without specifying any of the usual mantras. Mention will be made of the modifications that the paradigm undergoes in the Vāyu sacrifice. The sacrifice is combined with rites pertaining to the five heads. PLATE 43

Following a great deal of publicity, popular sentiment, and official pressure, it had been decided on April 11—one day before the beginning of the ceremonies—that no goats would be sacrificed during the performance. For the first time in the history of the Nambudiri tradition, the animals would be represented by cakes made of a paste of rice flour (*aṭa*), folded in banana leaf in the same manner in which this is done at *śrāddha* or funeral ceremonies. This manner of folding leaves is called *paitṛkam*, "for ancestors," and it is regarded as a representation of meat (*māṃsapratinidhi*). It contrasts with the way banana leaves are folded when a similar offering of aṭa is made in temples. This is called *daivikam*, "for gods." The two methods are illustrated in Volume II (Exhibit inside Back Cover). Ghee (clarified butter) is sometimes added to the rice paste, which makes it easier to remove it from the leaf.

When such a deviation from the tradition occurs, it may affect the ritual acts, but not the mantras, which are recited in the same sequence and without modification. The events that led up to the decision to resort to this substitution are more fully described in Part III, pages 456–465.

At the beginning of the animal sacrifice, the three fires and churning blocks are carried by the yajamāna and his helpers toward an area to the northwest of the Old Hall, where three altars have been prepared and a mahāvedi has been outlined (Figure 22).

The fires are installed on the altars. After several other rites and oblations, a butter oblation for the sacrificial pole (*yūpāhuti*) is prepared at the domestic fire. The pole has already been cut in the forest and put up in its place, immediately east of where the new sacrificial altar (uttaravedi) will be situated, but it has not yet been cut to size. Now it is cut off its stump with an axe. The stump is left in its place. The first chip of wood (*svaru*) is caught on a palmyra sheath. The tree felled, a libation is made on the stump. The

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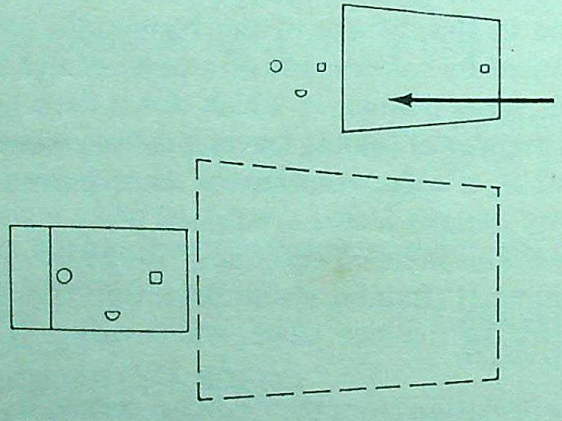
PLATE 43

Recitation by the Maitrāvaruṇa

During the animal sacrifice, the maitrāvaruṇa priest has to assist in the recitations. When reciting he faces east and holds a staff. The plate shows his recitation during the animal sacrifice for Vāyu on the first day of the ceremony. A helper happens to accompany the recitation with hand movements (see Part III, pages 359–381 in the second volume).



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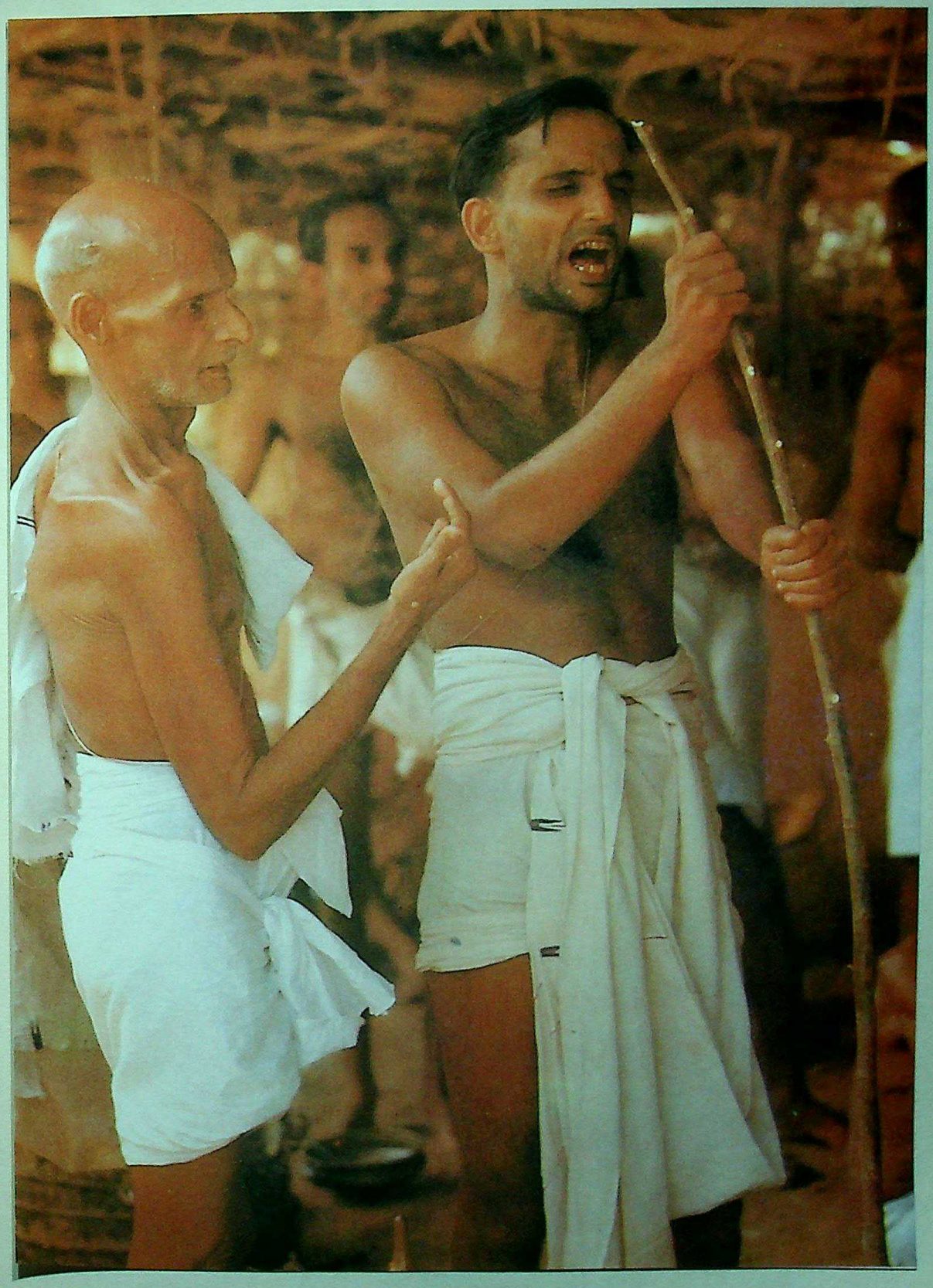

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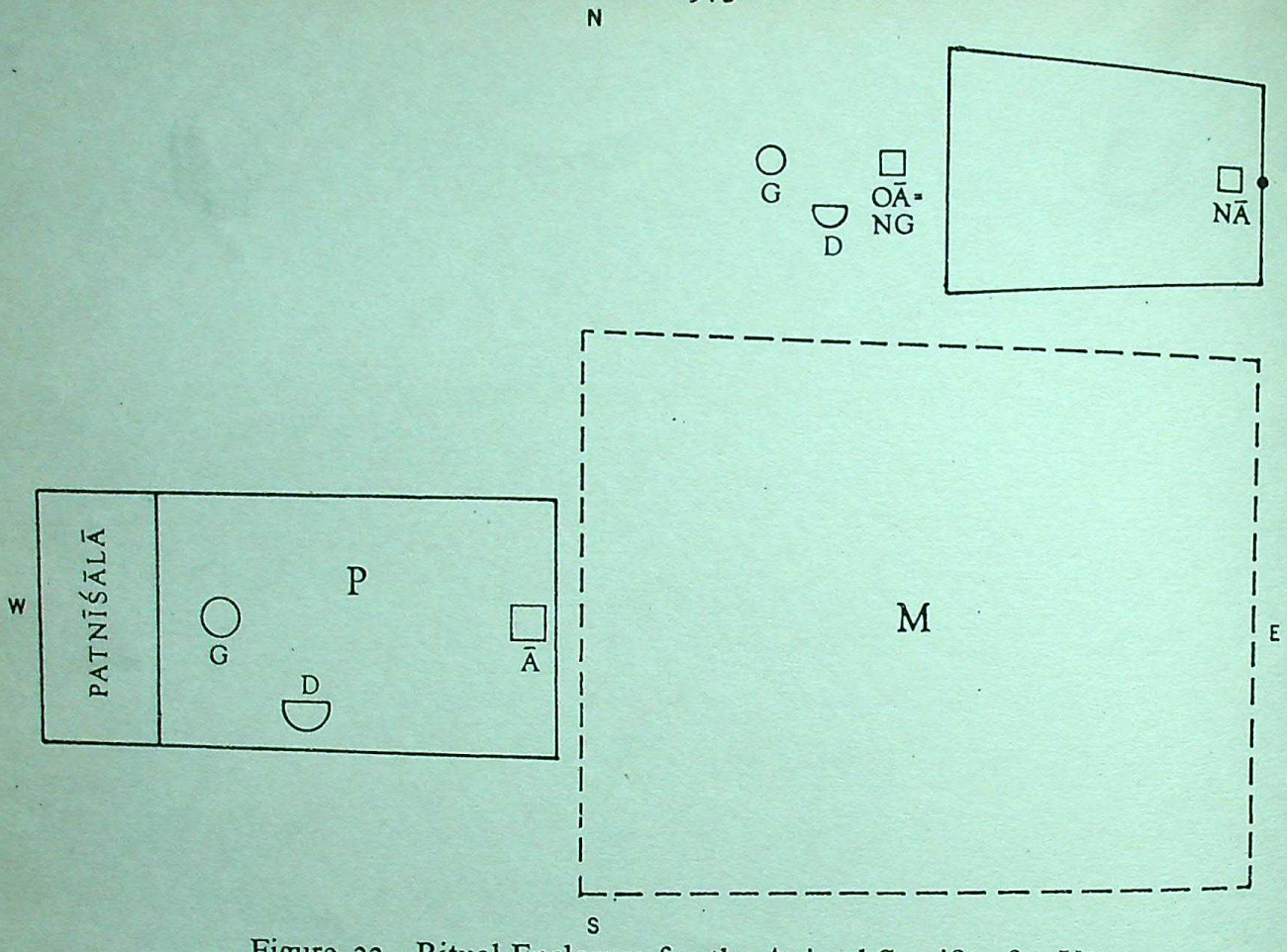

Figure 22—Ritual Enclosure for the Animal Sacrifice for Vāyu

branches of the tree, which is now lying on the ground, are cut off symbolically (since they have already been removed), and the pole is measured, one span of a hand (for the piece that will go in the ground) and five aratni lengths, keeping a piece for the cap (*caṣāla*).

The yajamāna recites vows and tyāga formulas of renunciation for Agni Vratapati (Agni, Lord of Vows), Vāyu Vratapati, Āditya Vratapati, and Vratāṇāṃ Vratapati (TB 3.7.4.7–8).

Next the area for the mahāvedi is marked with darbha grass and the wooden knife (sphya). The cātvāla pit and the utkara heaps are prepared near its northern boundary. Inside the mahāvedi, at its eastern end, the uttaravedi or new offering altar is prepared. Fire is then carried (agnipraṇayana) from the old to the new offering altar along the northern boundary of the mahāvedi. After it has been installed, four libations are made by the adhvaryu and two by the yajamāna.

The adhvaryu orders the āgnīdhra to bring sprinkling waters (*prokṣaṇī*), fuel (*idhma*) and grass (*barhis*), clean the implements, and fasten a girdle around the waist of the wife of the yajamāna. Then the adhvaryu orders the pratiprasthātā to fetch the five clay heads of a horse (aśva), man (puruṣa),

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bull (ṛṣabha), ram (vṛṣṇi) and he-goat (basta), which have been made by the potter. The pratiprasthātā does this, and also brings an anthill (Sanskrit: *valmīka*, Malayalam: *puṭṭumaṇṇu*) with seven (i.e., at least seven) holes in it, a palāśa branch with two leaves at the end, and twenty-one grains of black gram (Malayalam: *uḷunnu*). The pratiprasthātā puts seven grains in the seven holes of the human head and wipes them off with the palāśa leaves, whilst reciting the first death stanza (*yamagāthā*): PLATE 44

Day by day carrying off a cow, a horse, a man,
any living being,
death, son of the brilliant sun (Yama Vaivasvata),
is not satisfied with the five races of man.
(TĀ 6.5.3b)

अहरहर्नयमानो
गामश्वं पुरुषं जगत् ।
वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति
पञ्चभिर्मानवैर्यमः ॥

He repeats this a second and third time, without mantras.

The pratiprasthātā goes through the same routine for a second time, reciting the second death stanza:

In King Yama Vaivasvata those people go asunder
who truly strive here and who speak untruth.
(TĀ 6.5.3c)

वैवस्वते विविच्यन्ते यमे राजनि ते जनाः ।
ये चेह सत्येनेच्छन्ते य उ चानृतवादिनः ॥

And a third time, reciting the third death stanza:

Those go asunder here, King, they go to you,
who worship the gods and respect brahmins.
(TĀ 6.5.3d)

ते राजन्निह विविच्यन्तेऽथा यन्ति त्वामुप ।
देवांश्च ये नमस्यन्ति ब्राह्मणाश्चापचित्यति ॥

Then he makes the human head and the anthill touch each other. Nothing is done with the four animal heads. After these rites, the pratiprasthātā places the five heads in a large clay pot that is kept to the east of the new offering altar.

The yajamāna anoints the upper half, and his wife the bottom of the sacrificial pole, after which it is erected, a rope is tied around it, and the first chip of wood (svaru) is inserted in the rope. Fire is made with the help of the two wooden churning blocks and is added to the fire on the new offering altar. The sacrificial victim, represented by the package of rice flour, is tied to the pole. Then the hotā, ordered by the adhvaryu, recites thirteen firewood verses (sāmidhenī):

1. Your rewards, shining with libations,
will come forth with the butter ladle.
Agni goes to the gods, seeking their favor.
2. Agni, come to the banquet; being extolled,
come to the gift of offerings.
Sit down as hotā on the sacrificial grass.

प्र वो वाजा अभिद्यवो
हविष्मन्तो घृताच्या ।
देवाञ्जिगाति सुम्नयुः ॥
अग्न आ याहि वीतये
गृणानो हव्यदातये ।
नि होता सत्सि बर्हिषि ॥

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PLATE 44A

Wiping the Human Head

"Day by day carrying off a cow,
a horse, a man, any living being,
Death, sun of the brilliant sun,
is not satisfied with he five races of man."

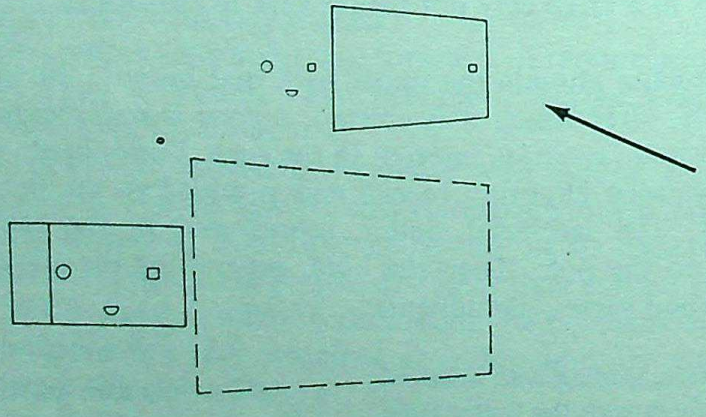
(TA 6.5.3b)

After putting seven uḻunnu grains in the seven holes of the human head, the pratiprasthātā wipes them off with palāśa leaves.

PLATE 44B

The Five Heads

From left to right: the head of a horse (aśva), a he-goat (basta), a bull (ṛṣabha), a ram (vṛṣṇi), and a man (puruṣa).



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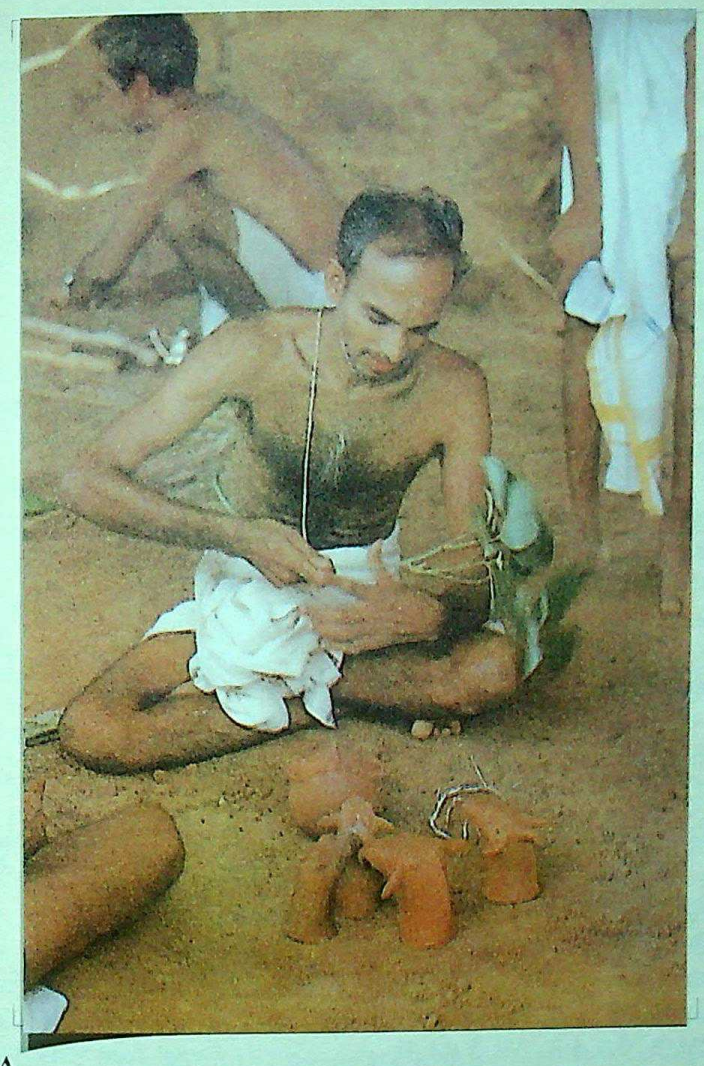

A

B

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3. We make you grow, Aṅgiras, with firewood, with butter. Flame up, you youth!	तं त्वा समिद्भिरंगिरो घृतेन वर्धयामसि । बृहच्छोचा यविष्ठ्य ॥
4. You god Agni request for us a vast renowned and lofty heroism. High!	स नः पृथुश्रवाय्य- मच्छा देव विवाससि । बृहदग्ने सुवीर्यम् ॥
5. Worthy to be invoked, to be honored, visible through the darkness, Agni, the male, flames up.	ईळेन्यो नमस्यस्तिर- स्तमांसि दर्शतः । समग्निरिध्यते वृषा ॥
6. The male Agni flames up, Who conveys the gods like a horse. With offerings they invoke him.	वृषो अग्निः समिध्यते- ऽश्वो न देववाहनः । तं हविष्मंत ईळते ॥
7. You male, we other males will make you flame up, Male Agni, flaring up!	वृषणं त्वा वयं वृषन- वृषणः समिधीमहि । अग्ने दीद्यतं बृहत् ॥
8. We elect Agni as messenger, as omniscient hotā of this rite, rich in spiritual power.	अग्निं दूतं वृणीमहे होतारं विश्ववेदसम् । अस्य यज्ञस्य सुक्रतुम् ॥
9. Agni, flaming up for the rite, pure, is to be invoked, flame-haired. We entreat him. (RV 3.27.1; 6.16.10–12; 3.27.13–15; 1.12.1; 3.27.4; also in TB 3.5.2.1–3)	समिध्यमानो अध्वरेऽ- ग्निः पावक ईड्यः । शोचिष्केशस्तमीमहे ॥
10. Of vast shape, immortal, clothed in butter, with butter poured over him, Agni conveys the ritual offerings.	पृथुपाजा अमर्त्यो घृतनिर्णिक्स्वाहुतः । अग्निर्यज्ञस्य हव्यवाट् ॥
11. They have persuaded that Agni with ready ladle, offering with proper thought, to render assistance. (RV 3.27.5–6 in TB 3.6.1.3)	तं सबाधो यतस्रुच इत्था धिया यजन्तः । आ चक्रुरग्निमूतये ॥
12. Having flamed up, Agni with butter poured over you sacrifice to the gods, you excellent ritualist, for you are the conveyer of the offerings.	समिद्धो अग्न आहुत देवान्यक्षि स्वध्वर । त्वं हि हव्यवाळसि ॥
13. Bring the offering for Agni! Benefit Agni when the rite is under way! Elect him to convey the offerings! (RV 5.28.5–6 in TB 3.5.2.3)	आ जुहोता दुवस्यता- ऽग्निं प्रयत्यध्वरे । वृणीध्वं हव्यवाहनम् ॥

These thirteen sāmidhenī verses are prescribed for the paradigm of the animal sacrifice. In the iṣṭi of the full- and new-moon ceremonies there are eleven. Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 10.11 (see below Volume II, pages 503) prescribes twenty-four sāmidhenī verses for the sacrifice of the Vāyavyaṃ Paśu, which include those of the paradigm of the animal sacrifice, just as the latter includes those of the full- and new-moon ceremones (see Table 4).

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THE SĀMIDHENĪ VERSES

	Full- and new-moon ceremonies	Animal sacrifice and 1975 Vāyavyaṃ Paśu	Vāyavyaṃ Paśu according to Baudhāyana
	RV 3.27.1	RV 3.27.1	RV 3.27.1
	RV 6.16.10–12	RV 6.16.10–12	RV 6.16.10–12
	RV 3.27.13–15	RV 3.27.13–15	RV 3.27.13–15
	RV 1.21.1	RV 1.21.1	RV 1.21.1
	RV 3.27.4	RV 3.27.4–6	RV 3.27.4
			TS 4.1.7.1a–4i
			RV 3.27.5–6
			TS 2.6.11.1a
	RV 5.28.5–6	RV 5.28.5–6	RV 5.28.5–6
			TS 4.1.7.4 k
TOTAL	11	13	24

TABLE 4

This is one of the first major differences between Baudhāyana and the 1975 performance[1]

In the sāmidhenī verses (as in the śastra recitations), the hotā recites the first and last verse thrice, so that the total numbers become in fact fifteen, seventeen, and twenty-eight, respectively. At most verses, the adhvaryu puts a stick of firewood (samidh) on the fire. The hotā observes numerous other rules in his recitation. The verses are recited uninterruptedly, without taking breath at the end of each verse. Breath is taken at the caesura between the second and third quarter (*pāda*) of each verse. At each caesura, the final vowel or nasal is lengthened, except in the first and third ṛc of the initial and final triple repetitions. Of the final syllable of each verse, only the initial consonant(s) are retained; the remainder is replaced by a lengthened *om*. These same rules apply to all śastra recitations (cf. Staal 1961, 50–52, where the sāmidhenī verses for the full- and new-moon ceremonies, erroneously called śastra, are transcribed).

The hotā generally recites Ṛgveda, and the sāmidhenī verses generally consist of Ṛgveda only. This may explain why the Nambudiris, in the Vāyavyaṃ Paśu, do not add sāmidhenī verses from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā unless there are corresponding verses in the Ṛgveda.

[1] As mentioned before (page 274) such differences will not generally be mentioned. The reader can discover them for himself by comparing the description in Volume I with the Śrauta Sūtras published and translated in Volume II, Part IV.

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Many subsequent rites of the animal sacrifice for Vāyu are identical with those for the paradigm animal sacrifice, and correspond to the full- and new-moon ceremonies (cf. pages 46–49). The sāmidhenī verses are followed by two āghāra oblations of clarified butter. Then there are the election (*pravara*) of hotā and of maitrāvaruṇa, and eleven fore-offerings (prayāja), as against five in the full- and new-moon ceremonies. The sacrificial victim is anointed. The five heads are placed between the victim and the sacrificial pole. Three times fire is carried around (*paryagnikriyā*) the victim, the five heads, the sacrificial pole, and the shed of the śamitā, "pacifier" or "slaughterer," situated to the north of the enclosure. The śamitā is a Nayar whose services have been engaged for this purpose only. Then the victim-package is taken from the pole to the shed, and the śamitā symbolically kills it. The adhvaryu takes out its omentum (*vapā*) by opening the package and taking out a part of the rice cake. This part is put on the *vapaśrapaṇī*, a two-pronged fork, roasted, and offered to the gods. This is followed by ājyabhāga offerings, preparation of paśupuroḍāśa rice-cakes, cutting up of the victim, and offering of its various parts.

Of the three offerings of vapā, paśupuroḍāśa, and havis, the first and third are for Vāyu Niyutvat, "Wind drawn by horses," while the second is for Prajāpati. The hotā's "invitations" (yājyānuvākya: page 47), which are preceeded by the recital of the *praiṣa* by the maitrāvaruṇa (who must participate because it is an animal sacrifice), are the following three:

At the offering of the vapā:

The insightful white master of horses
follows those who have fat foods and abundant riches.
They are always ready to serve Vāyu,
these men have done everything in their good care.
Vauṣaṭ!

(RV 7.91.3)

पीवोअन्नाँ रविवृधः सुमेधाः
श्वेतः सिषक्ति नियुतामभिश्रीः ।
ते वायवे समनसा वि तस्थु-
र्विश्वेन्नरः स्वपत्यानि चक्रुः ॥
वौषट्

At the offering of the paśupuroḍāśa:

He by whom the sky was fixed, and the terrible earth,
by whom heaven was established and its vault,
who metes out the space in the atmosphere—
to which god shall we offer with oblations?
Vauṣaṭ!

(TS 4.1.8.4s = RV 10.121.5)

येन द्यौरुग्रा पृथिवी च दृढे
येन सुवः स्तभितं येन नाकः ।
यो अन्तरिक्षे रजसो विमानः
कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥
वौषट्

At the havis offering:

For Vāyu is my foremost thought,
with his great riches, numerous boons, full chariot.
With brilliant pace, drawn by horses, soaring,

प्र वायुमच्छा बृहती मनीषा
बृहद्रयिं विश्ववारं रथप्राम् ।
द्युतद्यामा नियुतः पत्यमानः

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worthy of an early offering, poet, you long for the (human) poet.
Vauṣaṭ!

कविः कविर्मियक्षसि प्रयज्यो ॥
वौषट्

(TB 2.8.1.1c = RV 6.49.4)

After the iḍā and the after-offerings (anuyāja), the svaru chip is placed in the juhū ladle and offered in the fire. The remaining rites correspond to the full- and new-moon ceremonies.

First Day: April 12, 1975

EPISODE 3

Election of the Priests and Making Fire
(*Ṛtvigvaraṇa, Agnimanthana*)

TO THE EAST of the Old Hall, in the area where later the sadas will be constructed, the priests and helpers are now officially selected by the yajamāna. The yajamāna addresses the helpers (*parikarmī*) in Malayalam: *sāgnikam atirātrattinnu parikarmam ceytu tareṇam,* "You must assist (lit. you must do the *parikarma*) in this atirātra which is accompanied by Agni (cayana)." Then the yajamāna addresses the chief priests, first the adhvaryu with: *ādhvaryavam ceytu tareṇam*, "You must do the *ādhvaryavam,*" then similarly brahman (with *brahmatvam*), the hotā (with *hautram*), the udgātā (with *audgātram*), and the sadasya (with *sādasyam*). Yajamāna, adhvaryu, and sadasya recite TS 4.1.5.lb-d ("Waters! You are the givers . . ." see page 282) and sprinkle their faces, reciting "earth, sky, heaven."

The yajamāna, facing north with his wife to his right, has assembled his chief priests around him and worships a small brass lamp. From his left, they sit in a semicircle: adhvaryu, brahman, hotā, udgātā, sadasya, and the chief parikarmī. Cherumukku Vaidikan joins them, sitting between yajamāna and adhvaryu. All recite benedictory stanzas: PLATE 45

ओं मनस्समाधीयताम् ।
समाहितमनसः स्मः ।
प्रसीदन्तु भवन्तः । प्रसन्नाः स्मः ।
शान्तिरस्तु ।
पुष्टिरस्तु ।
ऋद्धिरस्तु ।
अविघ्नमस्तु ।
शिवं कर्म अस्तु ।
ओं प्रजापतिः प्रीयताम् ।
प्रीयतां प्रजापतिः ।
ओं स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु । ओं स्वस्ति ।
ओं ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु । ओं ऋध्यताम् ।

OM! Let (our) mind be collected,
we are of collected mind.
We are serene.
Let there be peace,
let there be wealth,
let there be growth,
let there be no obstacle,
let work be auspicious!
OM! Let Prajāpati be pleased!
May he be pleased, Prajāpati!
OM! Welfare you must say.
OM! Growth you must say!
OM! May it grow!

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PLATE 45A

Election of the Priests (Ṛtvigvaraṇam)

The yajamāna, facing north with his wife to his right, has assembled his chief priests. From his left, they sit in a semicircle: adhvaryu, brahman, hotā, udgātā, sadasya, and the chief helper.

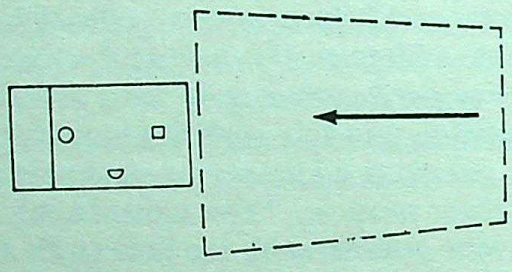

PLATE 45B

The Wife of the Yajamāna (Yajamānapatnī)

The ceremonies can only be performed on behalf of a yajamāna who is married and whose wife is present. On a few occasions, she participates actively in the rites or recitations. A high-caste Nambudiri lady (antarjanam, "inside person") she is hidden from view by a parasol.

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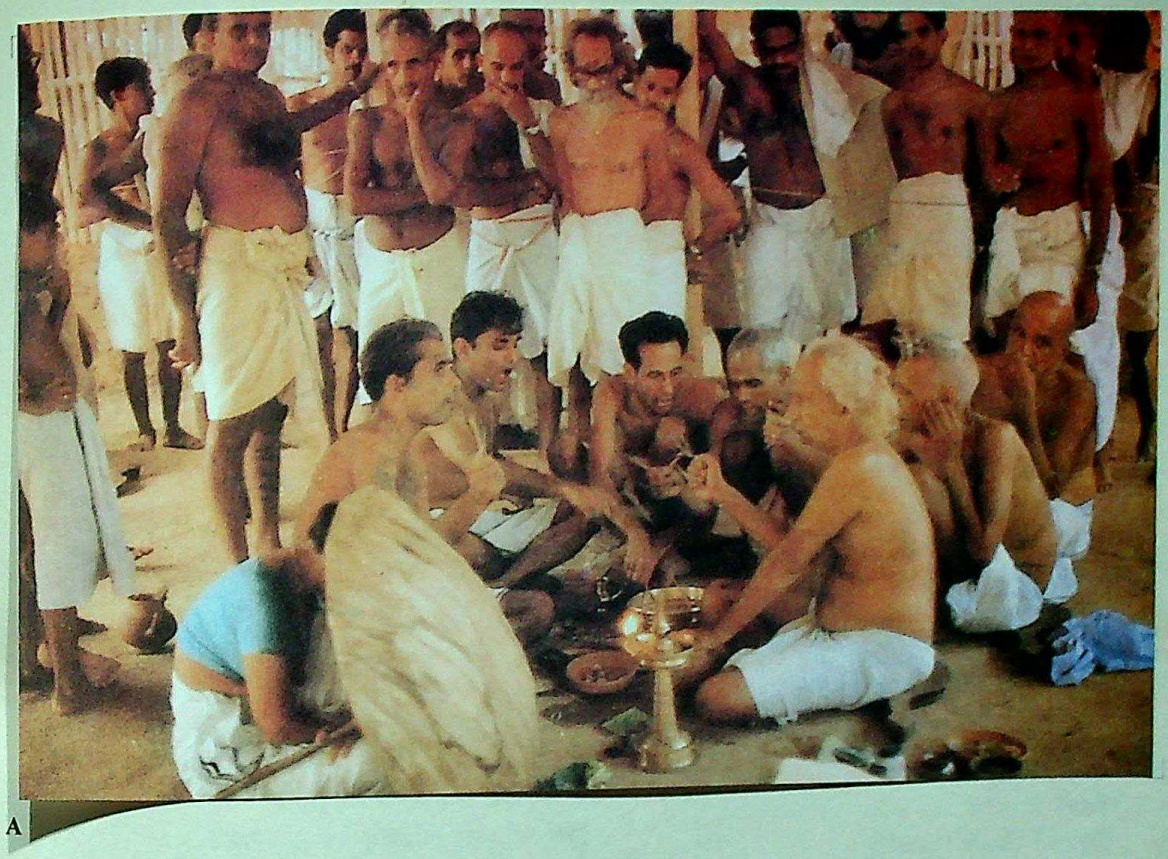

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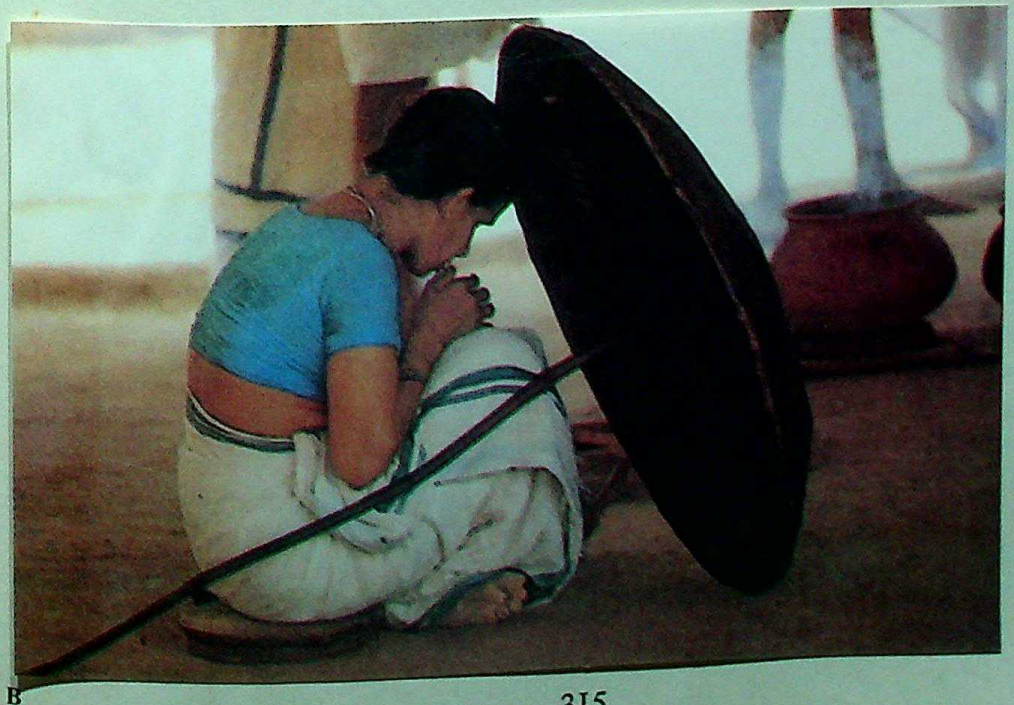

B

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This is followed by a verse addressed to the divine sun-horse Dadhikrāvan:

I have sung of Dadhikrāvan,
swift victorious horse.
May he make our mouths fragrant,
may he lengthen our lives!

दधिक्राव्णो अकारिषं
जिष्णोरश्वस्य वाजिनः ।
सुरभि नो मुखा करत्
प्र ण आयूꣳषि तारिषत् ॥

(RV 4.39.6 = TS 1.5.11.4*l*)

They continue with TS 4.1.5.1b-d and other verses.

The yajamāna makes another resolution (*phala-saṃkalpa*) similar to the one made before (pages 282–283). The recitations are prompted first by Cherumukku Vaidikan, then by C.V. Vasudevan Akkitiripad's son (Cherumukku Vaidikan's grandson).

Now the chief priests are officially selected (in Sanskrit), beginning with the Adhvaryu, whom the yajamāna addresses as follows: "I, Nīlakaṇṭha Śarmā, come to you for the ādhvaryavam; may you perform it for me!" The adhvaryu replies:

A great thing you have said to me,
splendor, glory, praise, enjoyment,
everything you have said to me.
May it help me, may it enter me,
May I enjoy thereby!
OM! Let it be thus!

महन्मेऽवोचो यशो मेऽवोचो भगो मेऽवोचो
भगों मेऽवोचस्तपो मेऽवोचस्तोमं मेऽवोचः
क्लृप्तिं मेऽवोचो भुक्तिं मेऽवोचो विश्वं मेऽवोचः
सर्वं मेऽवोचः सर्वं मे कल्याणमवोच-
स्तन्माऽवतु तन्माऽऽविशतु तेन भुक्षिषीय ।
ओं तथा ॥

(Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa 1.1.1: BSS 2.4:38.15–19)

The yajamāna addresses each of the chief priests separately in this manner, Then he addresses the adhvaryu: "God Āditya is the divine adhvaryu; may he be my adhvaryu!" Similarly, the brahman is addressed as Candramas, the hotā as Agni, the udgātā as Parjanya, and the sadasya as Ākāśa. The wife washes the feet of the chief priests, while the yajamāna pours water into their hands, reciting: "May I be uninterrupted in my offspring, may my juice not be spilt!"

The priests are given to eat. They sprinkle water with their right hand, moving it clockwise around the leaf, saying: "Truly I sprinkle you with order." Then, sipping water: "You are immortality, you are the resting place for immortality." They take five grains of rice, reciting: "For breath—svāhā!" and similarly for the other four breaths: apāna, vyāna, udāna, and samāna. They sip again, reciting: "You are the name of immortality!" They finish their meal and are given four pieces of cloth (vastram) each: two upper clothes and two lower clothes.

After the selection of the priests, all enter the Old Hall. This is called *adhyavasānam*. New fire is made by friction from the fire-making blocks. The process begins at 6:15 p.m., with different priests and helpers taking turns. Fire is finally obtained on April 13 at 2:15 a.m., after eight hours of conti-

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nuous labor. (At the other six occurrences of agnimanthana that occur in the Agnicayana, the process takes only a few minutes.)

First Day: April 13, 1975

EPISODE 4

Consecration of the Yajamāna (Dīkṣā)

BECAUSE OF THE delay caused by agnimanthana, several rites that belong to the first ritual day have to be performed during the night, in fact, during the early morning hours of April 13, the second ritual day. First comes *Kūṣmāṇḍī*, a homa performed for the yajamāna to free him from evil. This consists of numerous recitations from Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (2.3–6), Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (3.7.12), Taittirīya Saṃhitā (2.5.12), etc. This is followed by the consecration-in-water (*apsudīkṣā*). Some hair of the yajamāna is shaved and his wife undergoes a ceremonial shave on the back of her neck. Their nails are pared, they bathe, and change dress. Butter is applied to their bodies and collyrium to their eyes. Butter is applied to the hands first, and the yajamāna and his wife each put it on the front of their bodies. Then the adhvaryu applies it to the back of the yajamāna, and the pratiprasthātā to the back of the wife. Finally the Yajamāna is purified by a stroke of twenty-one blades of darbha grass, and the wife by a stroke of twenty-two blades.

This is followed by a consecration iṣṭi called *agni-dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi*, which corresponds to the *dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi* of the Agniṣṭoma, There are three offerings: a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Viṣṇu (as in the Agniṣṭoma), rice cooked in clarified butter for Aditi, and a cake on twelve potsherds for Agni Vaiśvānara. The prastotā sings the two *tārkṣya* chants (JG 2.3.3.1–2 on JS 1.2.3.3.1). After the iṣṭi rites have been completed, the adhvaryu makes six butter oblations for Agni, related to the consecration. These are called *dīkṣāhuti* and occur also in the Agniṣṭoma where the mantras, however, are different. The adhvaryu pours butter with the sruva from the ājyasthālī into the dhruva, and from the dhruva into the ājyasthālī again. In the Agnicayana, the six butter oblations are accompanied by the following mantras:

To intention, to Agni, to endeavor, svāhā!	आकू॑तिम॒ग्निं प्र॒युज॒ꣳ स्वाहा॑ ।
To mind, to intellect, to Agni, to endeavor, svāhā!	मनो॑ मे॒धाम॒ग्निं प्र॒युज॒ꣳ स्वाहा॑ ।
To thought, to knowledge, to Agni, to endeavor, svāhā!	चि॒त्तं विज्ञा॑तम॒ग्निं प्र॒युज॒ꣳ स्वाहा॑ ।
To arrangement of speech to endeavor, to Agni, svāhā!	वा॒चो विधृ॑तिम॒ग्निं प्र॒युज॒ꣳ स्वाहा॑ ।
To Manu, lord of creatures, svāhā!	प्र॒जाप॑तये॒ मन॑वे॒ स्वाहा॑ ।
To Agni Vaiśvānara, svāhā!	अ॒ग्नये॑ वैश्वान॒राय॒ स्वाहा॑ ।

(TS 4.1.9.1 a)

The adhvaryu fills the dhruvā ladle four times with the sruva and makes a final oblation, saying:

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May all men choose friendship
of the god who is the leader!
May all pray for wealth!
May he choose majesty in order to prosper, svāhā!
(TS 4.1.9.1b)

विश्वे देवस्य नेतुर्मर्तो वृणीत सख्यं विश्वे
राय इषुध्यसि
द्युम्नं वृणीत पुष्यसे स्वाहा ॥

Now the dīkṣā itself can begin. First fire has to originate within the ukhā pot, which, in the Agnicayana, is considered part of the consecration ceremonies. While the yajamāna and his wife sit south and west, respectively, of the offering fire, the adhvaryu sits to its northwest with the ukhā pot in front of him. After putting ghee with the sruva on the firewood that is already in the pot, he holds it with two hands and recites:

c. Do not break! Be not injured!
Be firm! Endure!
Mother! Bold one! Show your valor!
You and Agni will do this.
d. Goddess of the earth be firm for well-being!
You were made by self-power, as an Asuric trick
May this oblation please the gods!
May you emerge uninjured at this sacrifice.
(TS 4.1.9.1c-2d)

मा सुभित्था मा सु रिषो
दृꣳहस्व वीडयस्व सु ।
अम्ब ध्रुष्णु वीरयस्वा-
ग्निश्चेदं करिष्यथः ॥
दृꣳहस्व देवि पृथिवि स्वस्तये
आसुरी माया स्वधया कृताऽसि ।
जुष्टं देवानामिदमस्तु हव्य-
मरिष्टा त्वमुदिहि यज्ञे अस्मिन् ॥

More firewood, cowdung, and coconut fiber are put inside the ukhā pot, after which the adhvaryu places it on the fire reciting:

Mitra! Heat the pot! Don't let it break!
(TS 4.1.9.2e)

मित्रैतामुखां तपेषा मा भेदि ।

He puts in another chip of firewood, stands up, and continues with:

To prevent breaking I place this around you!
(TS 4.1.9.2f)

एतां ते परिं ददाम्यभित्यै ॥

Helpers put in more firewood sticks. The adhvaryu sits down again and recites:

Agni, your powerful body reposes in the plants.
I propitiate it by means of this offering!
(BŚS 10.13:13.13–14)

या ते अग्न ओजस्विनी तनूरोषधीषु
प्रविष्टा तां त एतेनावयजे स्वाहा ।

after which he puts another chip of firewood in the pot. Inside the pot there is an appearance of fire. Putting in more chips of firewood, the adhvaryu engages upon a long recitation. At each svāhā! the yajamāna recites his tyāga formula of renunciation to Agni:

This is for Agni, not for me!

अग्नये इदं न मम

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The adhvaryu's long recitation will result in fire flaming up inside the ukhā pot:

g. The ancient longed-for hotā, feeding on wood, sipping ghee;
the undeceivable son of strength.

h. From a region far away
come to these lower ones!
Aid those who are where I am!

i. You of the red stallions! Come here
from a far distant region!
Agni of the mud, dear to many,
subdue the enemies!

k. Agni, knowing all ways, sit down on the lap of this mother!
Do not burn her with flame or heat!
Shine within her with a pure radiance!

l. Agni! Knower of everything!
Agni! Within the middle of the ukhā, on your own seat,
firing with flame and light,
be auspicious!

m. Agni! Becoming auspicious to me,
being auspicious, sit down!
Having made all the directions auspicious,
sit here in your own womb!

(TS 4.1.9.2g-3m)

a. Agni! Whatever logs we place on you,
may those be ghee for you!
Accept it! Youngest one!

b. What the insect eats,
what the ant crawls over,
may all that be ghee for you!
Accept it! Youngest one!

c. Night after night carrying with care
like fodder to a standing horse, Agni,
don't let us, your neighbors,
rejoicing with an abundance of wealth and food,
be harmed!

d. For a great increase of wealth we invoke Agni,
kindled on the navel of the earth, rejoicing in drink,
the receiver of great praise, worthy of sacrifice,
the victor, Agni, mighty in battle.

e. Agni! The armies that attack, the troops that wound,
those who are thieves, and those who are robbers,
I place them in your mouth.

(TS 4.1.10.1a-2e).

द्रोघः सुपिरासुतिः
प्रत्नो होता वरेण्यः ।
सहसस्पुत्रो अद्भुतः ॥

परस्या अधि संवतो-
ऽवराꣳअभ्या तर ।
यत्राहमस्मि ताꣳअव ॥

परमस्याः परावतो
रोहिदश्व इहाऽऽगहि ।
पुरीष्यः पुरुप्रियो-
ऽग्ने त्वं तरा मृधः ॥

सीद त्वं मातुरस्या उपस्थे
विश्वान्यग्ने वयुनानि विद्वान् ।
मैनामर्चिषा मा तपसाऽभि शूशुचो-
ऽन्तरस्याꣳ शुक्रज्योतिर्वि भाहि ॥

अन्तरग्ने रुचा त्व-
मुखायै सदने स्वे ।
तस्यास्त्वꣳहरसा तपञ्
जातवेदः शिवो भव ॥

शिवो भूत्वा मह्यमग्ने-
ऽथो सीद शिवस्त्वम् ।
शिवाः कृत्वा दिशः सर्वाः
स्वां योनिमिहाऽऽसदः ॥

यदग्ने यानि कानि चा-
ऽऽते दारूणि दध्मसि ।
तदस्तु तुभ्यमिद्धृतं
तज्जुषस्व यविष्ठ्य ॥

यदस्युपजिह्विका
यद्वम्रो अतिसर्पति ।
सर्वं तदस्तु ते घृतं
तज्जुषस्व यविष्ठ्य ॥

रात्रिꣳ रात्रिमप्रयावं भरन्तो-
ऽश्वायेव तिष्ठते घासमस्मै ।
रायस्पोषेण समिषा मदन्तो-
ऽग्ने मा ते प्रतिवेशा रिषाम ॥

नाभा पृथिव्याः समिधानमग्निꣳ
रायस्पोषाय बृहते हवामहे ।
इदंमदं बृहदुक्थं यजत्रं
जेतारमग्निं पृतनासु सासहिम् ॥

याः सेना अभीत्वरी-
राभ्याधिनीरुगणा उत ।
ये स्तेना ये च तस्करा-
स्ताꣳस्ते अग्नेऽपि दधाम्यास्ये ॥

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a. Spread out your countenance like a broad net!
Come like a powerful king with your attendants!
Following your swift net you shoot arrows.
Pierce the Rākṣasas with your burning darts!

कृणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीं
याहि राजेवामवाँ इभेन ।
तृष्वीमनु प्रसितिं द्रूणानो-
स्तांऽसि विध्य रक्षसस्तपिष्ठैः ॥

b. Your whirling flames fly swiftly.
Follow them, glowing with daring!
Agni! Heat and winged flames are released by your tongue.
Spread your missiles of fire everywhere!

तव भ्रमास आशुया पत-
न्त्यनु स्पृश धृषता शोशुचानः ।
तपूंष्यग्ने जुह्वा पतङ्गा-
नसन्दितो वि सृज विष्वगुल्काः ॥

c. Agni! Send out your spies! Undeceived,
be the swiftest protector of these people!
Who from far away and from near-by wishes evil upon us,
may his evil not overcome us!

प्रति स्पशो वि सृज तूर्णितमो
भवा पायुर्विशो अस्या अदब्धः ।
यो नो दूरे अघशंसो यो
अन्त्यग्ने माकिष्टे व्यथिरादधर्षीत् ॥

d. Agni! Rise up! Extend yourself!
With your piercing darts burn our enemies!
Burning one! Consume like dry grass
whoever has worked evil toward us!

उदग्ने तिष्ठ प्रत्याऽऽतनुष्व
न्यमित्राँ ओषताति तिग्महेते ।
यो नो अरातिं समिधान चक्रे
नीचा तं धक्ष्यतसं न शुष्कम् ॥

e. Agni! Rise up! Strike back!
Agni! Reveal your divine power away from us!
Loosen the strung bows of those incited by demons!
Crush our enemies, be they relatives or not!
(TS 1.2.14.1a-2e)

ऊर्ध्वो भव प्रति विध्याध्यस्म-
दाविष्कृणुष्व दैव्यान्यग्ने ।
अव स्थिरा तनुहि यातुजूनां
जामिमजामिं प्र मृणीहि शत्रून् ॥

f. Blessed one! Chew up completely!
The burglars with your tusks,
the robbers with your teeth,
the thieves with your jaws!

दꣳष्ट्राभ्यां मलिम्लू-
ꣳस्तम्भ्यैस्तस्करा३उत ।
हनूभ्याꣳ स्तेनान् भगव-
स्ताꣳस्त्वं खाद सुखादितान् ॥

g. I put into your jaws
the burglars among men,
the thieves and robbers in the forest, and
those who do injury in the thickets

ये जनेषु मलिम्लवः
स्तेनासस्तस्करा वने ।
ये कक्षेष्वघायव-
स्ताꣳस्ते दधामि जम्भयोः ॥

h. Him who is hostile towards us,
the person who hates us,
him who reviles us, and
him who wishes to harm us,
grind to powder!
(TS 4.1.10.2 f-3 h)

यो अस्मभ्यमरातीया-
द्यश्च नो द्वेषते जनः ।
निन्दाद्यो अस्मान् दिप्साच्च
सर्वं तं भस्मसा कुरु ॥

The yajamāna joins the adhvaryu:

i. Sharpened is my sacred brahman power,
sharpened my valor, my strength.
Sharpened is his victorious lordly power,
whose domestic priest I am.

सꣳशितं मे ब्रह्म
सꣳशितं वीर्यं बलम् ।
सꣳशितं क्षत्रं जिष्णु
यस्याहमस्मि पुरोहितः ॥

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k. I raise up their arms, their splendor, their strength.
With sacred power I destroy the enemies.
I favor my own.
(TS 4.1.10.3i-k)

उदेषां बाहू अतिर-
मुदर्चं उदु वलम् ।
क्षिणोमि ब्रह्मणाऽमित्रा-
नुन्नयामि स्वाऽहम् ॥

By this time the ukhā fire burns inside the ukhā pot. The dīkṣā continues as in the Agniṣṭoma. The kṛṣṇājina skin is spread on the ground, south of the sacrificial fire, its head pointing east, and in front of the yajamāna. The yajamāna touches the skin, with even attention to the black and the white hair, spreading and flattening it to the left and the right, while reciting:

d. You are the Ornaments of the ṛc and the sāman.
I embrace you two. Protect me until the
completion of the sacrifice!
e. God Varuṇa! Sharpen the vision, the ability, and
the intelligence
of him who is offering to you!
Let us mount that safe ship
and thereby overcome all difficulties.
(TS 1.2.2.1d-2e)

ऋक्सामयोः शिल्पे स्थ-
स्ते वामा रभे ते मा पात-
माऽस्य यज्ञस्योदृचः ॥
इमां धियꣳ शिक्षमाणस्य देव
क्रतुं दक्षं वरुण सꣳशिशाधि ।
ययाऽति विश्वा दुरिता तरेम
सुतमौणमधि नावꣳ रुहेम ॥

The yajamāna sits down on the antelope skin, facing east. Nellikat Akkitiripad helps the adhvaryu to put a rope (Sanskrit: *mekhalā*, Malayalam: *ama*) around him while he recites:

You are the strength of the Aṅgirases, soft as wool.
Give me strength! Protect me! Do not harm me!
(TS 1.2.2.2f)

ऊर्गस्याङ्गिरस्यूर्णम्रदा
ऊर्जं मे यच्छ पाहि मा
मा मां हिꣳसीः ॥

In the meantime the wife is sitting at the domestic fire, where the pratiprasthātā puts a mekhalā rope in her hand. She puts it around herself and recites, prompted by the pratiprasthātā:

Hoping for favor, children, prosperity,
devoted to Agni,
I gird myself for good action.
(TS 1.1.10.1e)

आशासाना सौमनसं
प्रजाꣳ सौभाग्यं तनूम् ।
अग्नेरनुव्रता भूत्वा
सं नह्ये सुकृताय कम् ॥

The pratiprasthātā addresses her:

I gird you with milk.
I gird you with ghee.
I gird you with water, with plants.
I gird you with children.
Today you are consecrated.
You shall win strength for us!
(TS 3.5.6.1a)

सं त्वा नह्यामि पयसा घृतेन
सं त्वा नह्याम्युप ओषधीभिः ।
सं त्वा नह्यामि प्रजयाऽहमत्य
सा दीक्षिता सनवो वाजमस्मे ॥

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The adhvaryu ties a long piece of cloth around the yajamāna's head, and recites:

g. You are the refuge of Viṣṇu, the refuge of the yajamāna.
Give me refuge!

विष्णोः शर्मासि शर्म यजमानस्य शर्म मे यच्छ ॥

and together with the yajamāna:

h. Protect me from the radiance of the Nakṣatras! (TS 1.2.2.2 g-h)

नक्षत्राणां माऽतीकाशात् पाहि ॥

Helpers tie the cloth into a turban (uṣṇīṣa) that looks as if it has horns on four corners. At the same time the pratiprasthātā adjusts the headdress of the wife. While the tying of the turban is being completed, the adhvaryu recites:

With beauty I clothe your head, for beauty, for fame, for brahma-splendor! (BŚS 6.5:160.22–161.1)

श्रिया ते शिरो वेष्टयामि ।
श्रियै यशसे ब्रह्मवर्चसाय ॥

Next the adhvaryu hands the yajamāna a horn of a black antelope, saying:

You are the womb of Indra. (TS 1.2.2.2i)

इन्द्रस्य योनिरसि

The yajamāna receives it with the ends of his cloth, saying:

Do not harm me! (TS 1.2.2.2i)

मा मा हिꣳसीः ।

The yajamāna uses this antelope horn to scratch himself when he needs to. The pratiprasthātā hands the wife a pin made of udumbara wood tied to an upper cloth (*uttarīya*) for the same purpose. The yajamāna digs up a clod of earth from the *vedi* with his antelope horn, folded in the ends of his garment, reciting:

To you, for ploughing, for good crops! (TS 1.2.2.3k)

कृष्यै त्वा सुसस्यायै ।

and scratches his right sideburn with the horn:

For you, for the plants with good berries! (TS 1.2.2.3*l*)

सुपिप्पलाभ्यस्त्वौषधीभ्यः ।

The adhvaryu gives the yajamāna a staff of udumbara wood, reciting:

You are a divine tree firmly rooted and easy to approach! (TS 1.2.2.3m)

सुप्रस्था देवो वनस्पतिरूर्ध्वः ।

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to which the yajamāna replies, practically at the same time:

Protect me until completion of the ritual! मा पाह्योदर्चः ।

While the yajamāna remains seated on his antelope skin, the adhvaryu sits down north of the vedi and both recite:

Svāhā! With mind the ritual!
Svāhā! From heaven and earth!
Svāhā! From the broad sky!
Svāhā! From wind I grasp the ritual!

स्वाहा यज्ञं मनसा
स्वाहा द्यावापृथिवीभ्याꣳ
स्वाहोरोरन्तरिक्षात्
स्वाहा यज्ञं वातादा रभे ।

In the meantime a stool for the ukhā pot is placed on the vedi, between the yajamāna and his adhvaryu. Nellikat Akkitiri and Erkkara assist, twisting fibres into a rope. The rope is then tied to the stool. The adhvaryu gets ready to pick up the ukhā pot with leaves used as potholders (Malayalam: *terika*). He recites:

Let the earth ukha carry Agni of the mud
in her own womb like a mother her son!
Let Prajāpati, All-maker (Viśvakarman)
together with the All-gods and the seasons
harness it!
(TS 4.2.5.2e, with *bibhartu* for *abhār* and *yunaktu* for *vi muñcatu*; cf. page 343)

मातेव पुत्रं पृथिवी पुरीष्य-
मग्निꣳ स्वे योनौ बिभर्तुरुखा ।
तां विश्वैर्देवैर्ऋतुभिः संविदानः
प्रजापतिर्विश्वकर्मा युनक्तु ॥

The adhvaryu places the ukhā pot on the stool and recites:

1. Shining like gold, he became resplendent all around,
shining to glorify his immortal life.
When fertile heaven gave birth to him,
Agni became immortal by his powers.
(TS 4.1.10.4*l*)

दृशानो रुक्म उर्व्या व्यद्यौ-
दुर्मर्षमायुः श्रिये रुचानः ।
अग्निरमृतो अभवद्वयोभि-
र्यदेनं द्यौरजनयत् सुरेताः ॥

The yajamāna has been holding a small golden breastplate (*rukma*), about the size of a large coin. This is put around his neck whereupon he recites:

m. The sage-poet displays all forms,
he has produced prosperity for men and beasts.
The desirable Savitṛ has illuminated heaven,
he shines after the departure of the dawn.
n. Night and dawn, of one mind
but of different forms, suckle one child.
The radiant one shines between sky and earth.
The gods, who grant wealth, support Agni.
(TS 4.1.10.4m-n)

विश्वा रूपाणि प्रति मुञ्चते कविः
प्रासावीद्भद्रं द्विपदे चतुष्पदे ।
वि नाकमख्यत् सविता वरेण्यो-
ऽनु प्रयाणमुषसो विराजति ॥
नक्तोषासा समनसा विरूपे
धापयेते शिशुमेकꣳसमीची ।
द्यावा क्षामा रुक्मो अन्तर्वि भाति
देवा अग्निं धारयन द्रविणोदाः ॥

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PLATE 46 The yajamāna is tied to the rope, which is linked to the ukhā stool, and a band of antelope skin is put around him while he recites:

o. You are a bird with beautiful feathers.
Your head is the *trivṛt*, your eye the *gāyatra*,
your breath the *stoma*, your body the *vāmadevya* (chant),
your wings the *bṛhat* and the *rathantara*, your tail the
yajñāyajñīya, your limbs the meters, your hoofs
the altars,
your name the yajus formulae.
p. You are a bird with beautiful feathers.
Go to the sky! Fly to heaven!
(TS 4.1.10.5o-p)

सुपर्णोऽसि गरुत्मान्
त्रिवृत् ते शिरो
गायत्रं चक्षुः स्तोम आत्मा
साम ते तनूर्वामदेव्यं
बृहद्रथन्तरे पक्षौ
यज्ञायज्ञियं पुच्छं छन्दाꣳस्यङ्गानि
धिष्ण्याः शफा यजूꣳषि नाम ॥
सुपर्णोऽसि गरुत्मान्
दिवं गच्छ सुवः पत ॥

With the last verse the yajamāna gets up. Then, still linked to the ukhā pot, he takes three Viṣṇu steps toward the east, reciting:

a. You are the step of Viṣṇu.
Overcoming hostility,
mount the gāyatrī meter!
Step along the earth!
Excluded is he whom we hate!
[at the first step]
You are the step of Viṣṇu.
Overcoming curses,
mount the triṣṭubh meter.
Step along the atmosphere!
Excluded is he whom we hate!
[at the second step]
You are the step of Viṣṇu.
Overcoming the enemy,
mount the jagatī meter!
Step along the sky!
Excluded is he whom we hate!
[at the third step]
You are the step of Viṣṇu.
Overcoming the foe,
mount the anuṣṭubh meter!
Step along the directions!
Excluded is he whom we hate!
[standing still]

विष्णोः क्रमोऽस्यभिमातिहा
गायत्रं छन्द आरोह
पृथिवीमनु वि क्रमस्व
निर्भक्तः स यं द्विष्मः ।
विष्णोः क्रमोऽस्यभिशस्तिहा
त्रैष्टुभं छन्द आ रोहा-
न्तरिक्षमनु वि क्रमस्व
निर्भक्तः स यं द्विष्मः ।
विष्णोः क्रमोऽस्यरातीयतो हन्ता
जागतं छन्द आ रोह
दिवमनु वि क्रमस्व
निर्भक्तः स यं द्विष्मः ।
विष्णोः क्रमोऽसि शत्रूयतो हन्ता
ऽऽनुष्टुभं छन्द आरोह
दिशोऽनु वि क्रमस्व
निर्भक्तः स यं द्विष्मः ।

The yajamāna continues:

b. Agni cried like heaven thundering,
licking the earth, consuming the plants.
As soon as he was born, he flamed up and shone.
He blazes with his light on heaven and on earth.

अक्रन्ददग्निः स्तनयन्निव द्यौः
क्षामा रेरिहद्वीरुधः समञ्जन् ।
सद्यो जज्ञानो वि हीमिद्धो
अख्यदा रोदसी भानुना भात्यन्तः ॥

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He turns right, saying:

अग्नेऽभ्यावर्तिन्नभि न आ वर्तस्वाऽऽयुषा
वर्चसा सन्या मेधया प्रजया धनेन ॥
अग्ने अङ्गिरः शतं ते सन्त्वा-
वृतः सहस्रं त उपावृतः ।
तासां पोषस्य पोषेण
पुनर्नो नष्टमा कृधि
पुनर्नो रयिमा कृधि ॥
पुनरूर्जा नि वर्तस्व
पुनरग्न इषाऽऽयुषा ।
पुनर्नः पाहि विश्वतः ॥
सह रय्या नि वर्तस्वा-
ग्ने पिन्वस्व धारया ।
विश्वप्स्निया विश्वतस्परि ॥

c. Agni, returner, return to us with life, with splendor, with gain, with wishes, with children, with wealth!
d. Agni, Aṅgiras, let your returns number a hundred, your movements a thousand!
With their prosperity prospering, bring back to us what is lost!
Bring back to us wealth!
e. Return again with strength, Agni, return with food, with life.
Agni, protect us again on all sides!
f. Agni, return with wealth, overflow with the stream,
expanding on all sides.

(TS 4.2.1.1a-3f)

He turns left and removes the band of antelope skin. After the rope that ties him to the ukhā is also removed, he recites:

उदुत्तमं वरुण पाशमस्म-
दवाधमं वि मध्यमꣳ श्रथाय ।
अथा वयमादित्य व्रते तवा-
नागसो अदितये स्याम ॥

g. Varuṇa, loosen from us the highest, the lowest, and the midmost knot!
Āditya, in your rule may we be without guilt before Aditi!

He holds it in his hand and goes to his customary place;

आ त्वाऽहार्षमन्तरमू-
र्ध्वस्तिष्ठाविचाचलिः ।
विशस्त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्त्व-
स्मिन् राष्ट्रमधिश्रय ॥
अग्ने बृहन्नुषसामूर्ध्वो अस्थान्
निर्जगन्वान् तमसो ज्योतिषाऽऽगात् ।
अभिर्भानुना रुशता स्वङ्ग आ
जातो विश्वा सद्मान्यप्राः ॥

h. I have taken you, you are now within. Be firm and unmoving!
Let everyone desire you! In him establish the kingdom!
i. He has risen up erect and great in front of the dawns.
Out of darkness he has come with light.
Agni with brilliant splendor and beautiful limbs, from birth has filled every seat.

He sits down. While the ukhā pot is put back in its place, he recites TS 4.2.1.5k-m = 4.1.9.3.k-m (above page 319), followed by:

हꣳसः शुचिषद्वसुरन्तरिक्षस-
द्धोता वेदिषदतिथिर्दुरोणसत् ।
नृषद्वरसदृतसद्व्योमस-
दब्जा गोजा ऋतजा अद्रिजा
ऋतं बृहत् ॥

n. The goose seated in its nest,
the shining one seated in the sky,
the hotā seated at the vedi,
the guest seated in the house,
seated among men, seated with the highest,
seated in Order, seated in heaven and earth,
born of the waters, born of cows, born of Order,
born of the mountain, the great Order.

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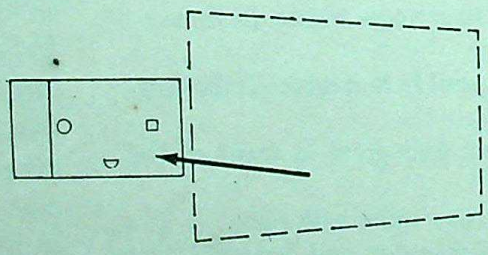
PLATE 46

The Yajamāna at his Consecration

"You are a bird with beautiful feathers!
Go to the sky!
Fly to heaven!"

(TS 4.1.10.5p)

The yajamāna reciting at his consecration (dīkṣā), facing east with his stick, turban, the kṛṣṇājina skin folded over his right arm, the rukma breastplate on a string round his neck, and tied with a string to the stool on which the ukhā pot has been installed. The new fire burns in the ukhā pot. On the left is a large brass lamp, not a Vedic object, but characteristic of Kerala culture and prominent, for example, in temples and at Kathakaḷi dance performances.



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The yajamāna closes his fists and controls, i.e., retains his speech. Inside the Old Hall, the adhvaryu proclaims three times:

This brāhmaṇa has been consecrated, Nīlakaṇṭha Śarmā, of the Kaśyapa gotra, son of Vallabha Śarmā, grandson of Vasudeva Śarmā, great-grandson of Vallabha Śarmā. We announce him to Indra, Indra-Agni, the Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvedevas, and to the brāhmaṇas who drink Soma.

(BŚS 6.5:161.14–162.1)

अयं ब्राह्मणो नीलकण्ठशर्मा
काश्यपगोत्रो
वल्लभशर्मणः पुत्रो
वसुदेवशर्मणः पौत्रो
वल्लभशर्मणो नप्ता ।
तमिन्द्रायेन्द्राग्निभ्यां वसुभ्यो
रुद्रेभ्यो आदित्येभ्यो विश्वेभ्यो
ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च सोमपेभ्यः प्रब्रूमः ॥

Then the adhvaryu leaves through the eastern door and repeats the same proclamation thrice in a loud voice.

Returning to the Old Hall, the adhvaryu instructs the yajamāna with the following praiṣa (command):

You are consecrated; utter words that are proper for the consecrated to utter; speak only truth and not lies; do not smile; do not scratch yourself; do not uncover yourself; if you have to smile, you should smile with your mouth covered; if you have to scratch yourself, you should scratch yourself with the horn of a black antelope; if you have to release your speech, you should immediately recite the verse relating to the deity Viṣṇu. Let not the sun rise or set when you are away from the abode of the consecrated. With regard to the names of divinities, call them as they are. But regarding the names of not-deities, after pronouncing the names as they are, add (the word) *vicakṣaṇa* ("discerning"). Utter sentences with (the words) *canasita* (at the beginning) and vicakṣaṇa (at the end). Do not separate yourself from the skin of the black antelope and the staff.

(BŚS 6.6:162.4–11)

दीक्षितोऽसि दीक्षितवादं वद
सत्यमेव वद माऽनृतम्
मा स्मयिष्ठा मा कण्डूयथा माऽपावृथा
यदि स्मयासा अपिगृह्य स्मयासै
यदि कण्डूयासै कृष्णविषाणया कण्डूयासै
यदि वाचं विसृजे-
वैष्णवीमृचमनुद्रवतान्-
मा त्वान्यत्र दीक्षितविमितात्
सूर्योऽभ्युदियान्माभिनिम्रुक्त
यानि देवतानामानि
यथाख्यातं तान्याचक्ष्व
अथ यान्यदेवतानामानि
यथाख्यातं तान्याचक्षाण
उपरिष्टाद्विचक्षणं धेहि
चनसितवतीं विचक्षणवतीं वाचं वद
कृष्णाजिनान्माव्यवच्छेत्था दण्डाच्च ॥

After the praiṣa is given to the yajamāna in Sanskrit, Erkkara as a senior Nambudiri explains it to him in Malayalam in what is called praiṣārtham, "the meaning of the command." In this part of the ceremony attention is given to meaning, and so it is in Malayalam. In the following translation by E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma, the Sanskrit quotes are printed in CAPITAL LETTERS. The Malayalam text is given in the Appendix (pages 698–702).

Erkkara instructs the yajamāna:

In obedience to the injunction THEN (HE) DIRECTS HIM, the adhva-

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ryu has just now directed you by the command (praiṣa) beginning with YOU ARE CONSECRATED; for you have now caused an unseen potency, called consecration, in yourself, which emerges from the iṣṭi of consecration (dīkṣaṇīyā) and the performance of those acts that signify consecration.

By the portion YOU ARE CONSECRATED, the state of consecration that is the cause for attaining the unseen potency is referred to. You are now consecrated. By the rites beginning with ablution and ending with the announcement of consecration, you are now consecrated.

For there is the direction that THE AGENT AT THE OUTSET IS TO BE PURIFIED BY ABLUTION, TOUCHING THE BODY WITH A BUNCH OF DARBHA GRASS, SIPPING WATER, AND SPRINKLING OF WATER UTTERING MANTRAS.

Ablution, touching the body with a bunch of darbha grass, sipping and sprinkling water together with the utterance of mantras, at the beginning of any rite, are generally for the purification of the agent. There are many other acts (of purification), such as invocation of the deity called Faith, announcing one's intention, and aspiring for the result, etc. Here now what is begun is the Atirātra combined with Agni. The word agni denotes fire. By extension it also refers to the act of ritual and the particular place.

It is recorded: THE WORD AGNI DENOTES, BY CONVENTION, FIRE; BY EXTENSION IT IS USED, AS AGREED BY THE LEARNED, TO INDICATE THE RITUAL CEREMONY AS WELL AS THE PARTICULAR LOCATION WHERE IT TAKES PLACE. THIS EXTENSION IS INDICATED BY THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FIRE WITH THAT PARTICULAR LOCATION. THEREFORE THAT PARTICULAR PLACE, IN THE FORM OF AN EAGLE OR IN ANOTHER FORM, IS ACCEPTED AS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WORD AGNI.

This piling up (of bricks), which is according to the injunction ONE SHOULD ARRANGE THE BRICKS IN THE FORM OF AN EAGLE, is a purification ceremony of Agni. According to the injunction WITH BRICKS THE FIRE IS PILED UP, this Agni is to be performed by piling up the bricks. As there is the injunction THEREFORE, IT IS TO BE PILED UP IN FIVE LAYERS, Agni is to be piled up in five layers. This piling up as described above is a purificatory ceremony of Agni, just like the rite of Ādhāna.

In answer to the question in which manner the purified fire is to be used, it is said that the fire that is piled up now is to be combined with Atirātra; for, (the rituals) Agniṣṭoma, etc., are laid down with the injunction THEN THIS FIRE IS COMBINED WITH AGNIṢṬOMA. Therefore it becomes an Atirātra combined with Agnicayana.

Jyotiṣṭoma, etc. That Jyotiṣṭoma has seven types of conclusion is

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well known. Gautama has enumerated them saying that THERE ARE SEVEN TYPES OF CONCLUSION OF THE SOMA (YĀGA), NAMELY AGNIṢṬOMA, ATYAGNIṢṬOMA, UKTHYA, ṢOḌAŚĪ, VĀJAPEYA, ATIRĀTRA AND APTORYĀMA. In these, Atyagniṣṭoma may be included in Agniṣṭoma; Vājapeya in Ṣoḍaśī, and Aptoryāma in Atirātra. Therefore, it may also be said there are only four types of conclusion.

Among these seven, the first type of conclusion is Agniṣṭoma.

The regulations for the Agnicit do not take effect immediately after the consecration is completed; they take effect only towards the end of the ritual. This is said by the revered Jaimini. His words are-THEY MAY BE ONLY TOWARDS THE END OF THE RITUAL, BECAUSE THERE IS NO MENTION OF THEIR PERFORMANCE (EARLIER).

First, after filling up the ukhā vessel to the accompaniment of mantras, a goat without horns is to be sacrificed for the Wind deity. This is according to the injunction A HORNLESS (GOAT) IS TO BE SACRIFICED FOR THE WIND DEITY CALLED NIYUTVAT. According to the injunctions, BECAUSE THE GOAT IS OFFERED TO THE WIND DEITY (THE YAJAMĀNA) DOES NOT DEVIATE FROM THE WIND, AND BECAUSE THE CAKE IS OFFERED TO THE DEITY PRAJĀPATI (THE YAJAMĀNA) DOES NOT DEVIATE FROM PRAJĀPATI, the goat is to be given to the Wind deity and the cake related to the goat to Prajāpati. The iṣṭi called dīkṣaṇīyā (of consecration) is to be performed with three oblations, because there is the statement THESE THREE ARE THE OBLATIONS.

Before piling up agni, (the yajamāna) has to carry the ukhya fire. The fire is to be put in a pot, the pot placed in a sling with six or twelve strings, and that sling tied to his (i.e. the yajamāna's) neck. In this way the ukhya fire is to be carried by him for a whole year. For there is the injunction THEREFORE IT IS TO BE CARRIED FOR A WHOLE YEAR. There are also injunctions like THEREFORE IT IS TO BE CARRIED FOR THREE DAYS, THEREFORE IT IS TO BE CARRIED FOR SIX DAYS, THEREFORE IT IS TO BE CARRIED FOR TWELVE DAYS, restricting the period to three, six or twelve days.

According to the injunction THEN THIS AGNI IS TO BE PERFORMED WITH THREE UPASATS, SIX UPASATS, OR TWELVE UPASATS it is to be performed on the days of upasats. The present ritual, although there is option in the number of days regarding the consecration and upasats, was begun with a consecration for three days and having six upasats. As this happens to be the second ritual (after Agniṣṭoma), at the midday pressing, after the marutvatīya recitation, the bṛhat chant is permitted. Because there is the recitation of the sun-śastra after the night, this ritual concludes in Atirātra.

It is very well known that among the many vows to be observed, the iṣṭi in which Agni and Viṣṇu are the deities is directly responsible

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for consecration. This is according to the rule WHEN THE CAKE FOR AGNI AND VIṢṆU IS COOKED, THEN ONLY IS HE SAID TO BE CONSECRATED. Consecration means control of the senses. But it is not the direct control (of the senses) that is the object of this injunction. Consecration is a transcendental state of elevation that emerges from the varied acts that are enjoined and that direct the deities like Agni, etc. presiding over organs like speech, etc. towards the habit of performing the acts laid down by the śāstra, after diverting them from the acts of their habitual disposition. Up to this time the deities presiding over the senses have been polluted by their contact with (external) objects, and were not therefore well disposed towards the acts laid down by the śāstra. But now, through the rites performed, they are divested of their impurity and are ready to adopt the acts laid down by the injunctions and the means that lead to the performance of such acts. This is what is expressed by the portion YOU ARE NOW CONSECRATED. As indicated by the mantra BY CONSECRATION SOMA (IS ATTAINED), THE CONSECRATION BELONGS TO SOMA, it is to be understood that consecration is a limb of the Soma ritual. But by the words YOU ARE CONSECRATED it is said here that you are now consecrated for the Soma ritual that has its conclusion in Atirātra.

After referring to the state of consecration in the above manner, by the remaining part of the command, the properties of the consecration are elaborated.

SPEAK THE SPEECH OF THE CONSECRATED. Speech of the consecrated means words that are purified. THE UNDEVIATING UTTERANCE IS INDEED THE SPEECH OF THE CONSECRATED AND THAT IS NOTHING BUT TRUTH. Undeviating means that which does not take another form, which means, in turn, that which does not change according to place and time. So the consecrated has to converse by using such purified words. By the sentence SPEAK TRUTH ALONE it is said that whenever purified words are used they should be true to their meaning. WHAT IS SEEN, WHAT IS HEARD, WHAT IS ACCEPTED, WHAT IS EXPERIENCED AND WHAT CONFORMS TO THE OBJECT EXPERIENCE—SPEAKING THAT ALONE IS SAID TO BE TRUTH, PROVIDED IT IS ALSO DEVOID OF INJURY TO OTHERS.

Truth is what is defined above; the reverse of truth is lie. Lies

[1] Deities preside over the two groups of organs. The organs of action (*karmendriya*): Agni presides over *vāc* "speech;" Indra over *pāṇi* "hands;" Upendra over *pāda* "feet;" Yama over *pāyu* "anus;" and Prajāpati over *upastha* "generative organs." The organs of sensation (*jñānendriya*): Sūrya presides over *cakṣuḥ* "sight;" Dik(s) over *śrotra* "hearing;" Aśvins over *ghrāṇa* "smell;" Varuṇa over *rasana* "taste;" and Vāyu over *sparśa* "touch." (E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma)

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should not be uttered. If a lie is uttered there is an expiation. For there is an injunction to the effect that IF THE CONSECRATED HAPPENS TO UTTER A LIE, HE SHOULD IMMEDIATELY RECITE THE FOUR SACRED VERSES RELATED TO THE DEITY VARUṆA.

These four are those beginning with IMAṂ ME VARUṆA, TATTVĀ YĀMI BRAHMAṆĀ, TVAṂ NO AGNE, and SA TVAṂ NO AGNE. In this way, after prohibiting the utterance of lies, in the same context of this prohibition, other prohibitions are also mentioned by the remaining portion (of the command) YOU SHOULD NOT LAUGH, YOU SHOULD NOT SCRATCH, YOU SHOULD NOT UNCOVER YOURSELF. The word *smayana* means to laugh. You should not do that because there is an injunction THE CONSECRATED SHOULD NOT LAUGH. *Kaṇḍūyana* means to scratch. That should not be done, for there is the injunction THE CONSECRATED SHOULD NOT SCRATCH. *Apāvaraṇa* means avoiding the cover. That is with reference to the head. Because there is the injunction that HE SHOULD NOT REMOVE THE COVER TILL THE PURCHASE OF SOMA, you should not remove your headgear before the purchase of Soma. After this, noting that control of laughter, scratching, etc., are not possible for a person who has not total control of his senses, it is said by the remaining portion (of the command), that if they occur they should be only in a special manner. IF YOU LAUGH YOU SHOULD LAUGH UNDER COVER. If the consecrated has to laugh because he cannot control his laughter, he should cover his mouth with his hands, lest others should observe his teeth. IF YOU SCRATCH, YOU SHOULD DO IT WITH THE HORN OF A BLACK ANTELOPE. In the same way, if one has to do scratching because of lack of control, it should be done with the horn of a deer. IF HE (THE CONSECRATED) HAS TO RELEASE HIS SPEECH HE SHOULD IMMEDIATELY RECITE THE VERSE RELATING TO THE DEITY VIṢṆU. In the context of injunctions relating to the control of speech like CONSECRATED, CONTROL YOUR SPEECH, YAJAMĀNA, CONTROL YOUR SPEECH, if you have to release your speech, you should recite the verse which begins with VIṢṆO TVAṂ NO ANTAMAḤ.

LET NOT THE SUN RISE OR SET WHEN YOU ARE AWAY FROM THE ABODE OF THE CONSECRATED. This means: When you are away from the abode that is intended for the consecrated, let not the sun rise or go down. Here the abode of the consecrated means your own seat. Whereas no injunction can be effected with regard to the sun, this sentence is to be construed as referring to the person (consecrated). Therefore the intended meaning is that you should not be away from your seat at the time of sunrise and sunset.

WITH REGARD TO THE NAMES OF DEITIES, CALL THEM AS THEY ARE. Because there is a special rule with regard to uttering names other than those of deities, it is said at the outset that in uttering the

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names of deities, there is no special rule. Whatever the names of deities like Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, etc. they are to be pronounced only as they are. BUT REGARDING THE NAMES OF NONDEITIES, AFTER PRONOUNCING THEIR NAMES AS THEY ARE, ADD (THE WORD) VICAKṢAṆA ("discerning"). Whatever names of the nondeities there are, such as Bhavadāsa, Bhavatrāta etc., the person who utters them should (in addition) utter the word "discerning" after them. So it will be Bhavadāsavicakṣaṇa, Bhavatṛātavicakṣaṇa, etc. UTTER THE SENTENCES WITH (THE WORDS) CANASITA AND VICAKṢAṆA. When the occasion comes to speak sentences in ordinary parlance, first utter the word canasita and say whatever is desired, then utter the word vicakṣaṇa at the end. DO NOT SEPARATE YOURSELF FROM THE SKIN OF THE BLACK ANTELOPE. Do not be separated trom the full-body deer skin. The intended meaning is: the consecrated should not take away the skin of the black antelope from his body till the end of the consecrational bath. ALSO FROM THE STAFF. Be not separated from the staff either. Because there is the (command) GIVE AWAY THE STAFF TO MAITRĀVARUṆA, you should not be without the staff till you give it away to maitrāvaruṇa. By the word *also*, all those controls and constraints such as HE WHO IS CONSECRATED FOR THE SOMAYĀGA SHOULD NOT GIVE, MAKE OBLATIONS, COOK, are included. Moreover, HE SHOULD HAVE DELEGATED ALL THOSE TASKS BEFOREHAND. All the controls and constraints that are enumerated should be observed. This means that there should be a resolution for the controls and vows; only from resolution can they emerge.

Because there is the rule VERILY, DESIRE HAS ITS ROOT IN RESOLUTION, RITUALS EMERGE FROM RESOLUTION. IN THE SAME WAY ALL OTHER CONTROLS. ETC., EMERGE FROM RESOLUTION. When you observe the aforesaid controls and vows, you must be invariably attentive to them. This is what the adhvaryu expressed by the command beginning with YOU ARE CONSECRATED.

After the *praiṣārtha* is over, fuel has to be added to the sacred fires. The adhvaryu, standing north of the offering fire, recites the *sampraiṣa:*

Kindle the fires! Consecrated one control your speech! Wife control your speech!

अग्नीञ्ज्योतिष्मतः कुरुत
दीक्षित वाचं यच्छ पत्नि वाचं यच्छ ॥

(BŚS 6.6:162.12–14)

After a few more rites, the ceremonies of the first ritual day are completed at about 9 a.m. on April 13, 1975.

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Part II The 1975 Performance

Second Day: April 13, 1975

EPISODE 5

Adoration of the Ukhā Fire with the *Vātsapra* Hymn and Rites for Gain (*Vātsapra-upasthāna, Sani*)

The first important rite of the second ritual day is the adoration of the ukhā pot, with the fire inside, by the yajamāna. This adoration consists in the vātsapra hymn, a Taittirīya arrangement, with few changes, of the first of the three vātsapra hymns of the Ṛgveda (10.45). These are called, after their composer, Vātsapri or Vātsaprī.

Facing the ukhā fire, his hands folded, the yajamāna recites:

a. From the sky Agni arose first,
from us second as Jātavedas omniscient,
third in the waters with lordly thought.
The thoughtful man wakes to kindle this inexhaustible being.

दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे अग्नि-
रस्मद् द्वितीयं परि जातवेदाः ।
तृतीयमप्सु नृमणा अजस्र-
मिन्धान एनं जरते स्वाधीः ॥

b. Agni! We know your three threefold forms.
We know your seat distributed in various places.
We know your highest name, kept secret.
We know the source from which you come.

विद्मा ते अग्ने त्रेधा त्रयाणि
विद्मा ते सद्म विभृतं पुरुत्रा ।
विद्मा ते नाम परमं गुहा य-
द्विद्मा तमुत्सं यत आजगन्थ ॥

c. Agni, in the ocean, in the waters,
with lordly thought and sight he kindled you
in the udder of the sky.
You who stand in the third region, in the womb of Order,
the steers set you in motion.

समुद्रे त्वा नृमणा अप्स्वन्त-
र्नृचक्षा ईधे दिवो अग्न ऊधन् ।
तृतीये त्वा रजसि तस्थिवांस-
मृतस्य योनौ महिषा अहिन्वन् ॥

d. Agni roared, thundering like heaven,
licking the earth, consuming the plants.
As soon as he was born, he flamed up and shone.
He blazes with his light on heaven and earth.

अक्रन्ददग्निः स्तनयन्निव द्यौः
क्षामा रेरिहद्वीरुधः समञ्जन् ।
सद्यो जज्ञानो वि हीमिद्धो अख्य-
दा रोदसी भानुना भात्यन्तः ॥

e. Priest, purifier, messenger, wise man,
the immortal Agni has been established among mortals.
He raises up and bears his reddish smoke.
With clear flame he tries to reach heaven.

उशिक् पावको अरतिः सुमेधा
मर्तेष्वग्निरमृतो नि धायि ।
इयर्ति धूममरुषं भरिभ्र-
दुच्छुक्रेण शोचिषा द्यामिनक्षत् ॥

f. Banner of everything, embryo of the world,
Agni, when born, filled heaven and earth.
He split apart even the firm mountain,
escaping when the five tribes sacrificed to him.

विश्वस्य केतुर्भुवनस्य गर्भ
आ रोदसी अपृणाज्जायमानः ।
वीडुं चिदद्रिमभिनत् परायन्
जना यदग्निमयजन्त पञ्च ॥

g. Noble among masters, bearer of wealth, promoter of thoughts,
protector of Soma, son of radiant strength, king in the waters,
kindled he shines before the dawns.

श्रीणामुदारो धरुणो रयीणां
मनीषाणां प्रार्पणः सोमगोपाः ।
वसोः सूनुः सहसो अप्सु राजा
वि भात्यग्र उषसामिधानः ॥

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h. Auspiciously radiant one! God Agni! He who today
made for you a cake rich with ghee,
lead him forth to happiness,
to majesty shared by the gods, youngest one!

यस्ते अद्य कृणवद्भद्रशोचे-
ऽपूपं देव घृतवन्तमग्ने ।
प्र तं नय प्रतरं वस्यो अच्छा-
भि सुम्नं देवभक्तं यविष्ठ ॥

i. Agni! Allot to him a verse among the praises!
Allot a verse in every recited hymn!
Let him (the sacrificer) be dear to the Sun and dear to Agni.
May he flourish with his son already born
and with sons yet to be born.

आ तं भज सौश्रवसेष्वग्न
उक्थउक्थ आ भज शस्यमाने ।
प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवात्यु-
जातेन भिनदुज्जनित्वैः ॥

k. Agni! Those who daily sacrificed to you
obtained all desirable wealth.
With you, longing for wealth, full of desire,
they uncovered the cow pen.

त्वामग्ने यजमाना अनु द्यून्
विश्वा वसूनि दधिरे वार्याणि ।
त्वया सह द्रविणमिच्छमाना
व्रजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि वव्रुः ॥

l. Shining like a golden ornament, he became widely resplendent,
shining to glorify his immortal life.
Agni became immortal by his powers
when fertile Heaven gave birth to him.

दुशानो रुक्म उर्व्या व्यद्यौद्
दुर्मर्षमायुः श्रिये रुचानः ।
अग्निरमृतो अभवद्वयोभि-
र्यदेनं द्यौरजनयत् सुरेताः ॥

(TS 4.2.2)

This recitation is followed by a ceremony called *sani* "Gain." The yajamāna asks three of the helpers to beg for wealth for the performance. This is meant to be used for dakṣiṇā and other expenses incurred in connection with the ritual. The yajamāna addresses these three men:

All the gods have surrounded me,
Pūṣan with gain, Soma with solicitude,
the divine Savitṛ, granter of every good.

विश्वे देवा अभि माऽवव्रुत्रन्
पूषा सन्या सोमो राधसा
देवः सविता वसोर्वसुदावा ।

(TS 1.2.3.2e)

The helpers go out with a lighted sling lamp (a torch kept burning by swinging it) and return with a piece of gold called *śatamāna*, "weighing a hundred." When they arrive, the yajamāna addresses them:

Soma, give so much, bring even more.
Let him who grants not be omitted from your granting.
Don't separate me from life!

रास्वेयत् सोमाऽऽभूयो भर
मा पृणन् पूर्या
वि राधि माऽहमायुषा ।

(TS 1.2.3.2f-g)

When they hand him the piece of gold, the yajamāna says:

You are gold,
be for my pleasure!

चन्द्रमसि मम भोगाय भव ॥

(TS 1.2.3.2h)

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Part II The 1975 Performance

Second Day: April 13, 1975

Episode 6

Ritual Preparation of the Pravargya Implements (*Pravargyasambharaṇam*)

Between the consecration of the yajamāna on the first day and the Soma extraction on the tenth day are six Upasad ("preceding") days on the fourth through the ninth ritual day. On each of these days, there is a morning and evening performance of the Upasad ceremony (see below, p. 368). These are optionally preceded by a morning and evening Pravargya. During the 1975 performance, the twelve Pravargya ceremonies were included. The Pravargya implements are ritually prepared on the second day.

The ritual preparation of the Pravargya implements (*pravargya-sambharaṇam*) on the second day is in many respects similar to the ritual preparation of the ukhā pot (ukhāsambharaṇam) on the first day. The implements, which have already been physically made by the potter, are ritually prepared by the adhvaryu, assisted by the pratiprasthātā.

The Pravargya implements are the mahāvīra ("great hero") pot, with two spares; two milking ladles (*pinvana*), made of clay; two potsherds for the preparation of *rauhiṇa* cakes (connected with the lunar sign Rohiṇī), and a butter dish. In the area east of the Old Hall, the adhvaryu starts the ceremony by preparing clay. He uses mantras and the *abhri*, a wooden hoe, sharpened on both ends. The implements made by the potter are already in front of him. The adhvaryu hands clay to the pratiprasthātā, who puts it on them. The three great-hero pots are placed on a tortoise seat (kūrmāsana).

In the recitations that accompany these rites, the demon Makha figures prominently. The mahāvīra pot is regarded as the head of Makha, just as the Pravargya itself is called the head of the sacrifice (see pages 53, 63).

Fourth Day: April 16, 1975

Episode 7

Construction of the New Domestic Altar (*Gārhapatyaciti*)

The menses of the wife of the yajamāna began on April 13. The rites of the third and fourth ritual day, planned for April 14–15, could not be executed because of the ensuing pollution. Instead, expiatory rites (prāyaścitta) were performed on April 14 and 15. Some of the ceremonies of the third and fourth ritual day were combined and performed on April 16. Some of the ceremonies of the fourth day were gone through first. The first of these is the construction of the new domestic altar.

In the place of the old offering altar a new domestic altar is constructed

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N

16	19	21
15	18	20
14	17	4
1	2	3
8	12	6
7	11	5
13	10	9

W E

S

Ist, 3rd and 5th layers

N

15	16	17	18	19	20	21
14	8	1	2	3	4	6
13	7	12	11	10	9	5

W E

S

2nd and 4th layers

Figure 23—The Bricks of the New Domestic Altar

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from 105 bricks, equally distributed in five layers of three by seven rectangular bricks. The long side of each brick is one-third, and the short side one-seventh of the size of the yajamāna measured to the top of his head (see page 196). The bricks, which have already been prepared, are piled up in heaps outside the enclosure. They will be laid in one pattern on the first, third, and fifth layers, and in another on the second and fourth layers. The two patterns differ in that one results from the other by turning it 90°. In this way, the interstices between bricks are never above or under interstices between bricks on the next layer. For each layer, the bricks are put down in any order, but consecrated in the order marked 1–21 in Figure 23.

Some general principles underlie the order in which the bricks are consecrated.[1] Let us distinguish two kinds of bricks: Group A, in which the bricks are consecrated individually with specific mantras (nos. 1–8); and Group B, bricks that are all consecrated with the same mantra, or space fillers (nos. 9–21). In all layers the following rules are observed: in Group A, if a series of contiguous bricks is consecrated, the consecration moves in the directions of the east and north only; if the bricks are not contiguous, the direction may also be west or south. In Group B, the same rules apply, with one exception: in one case the bricks, though contiguous, are consecrated in the direction of the west (nos. 9–10 in the first, third, and fifth, layers; nos. 9–12 in the second and fourth layers). Contiguous bricks are never consecrated in the southern direction.

As elsewhere in the ritual, therefore, there is a definite preference for the eastern direction, and avoidance of the south. In decreasing order of preference, the orientations are:

east	(contiguous only, and at the beginning);
north	(contiguous only);
west	(contiguous in one case only, in Group B);
south	(never contiguous).

Before the construction can begin, around 5:30 a.m. on April 16, 1975, the sacrificial fire is removed by the adhvaryu from the old offering altar and kept to its south in a pot. The old offering altar itself is then removed and the ground leveled. Its center (above, page 253) is retained as center for the new domestic altar. The adhvaryu, touching his heart with his right hand, recites:

a. In me I take Agni first for the increase of wealth, for good offspring and heroism. — मयि गृह्णाम्यग्रे अग्निꣳ रायस्पोषाय सुप्रजास्त्वाय सुवीर्याय ।

[1] These are not entirely in accordance with Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 10.20:19.4–10.21:19.8; see Volume II, page 521.

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मयि प्रजां मयि वर्चो दधाम्य-
रिष्टाः स्याम तनुवा सुवीराः ॥

In me I place offspring, in me splendor.
Let our bodies be uninjured, let us be real heroes!

योनौ अग्निः पितरो हृत्स्वन्त-
रमर्त्यो मर्त्याꣳ आविवेश ।
तमात्मन्परि गृह्णीमहे वयं
मा सो अस्माꣳअवहाय परा गात् ॥

b. Fathers! The immortal Agni
who has entered the hearts of us mortals,
may we contain him within ourselves;
may he not abandon us and depart!

(TS 5.7.9.1a-b)

He continues with folded hands:

यास्ते अग्ने समिधो यानि धाम
या जिह्वा जातवेदो य आर्चिः ।
ये ते अग्ने मेडयो य इन्धव-
स्तेभिरात्मानं चिनुहि प्रजानन ॥

Agni! Knower of everything!
With your kindling sticks, your forms, your tongues, your flames, your cracklings, your drops, knowingly pile up yourself!

(TS 5.7.8.1a)

A white horse and a black horse have been tied to poles outside the eastern gate of the Old Hall. The adhvaryu goes out, touches the white horse, returns, touches the soil and recites:

प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु
तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

Let Prajāpati seat you.
With that god, in the Aṅgiras manner, sit firm!

(TS 5.5.2.4)

The yajamāna touches the adhvaryu's hand, and the latter puts pebbles (śarkara) along and inside the outline of the new domestic altar, which has already been marked on the soil. Then he puts ashes from inside the ukhā pot, some soil from inside the vedi (*vedipurīṣam*), dry mud (*ūṣa*) and river sand on the soil inside the square, reciting:

अग्नेर्भस्मास्यग्नेः पुरीषमसि
संज्ञानमसि कामधरणं
मयि ते कामधरणं भूयात् ।
सं वा वः प्रियास्तनुवः
सं प्रिया हृदयानि वः ।
आत्मा वो अस्तु संप्रियः
संप्रियास्तनुवो मम ॥

You are the ash of Agni. You are the dust of Agni.
You are harmony fulfilling desire.
Let my desire for you be fulfilled!
May your dear bodies be united,
may your dear hearts be united,
may your dear breath be united,
my dear body be united.

(TS 4.2.4.1b-d)

कल्पेतां द्यावापृथिवी
कल्पन्तामाप ओषधीः
कल्पन्तामग्नयः पृथङ्मम ज्यैष्ठ्याय सुव्रताः ।
येऽग्नयः समनसोऽन्तरा द्यावापृथिवी

Let heaven and earth agree!
Let waters and plants agree!
Let the fires agree separately, but let them be of common ordinance.
Let the fires that are of like mind between heaven and earth,

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tolerating the winter months,
submit to you, as the gods submit to Indra.
(TS 4.4.11.1g, omitting the first line = TB 1.2.1.18a)

शैशिरावृतू अभि कल्पमाना
इन्द्रमिव देवा अभि सं विशन्तु ॥

After his hand has been touched by the yajamāna, the adhvaryu consecrates the pebbles that were placed in the foundation:

You are piled up, piled up all around,
remain piled up high.
With that god, in the fashion of the Aṅgirases,
sit firm!
(TS 4.2.7.4*l*)

चितः स्थ परिचित
ऊर्ध्वंचितः श्रयध्वं
तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद्
ध्रुवाः सीदत ॥

Then he sprinkles water and makes the soil firm by pounding:

Soma! Swell up! Gain strength on all sides.
Be strong in the gathering of booty.
(TS 4.2.7.4m)

आ प्यायस्व समेतु ते
विश्वतः सोम वृष्ण्यम् ।
भवा वाजस्य सङ्गथे ॥

Helpers put down the bricks of the first layer inside the square and in the prescribed pattern, but without following a particular order. The bricks will be consecrated by the adhvaryu, together with the yajamāna, with several mantras, and in the prescribed order. The mantras—one, two, or three—are generally recited by the yajamāna and the adhvaryu jointly, while both touch the brick that is being consecrated. After each mantra a helper, often the pratiprasthātā, marks the brick with a dot of white paste from a small dish. When a second mantra is recited, a second dot is added, etc. In this way they keep track of the progress of the rites, and no brick will be left without consecration or consecrated more than once.

Yajamāna and adhvaryu consecrate bricks nos. 1–8 by reciting the following eight mantras, one for each brick:

e. This is the Agni under whose direction
Indra eagerly took the pressed Soma in his belly.
Knower of everything! For winning booty a thousandfold
you are praised like a swift stallion.

अयꣳ सो अग्निर्यस्मिन्त्सोममिन्द्रः
सुतं दधे जठरे वावशानः ।
सहस्रियं वाजमत्यं न सप्तिꣳ
स सर्वान्त्यमन्त्स्तूयसे जातवेदः ॥

f. Agni! You go towards the sea of heaven.
You speak to the gods of the hearth altars.
The waters above in the sphere of the sun
and those below attend you.

अग्ने दिवो अर्णमच्छा जिगास्य-
च्छा देवाꣳ ऊचिषे धिष्ण्या ये ।
याः परस्ताद्योचने सूर्यस्य
याश्चावस्तादुपतिष्ठन्त आपः ॥

g. Agni! Worthy of worship! Your radiance in heaven,
in earth, plants, or waters,
by which you spread over the wide sky,
your dazzling splendor moves with lordly sight.

अग्ने यत् ते दिवि वर्चः पृथिव्यां
यदोषधीष्वप्सु वा यजत्र ।
येनान्तरिक्षमुर्वाततन्थ
त्वेषः स भानुरर्णवो नृचक्षाः ॥

h. Let the Agnis of the mud,

पुरीष्यासो अग्नयः

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united with those of the floods, enjoy the oblations offered, the rich healthy food!	प्रावणेभिः सजोषसः । जुषन्तांहव्यमाहुत- मनमीवा इषो महीः ॥
i. Agni! Grant to the entreating sacrificer as food the great and continuous gift of a cow. Agni! Let us have a son and productive lineage! Let this be your favor to us!	इडामग्ने पुरुदꣳसꣳसुनिं गोः शश्वत्तमꣳ हवमानाय साध । स्यान्नः सूनुस्तनयो विजावा- ऽग्ने सा ते सुमतिर्भूत्वस्मे ॥
k. This is your proper womb, born from which you shone. Agni! Knowing, ascend it! Make our wealth increase!	अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्वियो यतो जातो अरोचथाः । तं जानन्नग्न आ रोहा- थो नो वर्धया रयिम् ॥
l. You are piled up. With that god, in the fashion of the Aṅgirases, sit firm!	चिदसि तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ।
m. You are piled up all around. With that god, in the fashion of the Aṅgirases, sit firm!	परिचिदसि तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ।
(TS 4.2.4.2e-4m)	

Each of the thirteen remaining bricks, nos. 9–21, is consecrated with the Space-Filler (*lokampṛṇa*) mantra:

Fill the space! Fill the hole! Then sit down in a friendly manner. Indra, Agni, and Bṛhaspati have placed you in this womb. (TS 4.2.4.4n)	लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणा- थो सीद शिवा त्वम् । इन्द्राग्नी त्वा बृहस्पति- रस्मिन् योनावसीषदन् ।

Next all the twenty-one bricks are consecrated, in the prescribed order in which they were first consecrated, with a second mantra, called With That God (*tayādevata*):

With that god, in the fashion of the Aṅgirases, sit firm! (TS 4.2.4.4*l* without *cid asi*, "you are piled")	तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

Finally all the twenty-one bricks are again consecrated, in the order in which they were first consecrated, with a third mantra, called Pouring Milk (*sūdadohasa*):

The spotted cattle, pouring out milk, mix his Soma. At the birth of the gods, the tribes are in the three bright vaults of the sky. (TS 4.2.4.4o)	ता अस्य सूददोहसः सोमꣳश्रीणन्ति पृश्नयः । जन्मन् देवानां विशः खिष्वा रोचने दिवः ५

The two mantras, With That God (tayādevata) and Pouring Milk (sūda-

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dohasa), are recited for all the bricks of the new domestic altar and again for all the bricks of the new offering altar, which will be constructed later (for their significance, see above, pages 158–159). The Space-Filler (lokampṛṇa) mantras are used for all bricks that have not already a particular mantra assigned to them.

The bricks of the first layer of the new domestic altar have now been consecrated. The adhvaryu leaves the hall, touches the black horse, returns and spreads loose soil over the layer. While the yajamāna touches the layer, he and the adhvaryu recite:

Agni, sought in the sky, sought on earth.
Sought, he entered all the plants.
Agni Common-to-all-men is intensely sought.
May he protect us from harm day and night.
(TS 1.5.11.1d = RV 1.98.2)

पृष्टो दिवि पृष्टो अग्निः पृथिव्यां
पृष्टो विश्वा ओषधीरा विवेश ।
वैश्वानरः सहसा पृष्टो अग्निः
स नो दिवा स रिषः पातु नक्तम् ॥

This is followed by tayādevata and sūdadohasa, and completes the consecration of the first layer.

Then the bricks of the second layer are put down. They are consecrated in the same manner: nos. 1–8 with TS 4.2.4.2e–4m, nos. 9–21 with lokampṛṇa, and each brick with tayādevata and sūdadohasa. After this, loose soil is spread and the second layer is consecrated with TS 1.5.11.1d, tayādevata, and sūdadohasa.

The third, fourth, and fifth layers are similarly constructed and consecrated. The entire construction of the new domestic altar, which started at
PLATE 47 6 a.m., has lasted for about one hour.

After the fifth layer has been completed, and loose soil has been spread over it, the adhvaryu places the ukhā pot with its stool on the northeastern corner of the new altar. At the same time, the pratiprasthātā places the pot in which the old sacrificial fire was kept on its southeastern corner. Both adhvaryu and pratiprasthātā, standing to the east of the altar and facing west with the pot in front of them, recite:

a. Be united and harmonious with affection,
radiance, and good disposition!
You who clothe yourselves in food and strength,
I have united your minds, commandments, and hearts.

b. Agni of the mud! Be our overseer!
Grant to the Yajamāna food and strength!

c. Agni! You are of the mud, rich and prosperous.
Making all the directions friendly,
you sat down here in your own womb.

d. Knowers of everything! Be of one mind towards us,
of one habit, without fault!
Do not harm the sacrifice or the lord of the sacrifice!

समितꣳ सं कल्पेथाꣳसंप्रियौ
रोचिष्णू सुमनस्यमानौ ।
इषमूर्जमभि संवसानौ
सं वां मनाꣳसि सं व्रता
समु चित्तान्याऽकरम् ॥
अग्ने पुरीष्याधिपा भवा त्वं नः ।
इषमूर्जे यजमानाय धेहि ॥
पुरीष्यस्त्वमग्ने रयिमान् पुष्टिमाꣳअसि
शिवाः कृत्वा दिशः सर्वाः
स्वां योनिमिहाऽसदः ॥
भवतं नः समनसौ समोकसावरेपसौ ।
मा यज्ञꣳहिꣳसिष्टं मा यज्ञपतिं जातवेदसौ

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Be friendly to us today! शिवो भवतमद्य नः ॥
(TS 4.2.5.1a-d)

Adhvaryu and pratiprasthātā turn their respective pots over, empty their fires onto the altar, and combine them by mixing them thoroughly. The adhvaryu lifts the ukhā pot together with its stool and addresses it:

Let the earth ukhā carry Agni of the mud
in her own womb like a mother her son.
Let Prajāpati, All-maker (viśvakarman), harness it
in agreement with the All-gods and the seasons!
(TS 4.2.5.2e with *bibhartu* for *abhār*, and *yunaktu* for *vi muñcatu*; cf. above page 323)

मातेव पुत्रं पृथिवी पुरीष्य-
मग्निꣳस्वे योनौ बिभर्तु गर्भा ।
तां विश्वैर्देवैर्ऋतुभिः संविदानः
प्रजापतिर्विश्वकर्मा युनक्तु ॥

He lifts the ukhā pot for a second time, without its stool, and recites:

The earth ukhā has carried Agni of the mud
in her own womb like a mother her son.
Prajāpati, all-maker, has released it
in agreement with the All-gods and the seasons!
(TS 4.2.5.2e)

The ukhā pot and its two spares are filled with sand. Some curd is added while the adhvaryu says:

I place yourself in your heat. आत्मानन्ते शुचि दधामि ।
(? cf. BŚS 10.22:20.4)

The adhvaryu, assisted by the pratiprasthātā, carries the three ukhā pots to the northern wall of the hall and leaves them there.

The adhvaryu takes the sling of the ukhā pot, reciting:

Let the bright light born
beyond the expanse of the sky,
convey us beyond our enemies!
(TS 4.2.5.2f, omitting the last three words)

बृहस्य पारे रजसः
शुक्रं ज्योतिरजायत ।
तं नः पर्षदति द्विषः ॥

He leaves the southern door of the hall with the sling, the ukhā stool, the cord with which the golden breastplate was tied round the yajamāna's neck, a pitcher full of water, and three black square bricks of unit size (pañcami: see Figure 9). These bricks are called "disastrous" (*nairṛti*) because they are dedicated to Nirṛti, Goddess of Disaster. The adhvaryu is not accompanied by the yajamāna.

Outside the southern gate, the adhvaryu puts the sling on the ground, pointing from northeast to southwest, reciting:

Agni Common-to-all-men, svāhā! अग्ने वैश्वानर स्वाहा ॥
(TS 4.2.5.2f, last three words).

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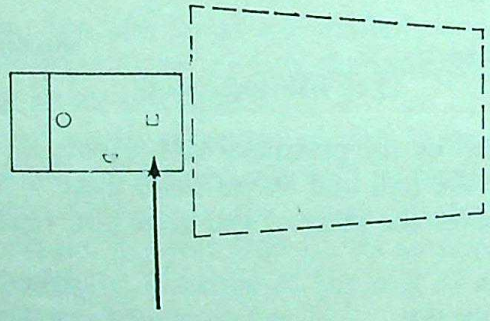
PLATE 47

The New Domestic Altar

The new domestic altar is constructed from bricks in the place of the old offering altar, which was made from clay. The new domestic altar consists of five layers, each consisting of $3 \times 7 = 21$ rectangular bricks. The first, third and fifth layers have the same pattern. The pattern of the second and fourth is created by turning it 90 degrees. In this way, the interstices between bricks are never immediately below or above those in the next layer. The long side of each rectangular brick is a third, and the short side a seventh of the size of the yajamāna, measured to the top of his head.



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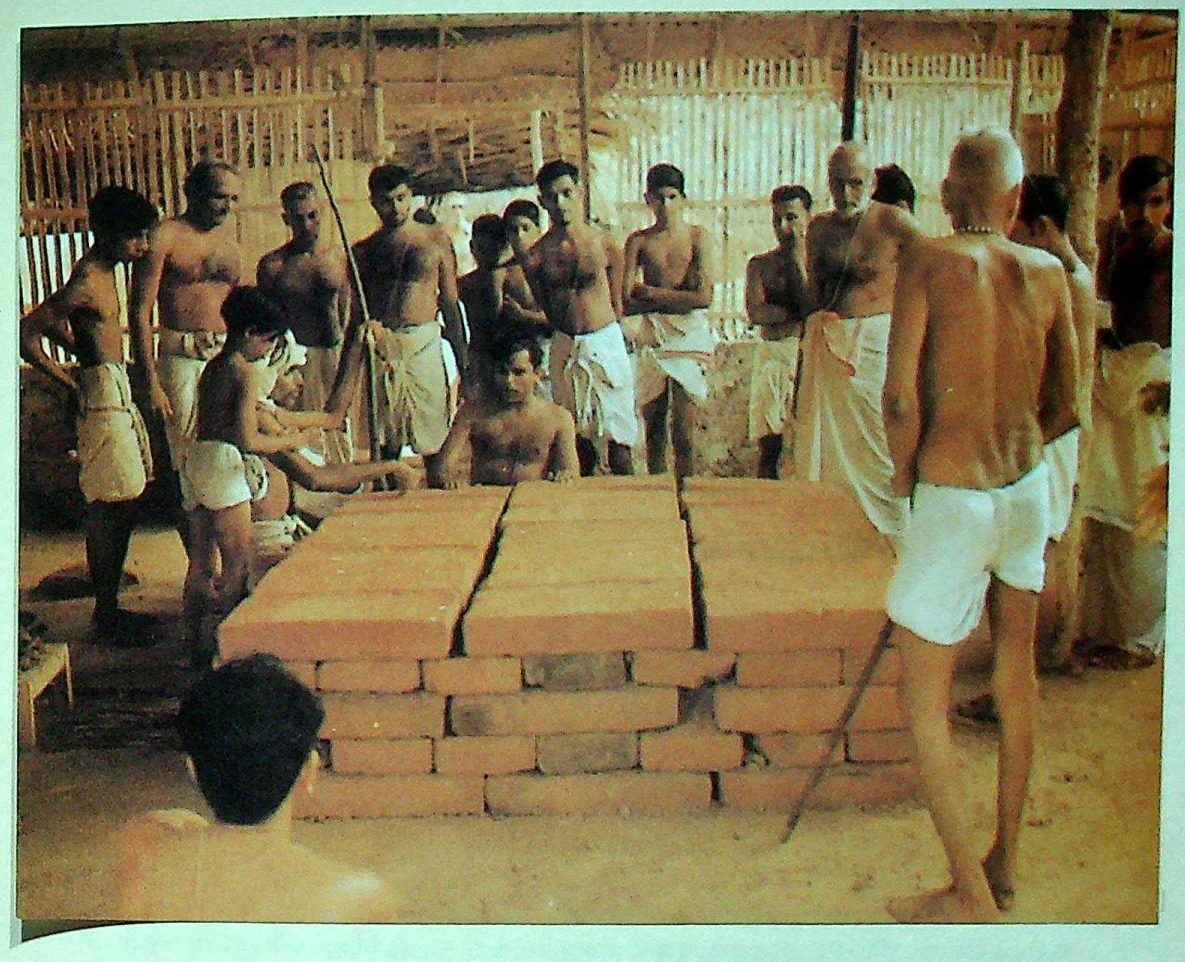

पुस्तकालय
पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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He places the three Disaster Bricks upon the sling and recites:

g. Homage to you, Nirṛti, of every appearance.
Loosen this bond made of iron!
Together with Yama and Yamī,
make it ascend to the highest vault.

नमः॑ सु ते॑ निर्ऋते विश्वरूपे-
ऽयस्मयं॑ वि चृता॑ बन्धमे॒तम् ।
यमे॑न॒ त्वं य॒म्या॑ संविदा॒नो-
त्तमं नाक॒मधि॑ रोहयेमम् ॥

h. The rope that is not to be undone,
which Goddess Nirṛti tied around your neck,
I loosen that from you as from the midpoint of life.
Freed and alive, eat the food!

यत् ते॑ दे॒वी निर्ऋ॑तिराब॒बन्ध॒
दाम॒ ग्रीवा॑स्वविच॒र्त्यम् ।
इ॒दं ते॒ तद्वि॒ष्याम्यायु॑षो॒ न
मध्या॑दथा॒ जीवः॑ पितु॒मद्धि प्रमु॑क्तः ॥

i. In your cruel mouth I make the offering
for loosening these bonds.
People know you as "earth"—
I know you from all sides as Nirṛti.

यस्यास्ते॑ अस्याः क्रूर आस॒ञ्जुहो-
म्येषां ब॒न्धाना॑मव॒सर्ज॑नाय ।
भूमि॑रिति॒ त्वा॒ जना॑ वि॒दुर्निर्ऋ॑ति-
रिति॑ त्वाऽहं॑ पर॑ वेद॒ विश्व॑तः ॥

He puts the sling and the ukhā stool south of the bricks, stands up and recites:

k. Seek those who do not perform the Soma rites!
Follow the path of thieves and robbers!
Seek someone other than us!
That is your real path, Goddess Nirṛti!
Homage to you.

असु॑न्वन्तमय॑जमानमिच्छ
स्ते॒नस्ये॒त्यां तस्क॑र॒स्यान्वे॑षि ।
अ॒न्यम॒स्मदि॑च्छ॒ सा त॑ इ॒त्या
नमो॑ दे॒वि निर्ऋ॑ते॒ तुभ्य॑मस्तु ॥

l. Saluting Goddess Nirṛti like a father his son,
I weary her with words.
She who knows of everyone born
is the wise one who perceives each and every head.
(TS 4.2.5.2g-4*l*)

दे॒वीम॒हं निर्ऋ॑तिं वन्दमानः
पि॒तेव॑ पु॒त्रं द॑सये॒ वचो॑भिः ।
विश्व॑स्य॒ या जाय॑मानस्य॒ वेद॒
शिरः॑शिरः॒ प्रति॑ सू॒री वि च॑ष्टे ॥

The adhvaryu leaves the Disaster Bricks behind and returns to the hall. Inside, hands folded and together with yajamāna, brahman, and pratiprasthātā, he adores the new domestic fire:

Abode and collector of riches,
she regards every form with her powers.
Like god Savitṛ of true laws,
like Indra, she stands at the confluence of paths.
(TS 4.2.5.4m)

नि॒वेश॑नः सङ्ग॒मनो॒ वसू॑नां
वि॒श्वा रू॒पाऽभि च॑ष्टे शचीभिः ।
दे॒व इ॑व सवि॒ता स॒त्यध॑र्मे-
न्द्रो॒ न त॑स्थौ सम॒रे प॑थी॒नाम् ॥

These rites should be over—and are over—before dawn.

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Fourth Day: April 16, 1977

EPISODE 8

Introductory Offering; Purchase of Soma; Guest Offering for Soma
(*Prāyaṇīyeṣṭi; Somakraya; Ātithyeṣṭi*)

THESE CEREMONIES ARE the same as in the Agniṣṭoma. The Introductory Offering (*prāyaṇīyeṣṭi*) is an offering of cooked rice to Aditi, Goddess Infinity. The offering takes place in the fire on the new domestic altar, since this includes the fire of the old offering altar. The offering to Aditi is made in the center of the fire. There are four more principal offerings: to Pathyā Svasti, "Path of Welfare," in the eastern part of the fire; to Agni, Soma, and Savitṛ in the southern, western, and northern parts, respectively. There are fifteen sāmidhenī verses and no ājyabhāga offerings. The prastotā sings the chant *pravad bhārgavam* (GG 3.9.13 on JS 1.3.9.4). PLATE 48-52

Yajamāna and adhvaryu leave the Old Hall by its eastern door for the purchase of Soma (*somakraya*). A Soma-cow (*somakrayaṇī*, "with which Soma is purchased") awaits them. It is caused to make seven steps toward the north, beginning on the east-west line (*pṛṣṭhyā*). At its seventh step, a piece of gold is placed on the ground and an oblation is made on it. This piece is taken by the advaryu and some soil from that spot is handed to the yajamāna, who hands it to his wife. The party moves further east, to where the *uparava* resounding holes will be made (at the southern havirdhāna). There Soma stalks are placed on a bullock skin and guarded by a helper.

The adhvaryu stands to the west of the Soma bundle, and the Soma merchant to its east, facing each other. The adhvaryu asks the merchant:

Soma merchant is your Soma pure? सोमविक्रयिञ्छुद्धस्ते सोमा ३ ।
(BŚS 6.14:170.15)

The merchant answers:

It is pure. (ibid.) शुद्धः ॥

After the yajamāna has worshipped the Soma, the adhvaryu measures it, with different fingers, with and without mantras, touching the stalks with the piece of gold. A helper assists. The Soma is then folded in a cloth and the merchant places it on his head. The following dialogue takes place: PLATE 51

Adhvaryu:	Soma merchant, is your Soma for sale?	सोमविक्रयिन्क्रय्यस्ते सोमा ३ ।
Merchant:	It is for sale.	क्रय्यः ॥
Adhvaryu:	Is it from mount Mūjavat?	मूजवता ३ ।
Merchant:	It is from mount Mūjavat.	मूजवतो हि ।
Adhvaryu:	I will buy it from you for this cow.	गवा ते क्रीणानि ।
Merchant:	The Soma is yours. Tell me what you offer for it.	क्रीतः सोमः । वयांसि व्याचक्ष्व ॥

(BŚS 6.14:172.1–4)

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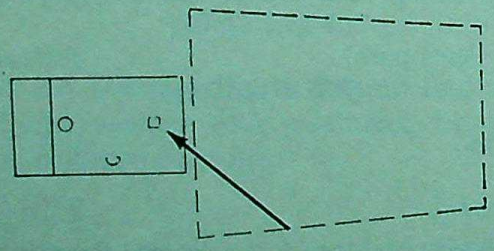
PLATE 48

Before the Introductory Offering

"The sage has extended the ritual path,
on the back of the firmament,
beyond the light of the sky.
As you convey the offering,
you accomplish the message.
Intelligent in this world,
with more reward, in the other!
Svāhā!"

(TS 3.5.5.3f)

Before the Introductory Offering (prāyaṇīyeṣṭi) the adhvaryu makes a libation from the sruva ladle, while Cherumukku Vaidikan fans the fire.



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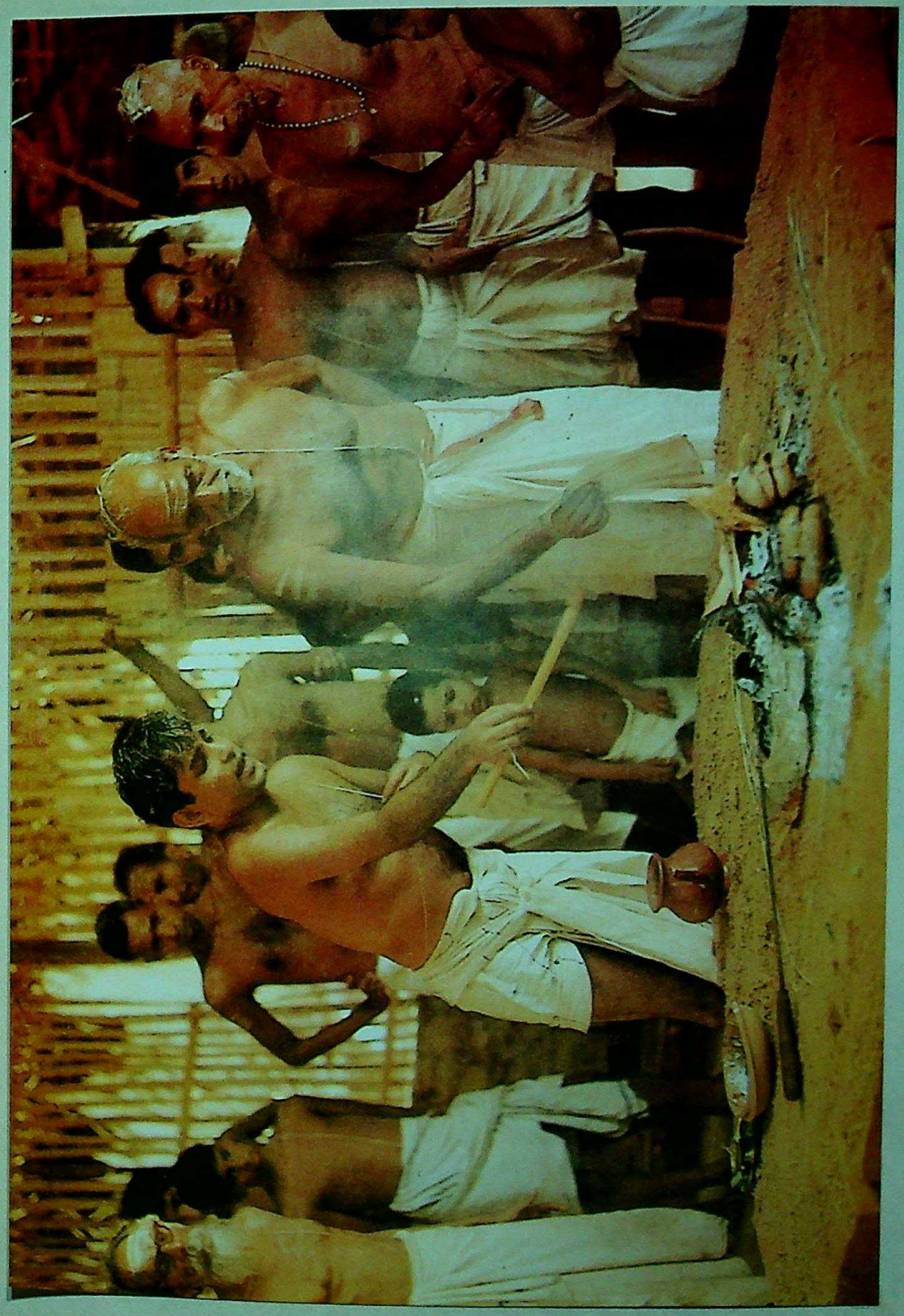

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PLATE 49

The Kindling Verses

"May your offerings, oblations, directed to heaven,
come forth with the butter ladle.
Agni goes to the gods, seeking their favor.
Having been called, Agni,
sit down for the feast.
As hotā sit on the sacrificial grass!"

(RV 3.27.1; 6.16.10)

Before the Introductory Offering (prāyaṇīyeṣṭi), the hotā recites fifteen kindling verses (sāmidhenī) from the Ṛgveda. During most of these verses, the adhvaryu throws a stick of firewood (samidh) on the fire at each verse. When the fire has been fully kindled, the oblations can begin.

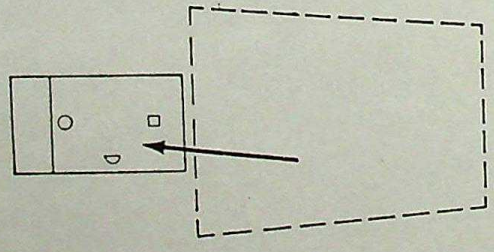

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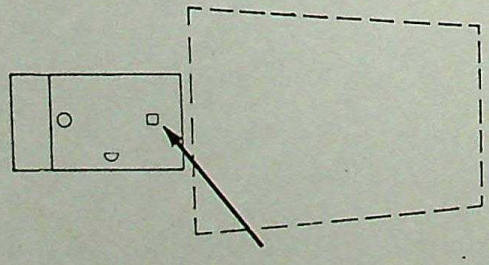
PLATE 50

The Introductory Offering

"We invoke to our aid
great mother of the devout,
spouse of sacred order,
powerful, unaging, wide Aditi,
who gives good protection and guidance—
—Vauṣaṭ!"

(TS 1.5.11.5s)

At the Introductory Offering (prāyaṇīyeṣṭi), the principal offerings are for Pathyā Svasti, Agni, Soma, Savitṛ, and Aditi, Goddess Infinity. During the offering for Aditi, the hotā recites the above offering verse (yājyā) and is accompanied by the prastotā who will sing the chant *pravad bhārgavam*, which contains the word *pra*. Nellikat Akkitiripad stands on the right, in a pensive mood, probably waiting for the prastotā to begin. The brāhmaṇācchaṃsin sits in the back against the north wall of the Old Hall. On the left the large brass lamp that was visible on Plate 46.



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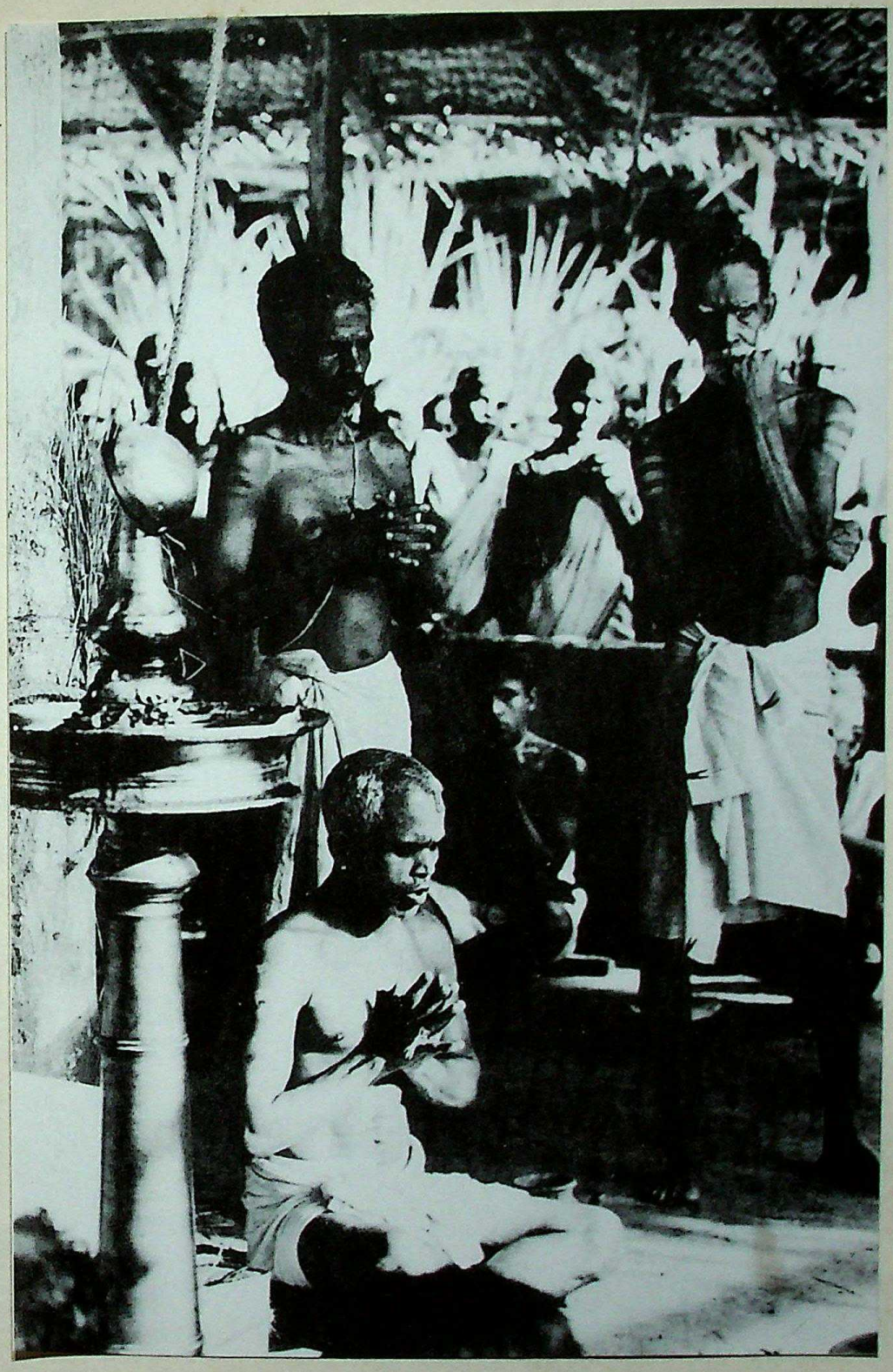

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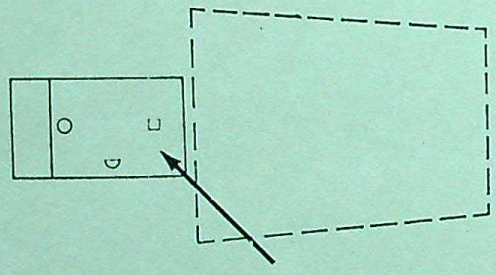
PLATE 51

After the Introductory Offering

When the Introductory Offering has been completed, the yajamāna folds his antelope skin and is ready to leave with his turban, staff, and other attributes.



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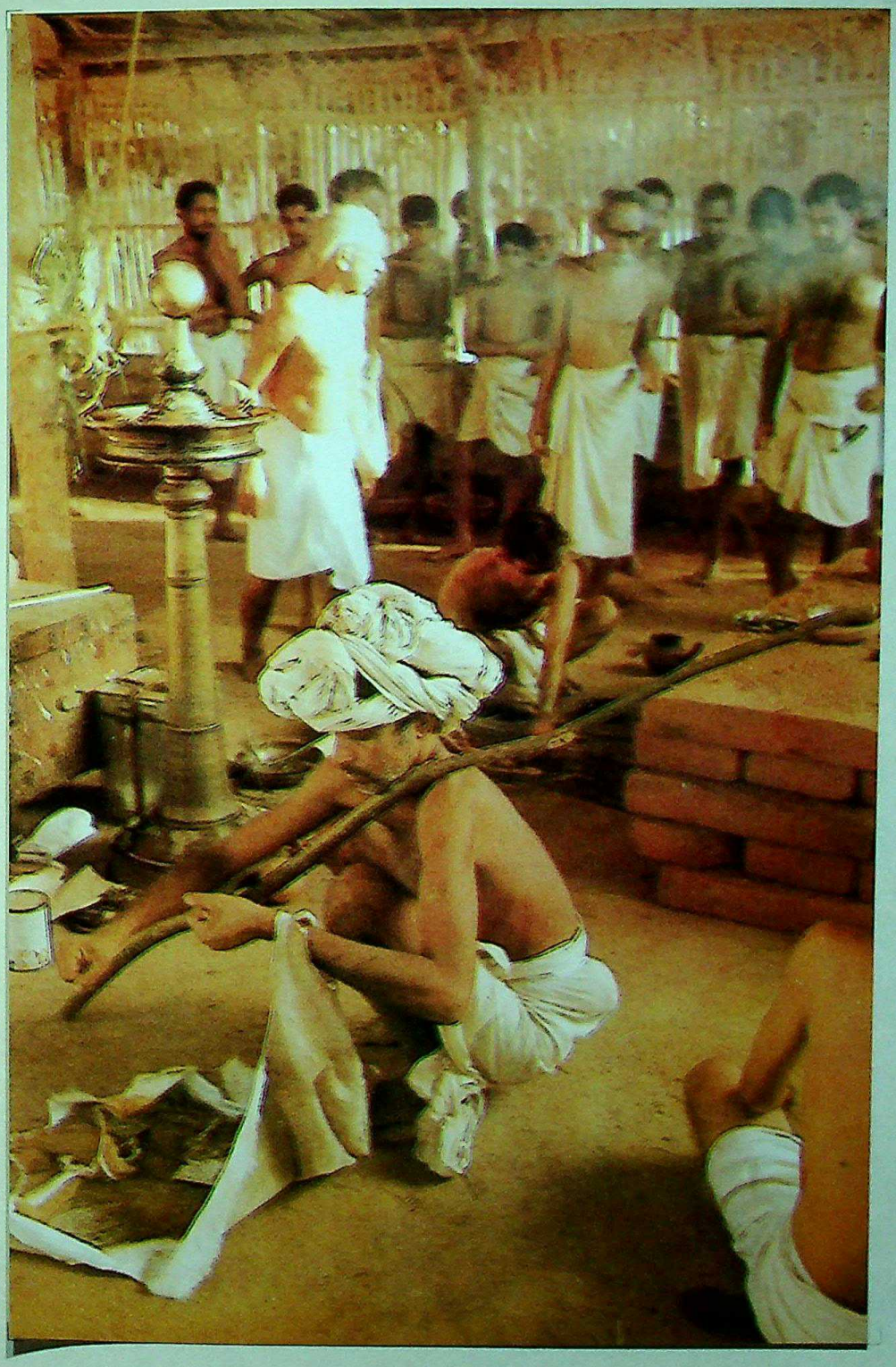

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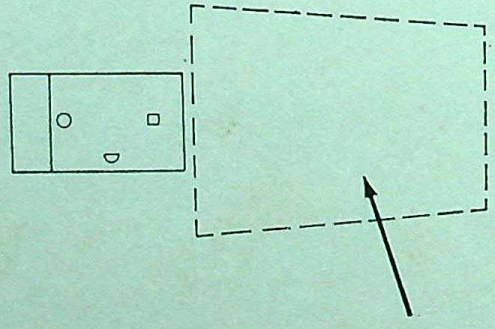
PLATE 52

Measuring Soma (Somonmānam)

"I sing for that god Savitar, within the two bowls,
the sage of true impulse,
bestower of treasures, wise friend.
He at whose impulse the brilliant light shone,
the sage with golden hand,
has measured heaven with his form".

(TS 1.2.6.1b)

Assisted by Vasudevan Akkitiripad, his eldest brother, who sits at his left, the adhvaryu measures Soma stalks with his fingers.



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The adhvaryu offers gold, a goat, and a cloth, but the merchant is not satisfied. Finally, the Soma is taken from him and placed on the right thigh of the yajamāna. The adhvaryu turns to the merchant:

Gloom over the Soma merchant! सोमविक्रयिणे तमः ॥
(BŚS 6.14:172.19)

PLATE 53 The yajamāna stands up with Soma on his head and all go to the Soma cart, south of the enclosure. The Soma bundle is placed on the cart, and the yajamāna moves between the poles, reciting three times:

Subrahmaṇyom! सुब्रह्मण्योम् ।

The party moves in the direction of the Old Hall, together with the hotā, reciting mantras. The Soma cart is pulled by two oxen and driven by the subrahmaṇya priest. This priest also recites three times: Subrahmaṇyom! The adhvaryu, the yajamāna, and the brahman enter the Old Hall and start the Guest Offering (*ātithyeṣṭi*) for King Soma. The other priests enter. In the middle of this iṣṭi they leave the hall and go to the Soma cart. Soma is
PLATE 54 taken off the cart, carried inside, and installed on a wooden stool or "throne" (āsandī) immediately south of the offering altar (i.e., the future domestic altar). The guest offering (Ātithyeṣṭi) for King Soma continues. A cake on nine potsherds is offered to Viṣṇu. New fire is made and mixed with the fire already there. There are seventeen sāmidhenī stanzas, five fore-offerings (prayāja) and no after-offerings (anuyāja). The prastotā sings *aušanam* (JGG 1.1.9 on JS 1.1.1.5).

The Guest Offering is followed by several smaller rites. The first of these is *tānūnaptra*, called after Tanū Napāt, Agni Self-Generating. The yajamāna and his priests, excepting the Sāmavedins, pledge not to harm each other. This is effected by taking clarified butter from the dhruvā ladle and putting it an a plate, which is then touched by the priests.

The next two rites are *Āpyāyana*, Swelling, and *Nihnava*, Hiding. These two rites are performed after each of the Upasad ceremonies of the fourth through ninth ritual days. In these rites all the priests, excepting again the Sāmavedins, take part in the following order: adhvaryu, brahman, hotā, sadasya, pratiprasthātā, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, maitrāvaruṇa, neṣṭā, āgnīdhra, acchāvāka, unnetā, potā, grāvastut, and finally the yajamāna.

PLATE 55 At the Swelling Rite, the yajamāna and his priests wash their hands, stand west of the Soma throne facing east, and touch the Soma stalks inside the Soma bundle with the following two mantras:

Stalk by stalk may you swell, god Soma,
for Indra who possesses unique wealth!
May Indra swell for you; do you swell for Indra!
Make your friends swell with gain and wisdom!

अꣳशुरꣳशुस्ते देव सोमाऽप्यायता-
मिन्द्रायैकधनविदे
आ तुभ्यमिन्द्रः प्यायता-
मा त्वमिन्द्राय प्यायस्वाऽऽप्यायय
सखीन्त्सन्या मेधया

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With good fortune may I accomplish your pressing, god Soma!

स्वस्ति ते देव सोम सुत्यामशीय ॥

(TS 1.2.11.1a-b)

The stalk that the Ādityas make swell,
the imperishable that the imperishable drink,
with that may King Varuṇa, may Bṛhaspati,
may the guardians of the world make us swell!

यमादित्या अꣳशुमाप्याययन्ति
यमक्षितमक्षितयः पिबन्ति ।
तेन नो राजा वरुणो बृहस्पति-
राप्याययन्तु भुवनस्य गोपाः ॥

(TS 2.4.14.1b)

Adhvaryu, sadasya, pratiprasthātā, unnetā, and yajamāna recite only the first mantra. The adhvaryu recites at the beginning up to: *tvam indrāyāpyāyasva*, "do you swell for Indra," and at the end joins the yajamāna with the remaining portion of the mantra. The other priests add in the first mantra: *asmān(t)* "our" before *sakhīn* "friends", and: *udṛśam* "finally" (?) before *aśīya* "may I accomplish." When the sadasya recites, the bystanders clap their hands; when the grāvastut recites, they snap their fingers.

At the Hiding Rite, the yajamāna and brahman go round the altar so as to reach the vedi from the north. There they place both hands on the prastara-grass bundle, which lies on its southern half. The priests understand this rite as a salutation (*namaskāra*) of earth (*bhūmi*), though originally it might have expressed the "hiding" of the movement in the inauspicious southern direction (Brough 1950). PLATE 56

Since the Nihnava occurs after the Upasad, it takes place twice a day, in the morning and in the afternoon. There are differences in the positions of the hands, and further variations depending on which Nambudiri tradition is adopted. According to the Kauṣītaki tradition of the 1975 performance, the positions are as follows:

Morning Hiding:	left hand palm down; right hand on left hand with palm up.
Afternoon Hiding:	left hand palm up; right hand on left hand with palm down.

According to the Taittirīya tradition, the positions are the other way round, i.e., as follows:

Morning Hiding:	left hand palm up; right hand on left hand with palm down.
Afternoon Hiding:	right hand palm up; left hand on right hand with palm down.

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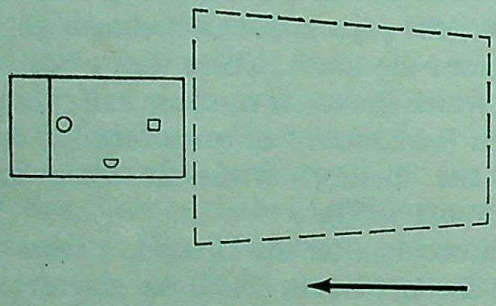
PLATE 53

After the Soma Purchase

After the Soma has been purchased, the yajamāna leaves with the Soma on his head. The Soma cart (sakaṭa) is ready to transport King Soma to his throne.



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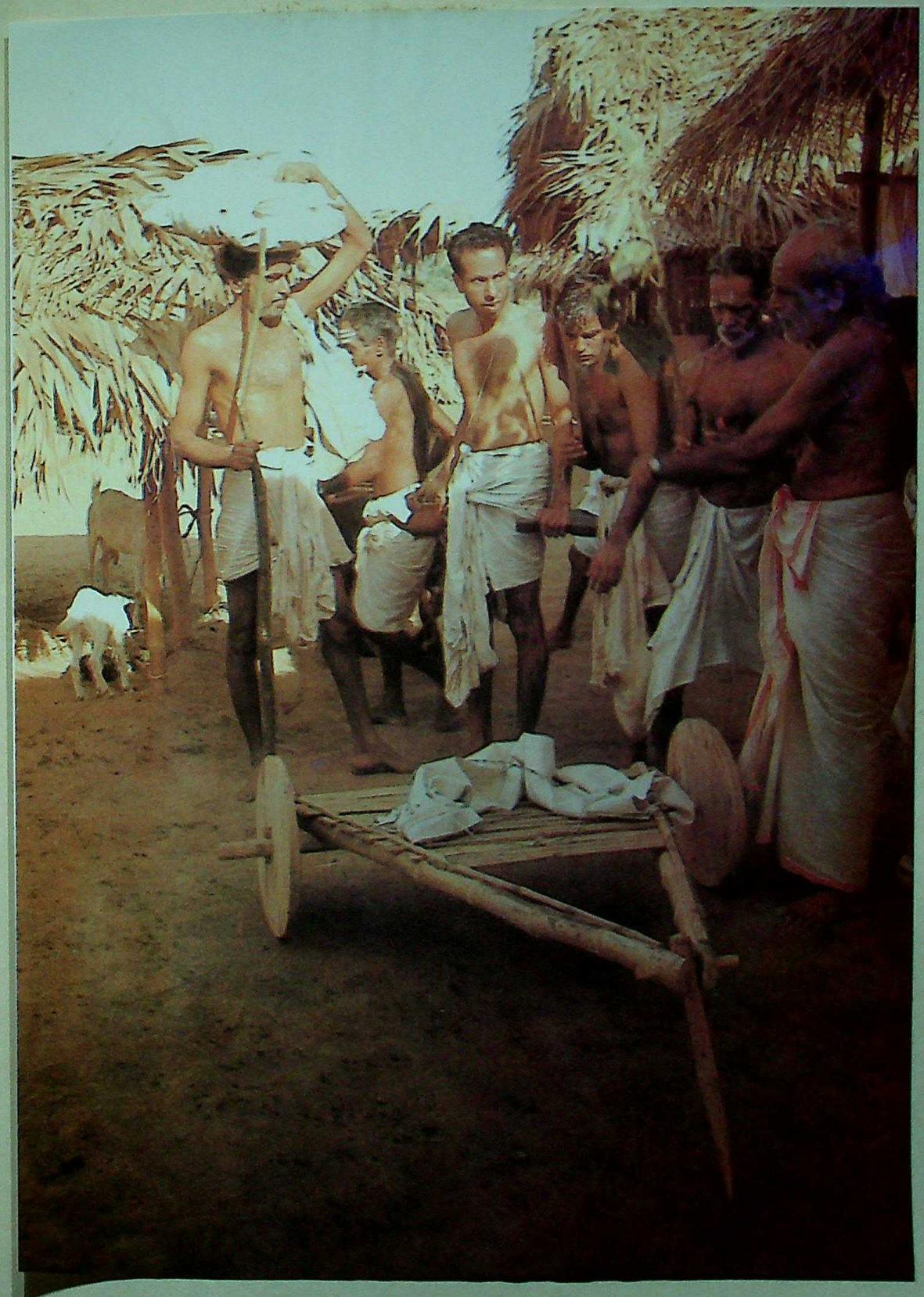

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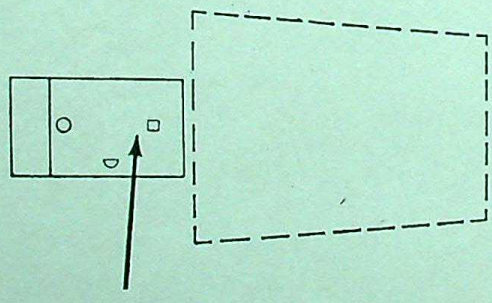
PLATE 54

Enter the Unnetā

"May Iḍā who invokes the gods,
Manu who conducts the rites,
and Bṛhaspati recite hymns and acclamations.
The All-gods are reciters of hymns.
May mother earth not harm me!"

(TS 3.3.2c-f)

The unnetā priest makes his first appearance. Standing on the utkara rubbish heap in the Old Hall, and facing the offering altar, he recites.



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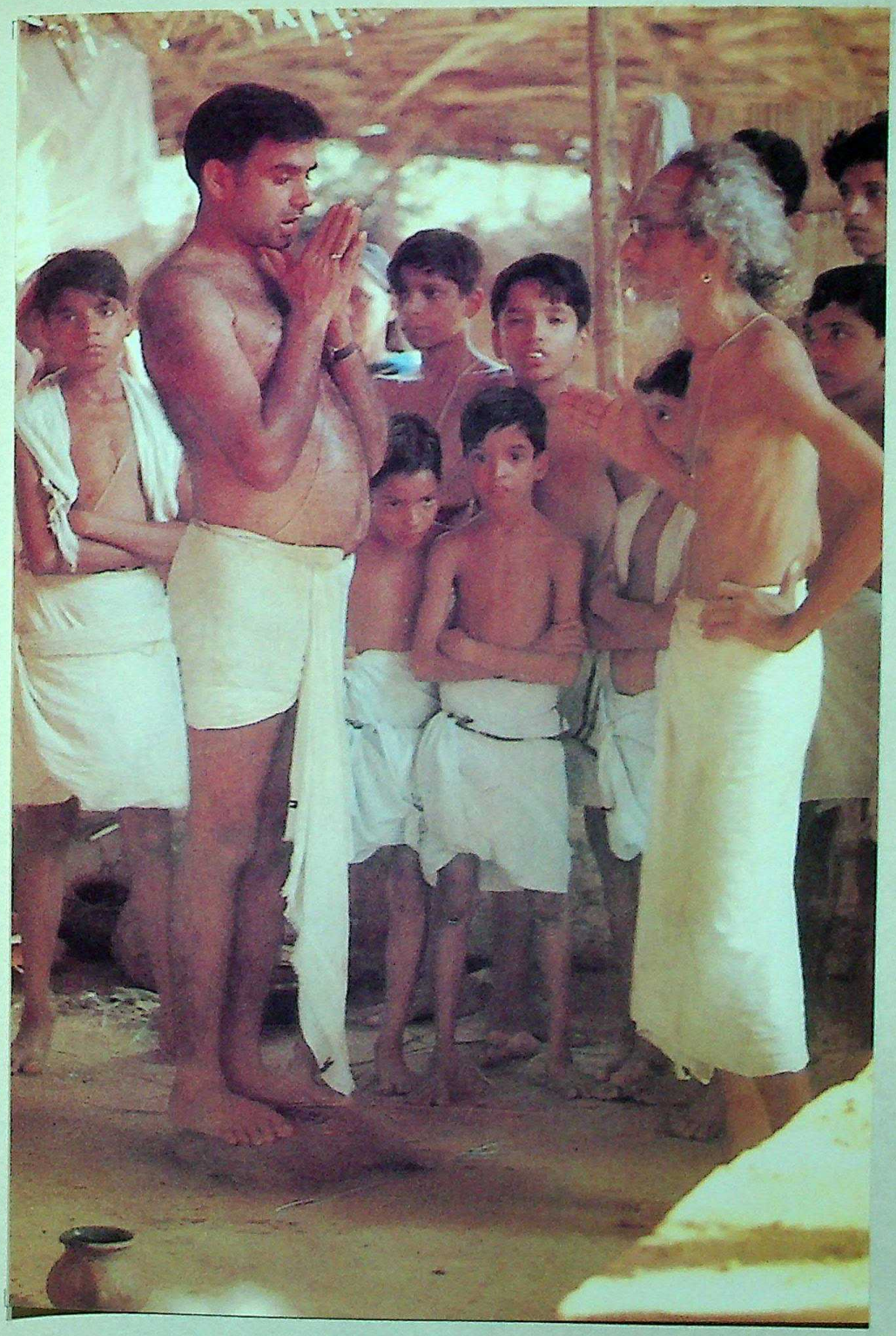

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PLATE 55

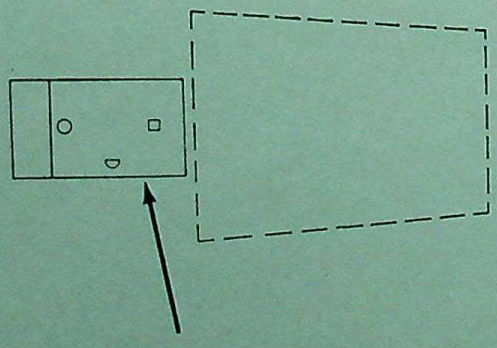
Swelling Soma (Āpyāyana)

"Stalk by stalk may you swell, god Soma,
for Indra who obtained great wealth!
May Indra swell for you;
do you swell for Indra!
Make our friends swell with wealth and skill,
may I accomplish your pressing,
with good fortune, god Soma!"

(TS 1.2.11.1a-b)

55A The maitrāvaruṇa (right) and brāhmaṇācchaṃsin (left) make the Soma swell by sprinkling it with mantras.

55B The sadasya performs the same rite.



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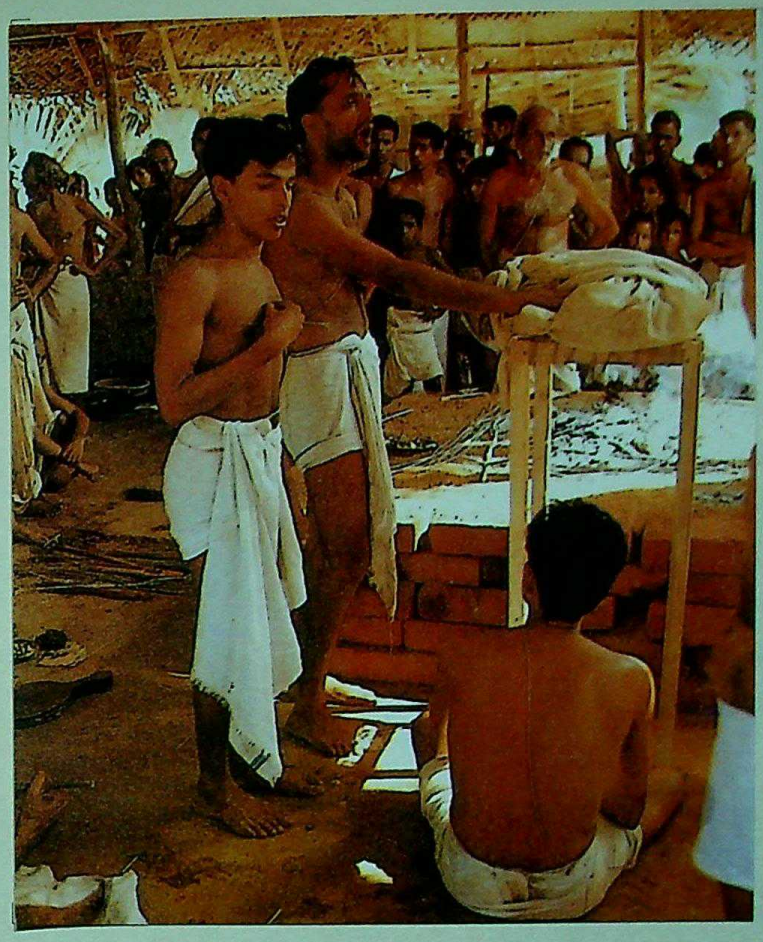

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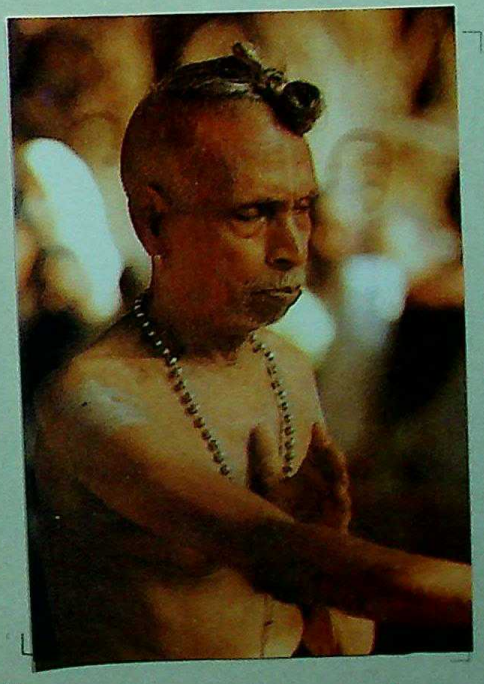

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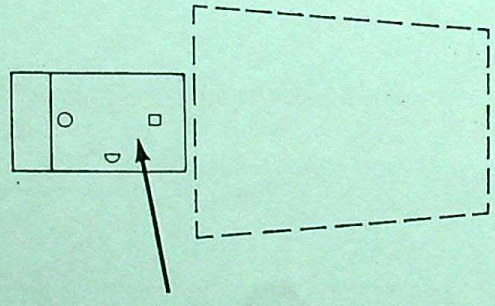
PLATE 56

The Hiding Rite (*Nihnava*)

"Riches are desired exceedingly
for food, for prosperity.
Cosmic order for those who profess it.
Homage to heaven, homage to the earth!"

(TS 1.2.11.1c)

The brāhmaṇācchaṃsin performs the hiding rite (nihnava). As it is morning, and he is a Kauṣītakin, he holds his right hand, with the palm up, on his left hand, with the palm down.



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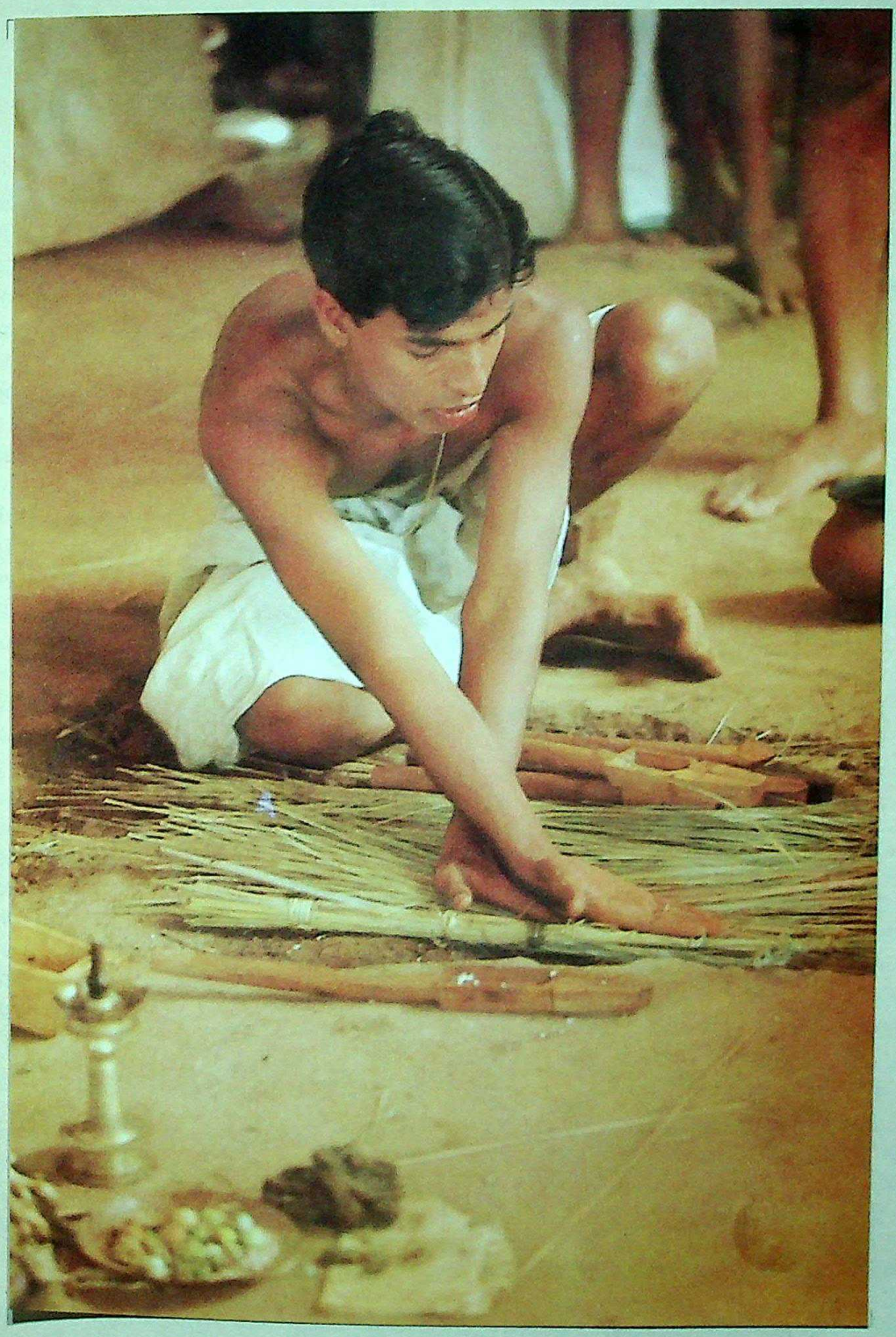

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Fourth Day: April 16, 1976

EPISODE 9

(Similar on Subsequent Five Days)

Pravargya, Upasad, and Subrahmaṇyā Chant

THE PRAVARGYA CEREMONY is performed every morning and afternoon (or evening) from the fourth through the ninth ritual day. It consists primarily in an offering of hot milk (gharma) or milk "to be heated" (pravargya), to the Aśvin twins, divine young men who ride the wind. Women should not witness it. The officiating priests are: adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, āgnīdhra, hotā, and prastotā, beside yajamāna and brahman. The ceremony begins and ends with a Peace Chant (*śānti*) by adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, āgnīdhra, and yajamāna.

At the first Pravargya, the one in the morning of April 16, a round mound of earth is prepared to the north of the domestic altar. One of the three mahāvīra pots is placed on it. Other mounds are made to the north of the sacrificial altar and the vedi. A cow with her calf and a she-goat with her kid have been tied in the cowshed (gośālā), south of the Old Hall. Two rauhiṇa cakes are prepared for the lunar sign Rohiṇī. Hot embers from the domestic fire are spread round the mahāvīra pot on its mound. The hot vessel is fanned by adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, and āgnīdhra, who also perform a dance with the fans, circumambulating the mound clockwise. Clarified butter is poured into the pot. The hotā recites in praise of the Pravargya, and the prastotā chants sāmans.

PLATE 57

Adhvaryu and pratiprasthātā go to the cow shed and milk the cow and she-goat, respectively. They return with cow and goat milk in the clay pinvana ladles and pour the fresh milk into the great-hero pot. Since this pot, with the butter inside, has become very hot, a large flame flares up. The heated pot is then lifted between two wooden poles (*śapham*) and carried to the (old) offering fire. Oblations are made into the fire by tilting the poles. They are primarily for the Aśvins, but also for Vāyu, Indra, Savitṛ, Bṛhaspati, and Yama. The ceremony is concluded with another Peace Chant. The Pravargya implements are then placed and kept on a stool or "throne" (āsandī), immediately south of the throne for King Soma, south of the offering altar.

PLATE 58

PLATE 59

PLATE 60

Next comes Upasad, which is an iṣṭi offering of clarified butter to Agni, Soma, and Viṣṇu. There are nine sāmidhenī verses made up from three by triple repetition. There are no ājyabhāga, prayāja, anuyāja or sviṣṭakṛt offerings. The Upasad is also performed every morning and evening from the fourth through the ninth day, but it is an obligatory rite, unlike the Pravargya, which is optional.

When the Upasad is over, the yajamāna and his wife go out with the subrahmaṇya priest to the northwest corner of the enclosure (later to the

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north of the Field of Agni, which at this time has not yet been consecrated). The subrahmaṇya priest chants the subrahmaṇyā chant facing the yajamāna, with the wife crouched under her parasol behind him. This rite is obligatory and also takes place every morning and evening from the fourth through the ninth ritual day. PLATE 61

The subrahmaṇyā is an invitation to attend the Soma pressing, which is forthcoming. In this chant, Indra is reminded of his various adventures on earth and is strongly urged to be present:

Subrahmaṇyom! Subrahmaṇyom! Subrahmaṇyom!	सुब्रह्मण्योम्। सुब्रह्मण्योम्। सुब्रह्मण्योम्॥
Indra come!	इन्द्रागच्छ।
Possessor of bay horses, come!	हरिव आगच्छ।
Ram of Medhātithi, wife of the Bull Horse Man,	मेधातिथेर्मेष वृषणश्वस्य मेने।
cow impregnator, lover of Ahalyā,	गौरावस्कन्दिन्नहल्यायै जार।
Brahmin of the Kauśika family,	कौशिकब्राह्मण कौशिकब्रुवाण।
usurper of the name Kauśika,	
come to the Soma pressing, Generous One!	सुत्यामागच्छ मघवन्।
Gods, brahmins, come, come, come!	देवा ब्रह्माण आगच्छतागच्छतागच्छत॥

(cf. JŚS 7)

When the subrahmaṇya chants: "lover of Ahalyā" the patnī bends her head.[1]

Third Day: April 16, 1977

EPISODE 10

Measurement of the Great Altar Space and the Field of Agni (*Mahāvedikaraṇa, Citisthānakaraṇa*)

ALL THE CEREMONIES which have so far been performed on April 16 are ceremonies belonging to the fourth ritual day. On this day, the Subrahmaṇyā chant is generally followed by setting up the area for the main altar (*kṣetro-padhāna*), which begins with the determination of the places for the uparava resounding holes and the utkara rubbish heap. However, these rites can only be performed when the measurements of the Great Altar Space and the Field of Agni (agnikṣetra) have been completed. These two ceremonies are generally performed on the third ritual day. However, on the third ritual day, the ceremonies of measurement themselves are preceded by other rites, e.g., Procuring the Sacrificial Pole (*yūpasampādana*), Formal Occupation of the Ritual Terrain (*devayajanādhyavasāna*), and the special resolution called *ākṛtiphala-saṃkalpa*. The Procuring of the Sacrificial Pole is postponed to

[1] Before the tenth day, the subrahmaṇya does not insert *tryahe* "in three days", *dvyahe* "in two days", etc. before the phrase *sutyām āgaccha* "come to the Soma pressing". However, on the tenth or pressing day itself he inserts *adya* "today": see below page 596.

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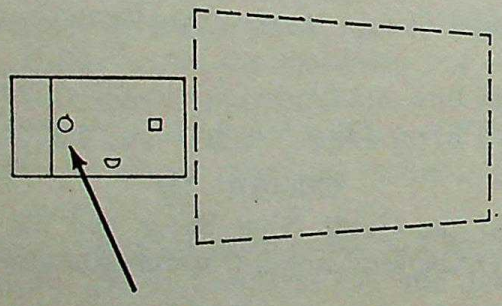
PLATE 57

The Pravargya: Circumambulations with Fans

The Pravargya ceremony involves an offering of milk "to be heated" (*pravargya*) for the Aśvin twins, divine young men who ride the wind. The milk is poured into the Great Hero (mahāvīra) pot, which has been preheated north of the domestic fire, using its embers. The hot vessel is fanned by the adhvaryu, the pratiprasthātā, and the agnīdh, after which they lift the fans high and circumambulate the fire three times in the clockwise direction.



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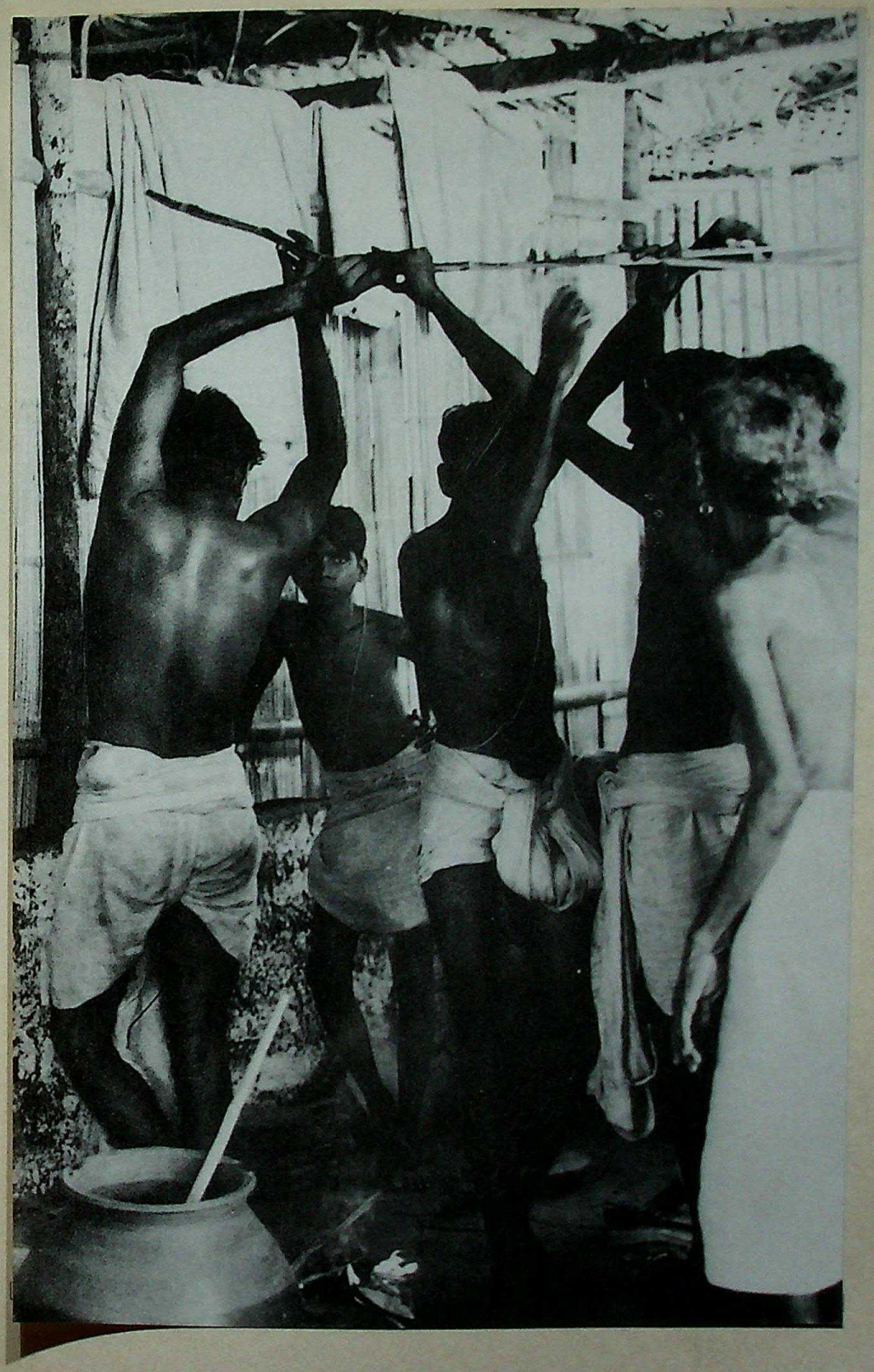

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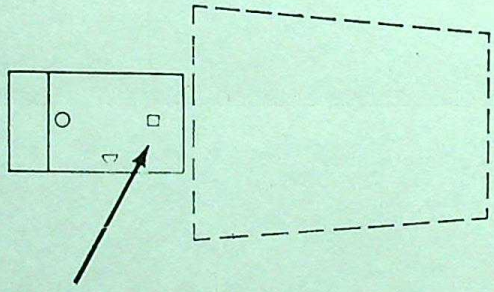
PLATE 58

The Pravargya: The Oblation

The offering of heated milk is made by the adhvaryu (on the left), assisted by the pratiprasthātā (on the right). They tilt the pair of wooden poles (śapham) between which the Great Hero (mahāvīra) pot is tightly kept. This procedure explains the special shape of the Great Hero pot (Plate 5B). King Soma is on the right on his throne.



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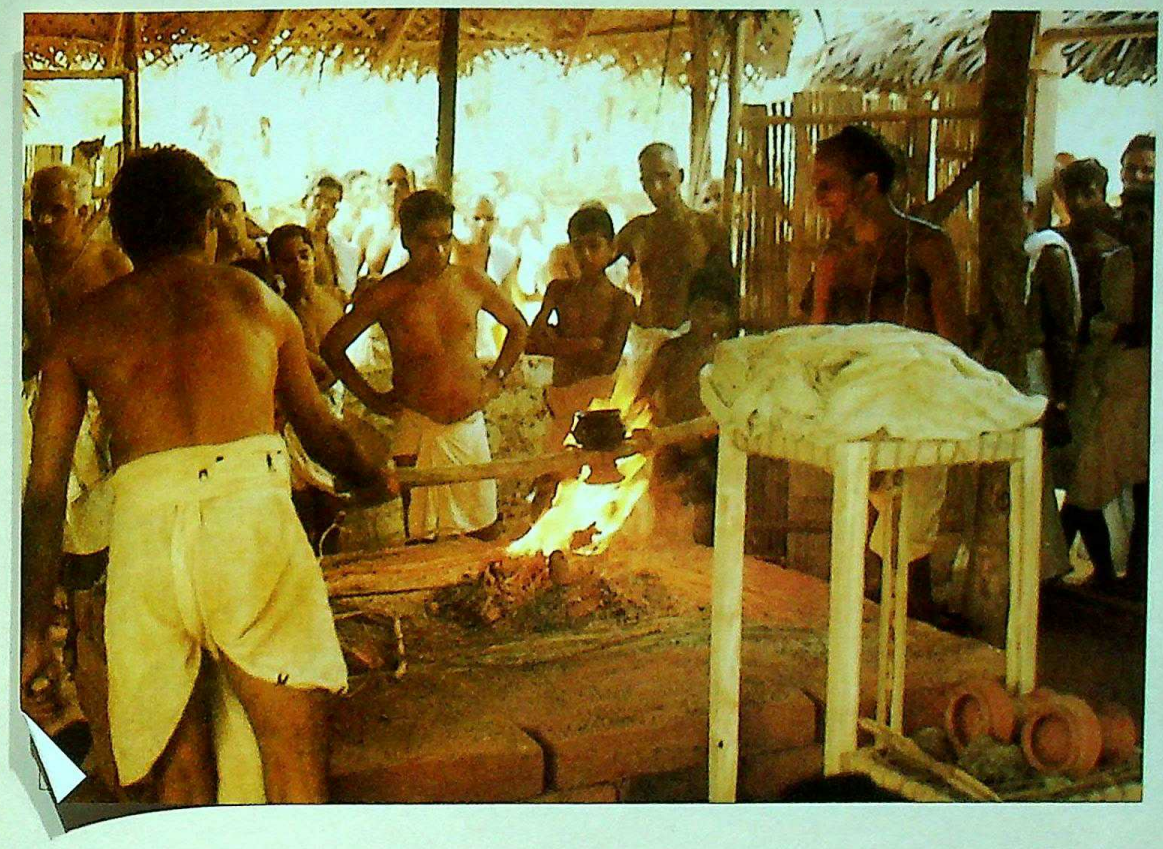

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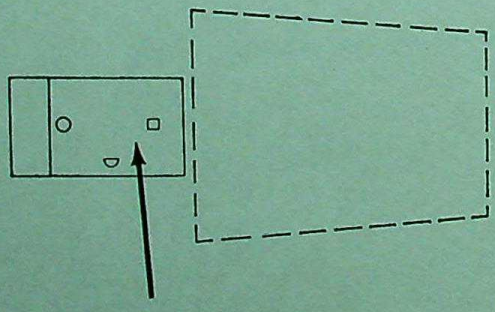
PLATE 59

The Pravargya: Peace Chant

"Peace! Wind Mātariśvan must make us pure.
Peace! The sun must warm us.
Peace! May the days be ours.
Peace! May the night be countered.
Peace! May dawn open wide for us.
Peace! May the sun rise for us."

At the beginning and end of each Pravargya performance, the adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, and agnīdh recite a peace chant. These verses are from the evening peace chant (TA 4.42).



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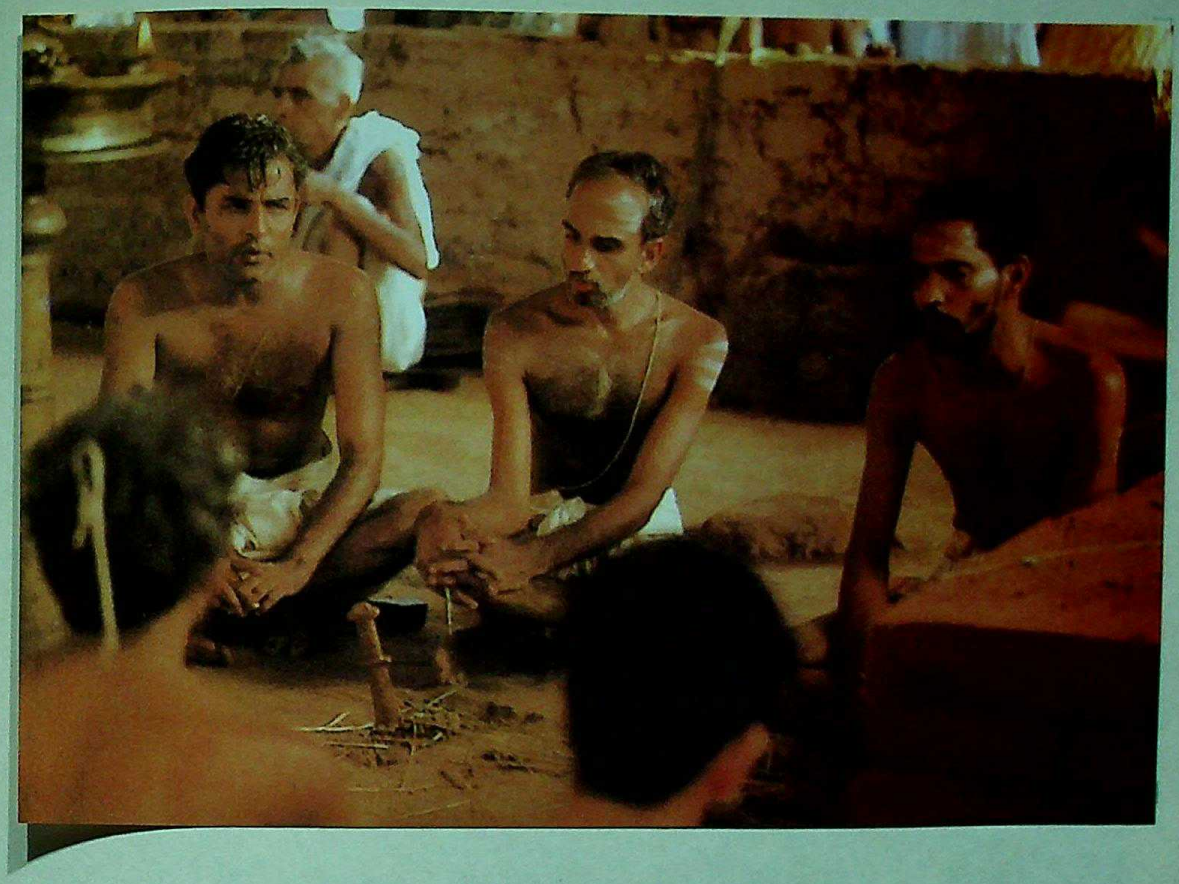

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PLATE 60A

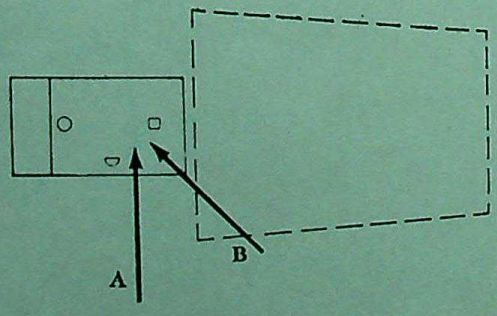
Drinking the Pravargya Milk

Assisted by his brahman priest, the yajamāna drinks the remnant of the hot milk (gharma) from the cup of all herbs (sārvauṣadha-pātram).

PLATE 60B

After the Pravargya

After the Pravargya is over, two spare mahāvīra pots and other Pravargya implements are put on their stool south of the stool or throne for king Soma, south of the domestic altar. Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad sits nearby.



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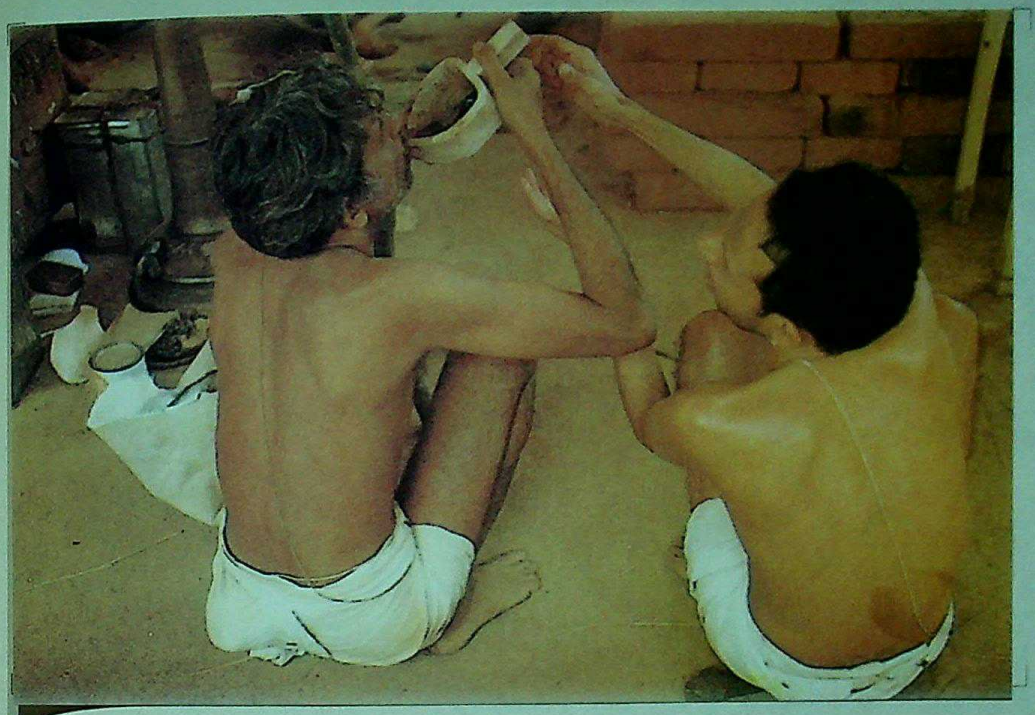

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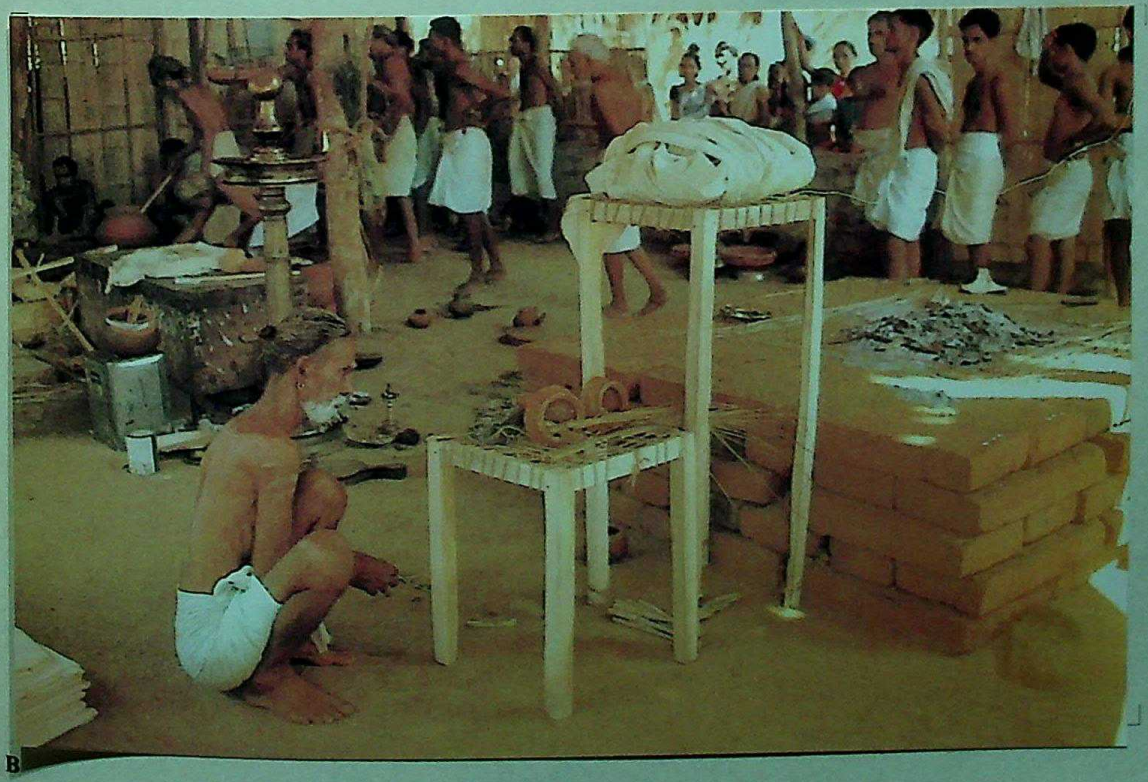

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PLATE 61A

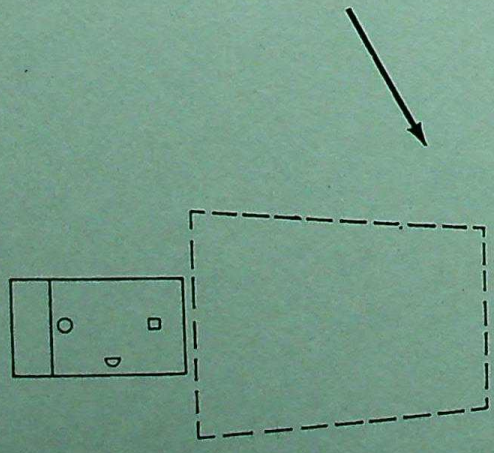
The Subrahmaṇyā

"Come to the Soma pressing,
generous one!
Gods, brahmins,
come, come, come!"

The Subrahmaṇyā chant, an invitation to attend the forthcoming Soma festival, is addressed especially to Indra, and is chanted every morning and evening by the subrahmaṇya priest on behalf of the yajamāna. The priest faces the yajamāna, while the yajamāna's wife crouches behind him.

PLATE 61B

The Subrahmaṇya Priest



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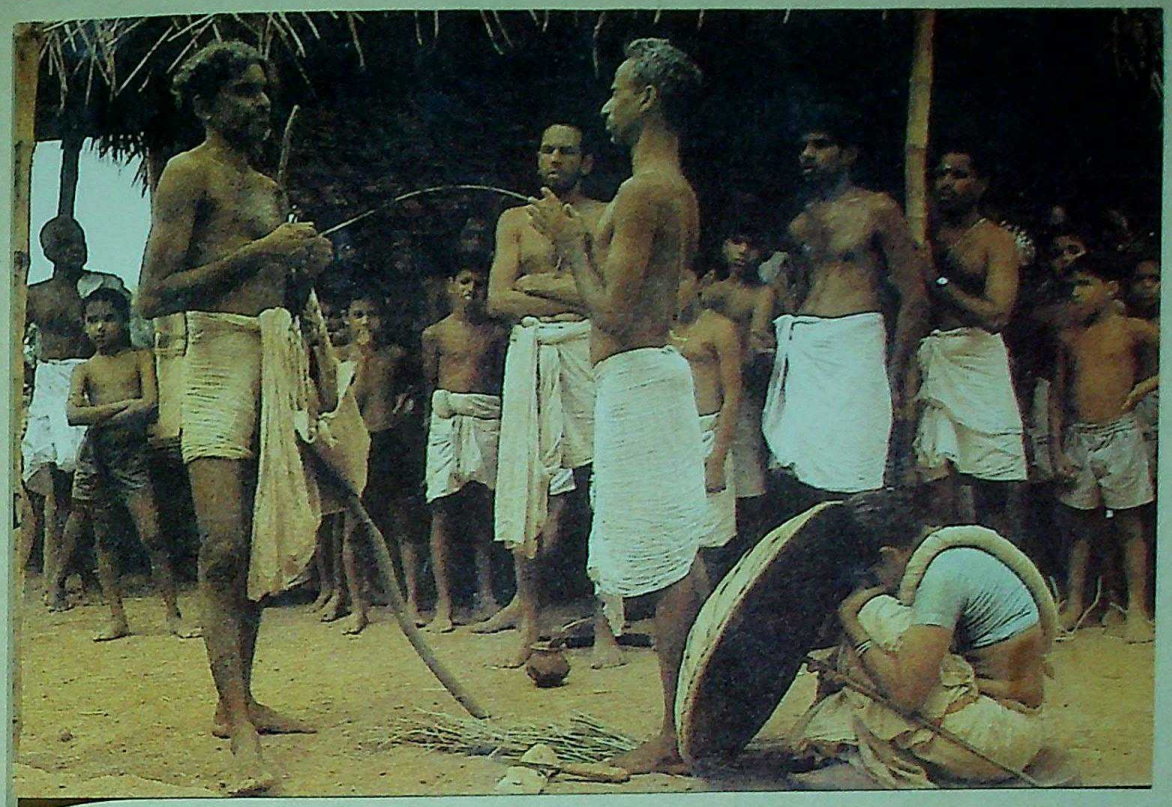

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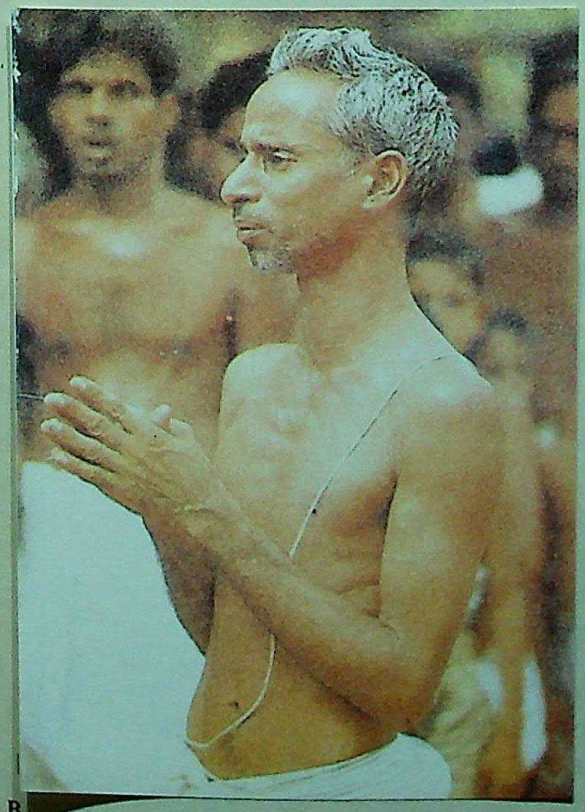

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the ninth day, as no animal sacrifice takes place before that day. The other two rites cannot be postponed and are gone through on April 16.

For Formal Occupation of the Ritual Terrain, the priests leave the Old Hall through its eastern door. Immediately ouside, in the small strip between the Old Hall and the future sadas, they stand in a row: in the middle the yajamāna, with his wife to his right, facing east; to his left (or north) the adhvaryu, also facing east; and to their right the brahman, facing north, as (almost) always.

The adhvaryu recites:

We have come for the ritual of the gods on earth,
in which formerly all the gods took delight.
Completing with Ṛk, Sāman, and Yajus,
may we rejoice with abundance of wealth!
(TS 1.2.3.3*o*)

ऐदमगन्म देवयजनं पृथिव्या
विश्वे देवा यदजुषन्त पूर्वे
ऋक्सामभ्यां यजुषा सन्तरन्तो
रायस्पोषेण समिषा मदेम ॥

Go off, depart, creep away,
you who are old here and you who are new!
Death has given a resting place here on earth;
the ancestors have made this world for him.
(TS 4.2.4.1a)

अपेत वीत वि च सर्पतातो
येऽत्र स्थ पुराणा ये च नूतनाः ।
अदादितिः यमोऽवसानं पृथिव्या
अक्रन्निमं पितरो लोकमस्मै ॥

This is followed by ākṛtiphalasaṃkalpa, a special resolution based on the general resolution taken on the first day (above, pages 282–286). The yajamāna, his wife, adhvaryu, and brahman sit in a row, in this order from south to north in front of the eastern gate of the Old Hall. They face east. The introductory rites that precede the saṃkalpa proper are the same as before, but when it comes to the actual declaration of intent, the yajamāna says, three times softly and three times loudly so that the gods will hear:

PLATE 62

Desirous of heaven I shall pile the bird-shaped altar! स्वर्गकामः श्येनचितं चेष्ये ।

Afterwards he addresses his priests as before and obtains the same answers (above, page 286). Then yajamāna and brahman go to the extreme southeast and sit outside the Great Altar Space, south of what will be the Field of Agni (agnikṣetra).

Now the measurements can begin. So far, the area east of the Old Hall, though used for several ceremonies that should take place outside that hall, has not been consecrated. The actual measurements have already been made: the outline of the Great Altar Space has been marked with a string on pegs. The ritual measurements, made with the extended vṛddhaprakrama measuring stick (above, page 196), are therefore symbolic. They take place in silence, and only the adhvaryu can enter the area. He starts going east along the west-east line and then follows the outer boundary of the Great Altar Space, moving south and north along the western and eastern boun-

PLATE 63

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daries. He follows up his measurements with a string, tying it to the pegs and superimposing it on the old string that is already there.

After measuring the Great Altar Space, the adhvaryu measures the Field of Agni, the area where the Agni altar will be built in the shape of a bird. He uses a stick, five aratni long (above, page 196) and ritually confirms the actual measurements that have already been made. After tying a new string round the outline of the bird, he traces it with his sphya. Then he throws pebbles along the outline of the altar. These are brought in a clay dish by a helper (Vasudevan Akkitiri, the elder brother of the adhvaryu and the yajamāna). These are the pebbles called śarkara in Sanskrit and koḷipparan, "chicken-fish," in Malayalam. Afterwards the adhvaryu measures the northern boundary of the Great Altar Space and sweeps the entire area.

Except for sweeping, which is accompanied by mantras, these movements are gone through in silence. The subsequent rites are accompanied by mantras, which are the same as in the corresponding ceremonies of the new- and full-moon ceremonies, the animal sacrifice, and the Agniṣṭoma. The agnīdh sits north of the northern boundary, and the adhvaryu puts down a darbha blade, strikes it with his sphya, picks up some earth, and places it next to the agnīdh. This is done thrice with a mantra and once without. These rites involve the use of the mantra TS 1.3.1.1c ("He who hates us and whom we hate, here I cut off his neck"; cf. above, page 104).

Fourth Day: April 16, 1977

EPISODE 11

Setting Up the Field of Agni
(*Agnikṣetropadhāna*)

THE CEREMONIAL SETTING up of the agnikṣetra or Field of Agni belongs to the fourth ritual day. As we have seen, the fourth ritual day regularly begins with the Construction of the New Domestic Altar (Episode 7), followed by Introductory Offering, Purchase of Soma, Guest Offering for Soma (Episode 8), Pravargya, Upasad, and Subrahmaṇyā (Episode 9). This should be followed by Setting up the Field of Agni (*agnikṣetropadhāna*). However, since the Field of Agni cannot be set up unless it has first been measured, together with the Great Altar-Space to which it belongs, these ceremonies of the third ritual day had to be gone through first (Episode 10).

As a result, ceremonies that, in the Agniṣṭoma, are performed consecutively, but that are not consecutive in the Agnicayana, are also performed consecutively in 1975, but this time as a consequence of the menses of the wife of the yajamāna. The differences are illustrated in Table 5, which lists the rites of the Agniṣṭoma (column I), of the Agnicayana (column II), and of the 1975 performance of the Agnicayana in which the third and fourth

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PLATE 62

Breathing at the Special Resolution

Before the Great Altar Space (mahāvedi) is measured, the yajamāna takes a special resolution (ākṛtiphalasaṃkalpa) in the boundary area between the Old Hall and the Great Altar Space:

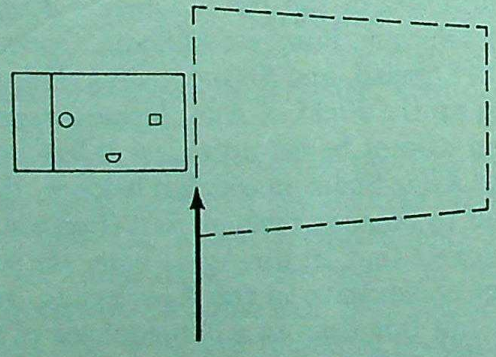
Desirous of heaven I shall pile the bird-shaped altar!

Each resolution is preceded by certain recitations, e.g. prāṇāyāma, "breathing". The yajamāna recites without breathing:

OM earth OM sky OM heaven!
OM greatness OM people!
OM austerity OM truth!

OM water OM essence of light,
Immortality, Brahman,
Earth, Sky, Heaven, OM! (see page 283)

Then he breathes out. Throughout these rites, the yajamāna faces east, his wife, the adhvaryu, and the brahman priests to his left.



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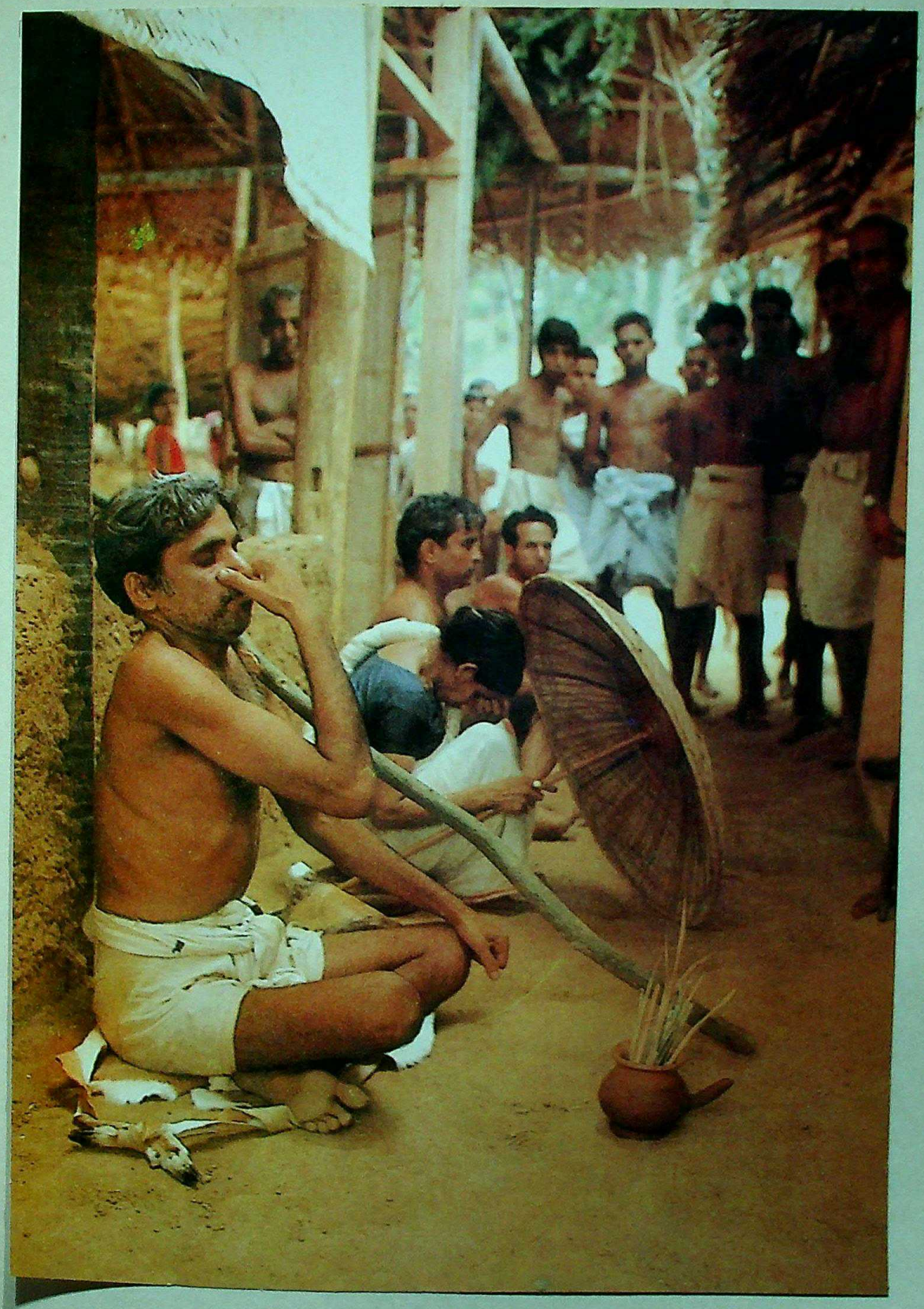

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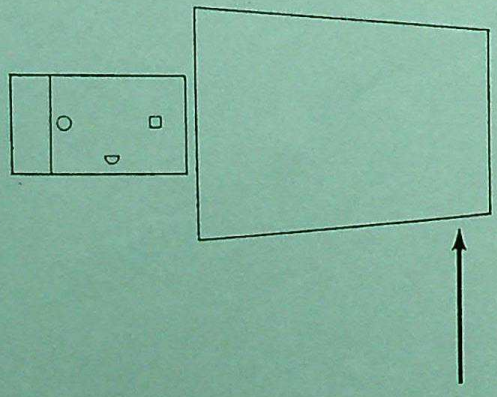
PLATE 63

Measuring the Great Altar Space

On the third day of the ritual, the adhvaryu measures out the Great Altar Space (mahāvedi), where most of the important ceremonies of the Agnicayana will be performed. The measurement takes place in silence, and no one can enter the area. The actual measurements have already been made, and are marked with strings on pegs. The adhvaryu makes the ritual measurements, using his measuring stick with the extended unit (vṛddha-prakrama: see Figure 8). After measuring the mahāvedi, he measures the Field of Agni, and the outline of the bird-shaped altar, using the aratni unit. On the plate, the right wing of the bird is traced in front, the head and left wing are in the background.



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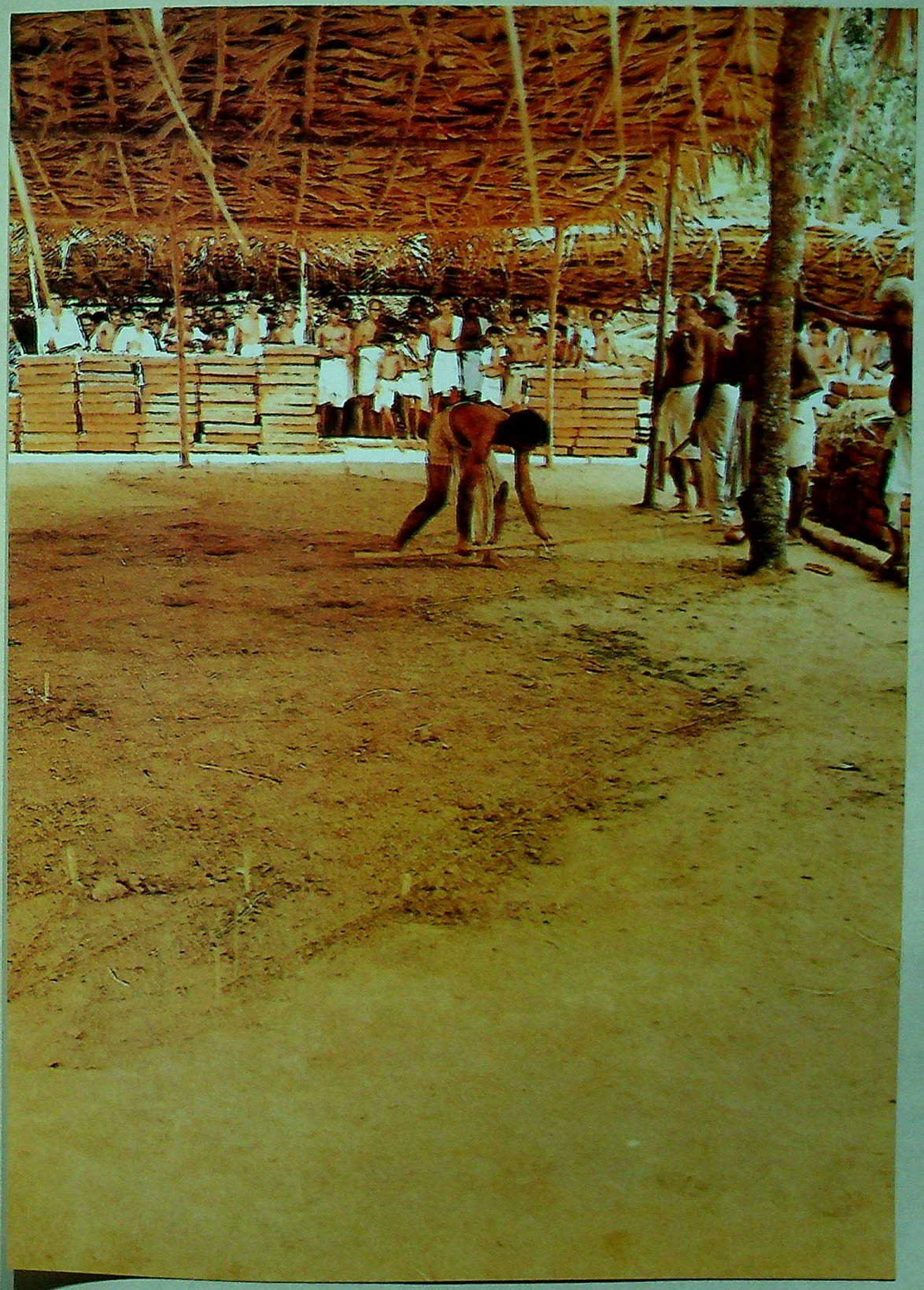

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days were combined (column III). Rites that are specific to the Agnicayana have been italicized and the ritual days are put in parentheses.

SEQUENCE OF RITES ON THE THIRD AND FOURTH DAYS

I AGNIṢṬOMA	II AGNICAYANA	III April 16, 1975
	Measurement of Mahāvedi(3)	
	Measurement of Agnikṣetra(3)	
	Construction of New Domestic Altar (4)	*Construction of New Domestic Altar*
Introductory Offering (2)	Introductory Offering (4)	Introductory Offering
Purchase of Soma (2)	Purchase of Soma (4)	Purchase of Soma
Guest Offering (2)	Guest Offering (4)	Guest Offering
Pravargya, Upasad, and Subrahmaṇyā(2)	Pravargya, Upasad, and Subrahmaṇyā(4)	Pravargya, Upasad, and Subrahmaṇyā
Measurement of Mahāvedi (3)		Measurement of Mahāvedi
		Measurement of Agnikṣetra
Preparation of Uttaravedi (3)	*Setting up Agnikṣetra* (4)	*Setting up Agnikṣetra*

TABLE 5

Setting up the Field of Agni begins with the determination of the places for the uparava resounding holes and the utkara rubbish heap. This corresponds to the Agniṣṭoma. Then a white and brown horse are tied to the east of the Great Altar-Space, on the southern and northern side, respectively. Adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, brahman, and yajamāna put on sandals (*upānah*)
PLATE 72B made of the skin of a black antelope. They will also wear these when the layers of the altar are piled up. The adhvaryu takes a bow and arrow, four stones (*aśman*), a pitcher with water, a dish for clarified butter (*ājyasthālī*), and the sruva ladle. He recites TS 5.7.9.1a-b and 5.7.8.1a (page 339), touches the white horse, and recites, together with the yajamāna:

May Prajāpati seat you.
With that deity in the fashion of the Aṅgiras, sit firm!
(TS 5.5.2.4)

प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

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Followed by the yajamāna, the adhvaryu picks up the bow, the arrow, and the four stones, and goes to the easternmost point of the Field of Agni. He aims and shoots at this point and puts down a stone on that very spot, together with the yajamāna, reciting:

इन्द्रस्य वज्रोऽसि वार्त्रघ्न-
स्तनूपा नः प्रतिस्पशः ।
यो नः पुरस्ताद्दक्षिणतः पश्चादुत्तरतो-
ऽधायुरभिदासत्येतꣳसोऽश्मानमृच्छतु ॥

You are the cudgel of Indra, destroying obstacles,
protecting our bodies, lying in wait.
Who from the east, full of malice,
plots against us,
let him fall upon this rock!

(TS 5.7.3.1a)

The same rite is performed at the southern, western, and northern points, replacing "east" in the mantra by "south," "west," and "north," respectively. On these four stones yajamāna and adhvaryu recite the mantras With That God and Pouring Milk.

In the meantime two helpers have carried a square brick to the tail of the outline of the bird. This is the *aindrī* brick, the first brick of the first layer, called after Indra. The adhvaryu puts it in its place (see below, Figure 24). Yajamāna and adhvaryu touch it and consecrate it with:

स ईं पाहि य ऋजीषी तरुत्रो
यः शिप्रवान्वृषभो यो मतीनाम् ।
यो गोत्रभिद्वज्रभृद्यो हरिष्ठाः
स इन्द्र चित्राꣳअभि नृन्धि वाजान् ॥

He who receives the Soma residue, triumphant,
let him protect this!
Who is full-cheeked, of virile thoughts,
who wields the cudgel and opens the cow pens,
borne along by bay horses,
let Indra procure marvellous powers for us!

(TB 2.5.8.1a)

This is followed by With That God and Pouring Milk.

Yajamāna and adhvaryu sit down at the center of the Agni field. The adhvaryu puts a peg in the middle and two others at equal distance to the east and the west on the east-west line. He ties a string from the eastern to the western peg, checks that the central peg is at the center, and then removes the central peg and the string. Since a fairly big hole is about to be dug and the hole for the central peg—marking the middle of the Field of Agni—would be lost in this bigger hole, the center is now marked with the help of the two other pegs.

A helper (Vasudevan Akkitiri) digs a large hole immediately to the north of the center, and the adhvaryu puts a bunch of darbha grass with roots (Malayalam: *darbhamoḷa*) in it, reciting:

वाक्त्वा समुद्र उप दधातु ।

Language should put you in the ocean.

(Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 38.13:116.1–3)

The adhvaryu makes five butter oblations on this darbha grass with the sruva ladle, reciting five mantras:

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The year united with the waning moons—	सजूरृन्दोऽर्यावभि-
with ghee, svāhā!	घृतेन स्वाहा ।
The dawn united with the ruddy cows—	सजूरुषा अरुणीभि-
with ghee, svāhā!	घृतेन स्वाहा ।
The sun united with the stallion—	सजूः सूर्य एतशेन
with ghee, svāhā?	घृतेन स्वाहा ।
The Aśvins united with miracles—	सजोषावश्विनादꣳसोभि-
with ghee, svāhā!	घृतेन स्वाहा ।
Agni Common-to-all-men united with food offerings—	सजूरग्निर्वैश्वानर इडाभि-
with ghee, svāhā!	घृतेन स्वाहा ।
(TS 5.6.4.1, with *ghṛtena svāhā* after each mantra)	

At each oblation the yajamāna utters his formula of renunciation:

This is for Agni, not for me.	अग्नये इदं न मम

Immediately after this, the adhvaryu places dūrvā grass in the hole, north of the darbha grass, reciting:

In your course, in this way and that, let flowery dūrvā grow!	आयने ते परायणे
	दूर्वा रोहन्तु पुष्पिणीः ।
Let either a fountain spring up there, or a pond rich in lotuses.	उत्सो वा तत्र जायातै
	ह्रदो वा पुण्डरीकवान् ॥
(Atharvaveda 6.106.1)[1]	

Each recitation is followed by two renderings of With That God and Pouring Milk.

In the meantime, one helper has carried a triangular brick to the right wing of the outline of the bird, which points to the south. This is the Vibhakti brick, the second brick of the first layer. The helper places it in the southwest tip of the wing (below, Figure 24). Yajamāna and adhvaryu go there, touch the brick, and consecrate it with TB 3.5.2.1 = RV 6.16.10 (above, page 33) again followed by With That God and Pouring Milk.

PLATE 64 The Field of Agni is then ritually ploughed. A wooden plough has been made beforehand by the carpenter, its shape the same as is used by farmers all over South India. The adhvaryu touches the plough, reciting:

Tie the straps!	स वरत्रा दधातन
Attach the buckets!	निरोहावान् कृणोतन ।
let us drain the well full of water,	सिञ्चामहा अवटमुद्रिणं वयं
which is never exhausted, never dried up.	विश्वाऽहादꣳस्तमक्षितम् ॥
I drain the inexhaustible well	निष्कृताहावमवटꣳ
with buckets attached and strong straps,	

[1] According to Erkkara Raman Nambudiri, this mantra might have belonged to the Bāṣkala recension of the Ṛgveda.

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full of water, easy to bail.

(TS 4.2.5.5n-o)

सुवरत्रꣳसुषेचनम् ।
उद्दिर्णꣳसिञ्चे अक्षितम् ॥

Six assistants get ready to pull the plough, while the adhvaryu recites:

p. Poets harness the ploughs,
the yokes spread apart.
The wise are in the grace of the gods.

सीरा युञ्जन्ति कवयो
युगा वि तन्वते पृथक् ।
धीरा देवेषु सुम्नया ॥

q. Harness the ploughs,
stretch the yokes apart,
sow seed here in the prepared womb.
When our chant meets with ready response,
the ripe grain will come close to the sickle.

(TS 4.2.5.5p-q)

युनक्त सीरा वि युगा तनोत
कृते योनौ वपतेह बीजम् ।
गिरा च श्रुष्टिः सभरा असन्नो
नेदीय इत् सृण्या पक्वमाऽयत् ॥

The ploughing begins. The men pull the plough while the adhvaryu holds it and recites:

r. The plough with pointed share,
propitious and with shiny handle,
turns up a cow, a sheep,
a plump and lusty girl,
a chariot frame with drive seat.

लाङ्गलं पवीरवꣳ
सुशेवꣳ सुमतिꣳसरु ।
उदित् कृषति गामविं
प्रफर्व्यं च पीवरीम् ।
प्रस्थावद्रथवाहनम् ॥

s. Prosperity—let our ploughshares turn up the earth!
Prosperity—let the ploughmen approach the draught animals!
Let Parjanya rain prosperity with honey and milk.
Śunā and Sīra! Grant us prosperity!

शुनं नः फाला वि तुदन्तु भूमिꣳ
शुनं कीनाशा अभि यन्तु वाहान् ।
शुनं पर्जन्यो मधुना पयोभिः
शुनासीरा शुनमस्मासु धत्तम् ॥

Looking back at the furrows, he continues:

t. Milker of wishes! Milk our wishes
for Mitra and Varuṇa, for Indra, for Agni,
for Pūṣan, for the plants, and for our offspring.

कामं कामदुघे धुक्ष्व
मित्राय वरुणाय च ।
इन्द्रायाग्नये पूष्ण
ओषधीभ्यः प्रजाभ्यः ॥

u. The furrow is annointed with ghee, with honey;
approved by the All-gods, by the Maruts,
full of power, swelling with milk.
Furrow! Turn towards us with milk!

(TS 4.2.5.5r-u)

घृतेन सीता मधुना समक्ता
विश्वैर्देवैरनुमता मरुद्भिः ।
ऊर्जस्वती पयसा पिन्वमाना-
ऽस्मान्त्सीते पयसाऽभ्याववृत्स्व ॥

Three furrows are made from the tail to the head of the outlined bird, three from the northwest hip to the southeast shoulder, three from the southwest hip to the northeast shoulder, and three from the southern wing to the northern wing. The ploughing is always done in one direction, i.e., the men turn back to the next beginning point without ploughing. They always avoid the central point of the Agni Field.

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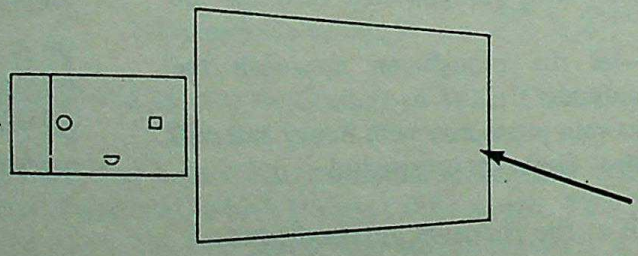
PLATE 64

Ploughing the Field of Agni

"The plough with pointed share,
propitious and with shiny handle,
turns up a cow, a sheep,
a plump and lusty girl,
a chariot frame with drive seat."

(TS 4.2.5.5r)

The adhvaryu, assisted by helpers, ploughs the Field of Agni, so that it will be fertile and provide food for the bird. The plough is of the common type used by farmers all over Kerala.



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Then a mixture of "all herbs" (*sarvauṣadham*) is handed to the adhvaryu in the *sarvauṣadhapātra*. He strews seeds over the Field of Agni, following the furrows that have been ploughed. First he walks from the tail in eastern direction, reciting:

a. The plants born
three generations before the gods,
I delight in these hundred and seven species
of brown ones.
b. Mother! A hundred are your species,
a thousand are your shoots.
Thus, with hundredfold wisdom,
restore his health for me!
c. With flowers and shoots,
with and without fruit,
like victorious stallions,
the plants are fully effective.
(TS 4.2.6.1a-c)

या जाता ओषधयो
देवेभ्यस्त्रियुगं पुरा ।
मन्दामि ब्रध्नाणामहꣳ
शतं धामानि सप्त च ॥
शतं वो अम्ब धामानि
सहस्रमुत वो रुहः ।
अधा शतक्रत्वो यूय-
मिमं मे अगदं कृत ॥
पुष्पावतीः प्रसूवतीः
फलिनीरफला उत ।
अश्वा इव सजित्वरी-
र्वीरुधः पारयिष्णवः ॥

Then he walks from the northwest hip to the southeast shoulder, reciting:

d. Mothers! Goddesses! I summon you plants who
destroy disease, remove disease.
e. In the aśvattha tree is your seat,
in the parṇa tree your nest is made.
You will surely have a cow as your share
if you save this man.
f. When I, restoring strength,
grasp these plants in my hand,
the spirit of the disease vanishes
as before one who captures it alive.
(TS 4.2.6.1d-f)

ओषधीरिति मातरस्तद्वो देवीरुप ब्रुवे ।
रपाꣳसि विघ्नतीरित
रपश्चातयमानाः ॥
अश्वत्थे वो निषदनं पर्णे वो वसतिः कृता ।
गोभाज इत् किलासथ
यत् सनवथ पूरुषम् ॥
यदहं वाजयन्निमा ओषधीर्हस्त आदधे ।
आत्मा यक्ष्मस्य नश्यति
पुरा जीवगृभो यथा ॥

He walks from the southwest hip to the northeast shoulder, reciting:

g. When plants gather together,
like princes at an assembly,
the physician, destroyer of demons,
remover of disease, is called a sage.
h. Restorer is your mother called,
and you are the preparers.
You are liquids with wings.
Restore whatever is diseased!
i. Let one help the other!
Assist one another!
All you plants, in close accord
make this speech of mine come true!
(TS 4.2.6.1g-i)

यदोषधयः सꣳसञ्चन्ते
राजानः समितावि व ।
विप्रः स उच्यते भिषग्
रक्षोहाऽमीवचातनः ॥
निष्कृतिर्नाम वो माता-
ऽथा यूयꣳ स्थ संकृतीः ।
सराः पतत्रिणीः स्थन
यदामयति निष्कृत ॥
अन्या वो अन्यामवत्व-
न्याऽन्यस्या उपावत ।
ताः सर्वा ओषधयः संविदाना
इदं मे प्रावता वचः ॥

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And lastly he walks from the southern wing in the northern direction, saying:

उच्छुष्मा ओषधीनां
गावो गोष्ठादिवेरते ।
धनꣳ सनिष्यन्तीना-
मात्मानं तवं पूरुष ॥
अति विश्वाः परिष्ठाः
स्तेन इव व्रजमक्रमुः ।
ओषधयः प्राचुच्यवु-
र्यत् किं च तनुवाꣳरपः ॥
यास्त आतस्थुरात्मानं
या आविविशुः परुःपरुः ।
तास्ते यक्ष्मं वि बाधन्ता-
मुग्रो मध्यमशीरिव ॥
साकं यक्ष्म प्र पत
श्येनेनं किकिदीविना ।
साकं वातस्य ध्राज्या
साकं नश्य निहाकया ।
अश्वावतीꣳ सोमवती-
मूर्जयन्तीमुदोजसम् ।
आ विवित्सु सर्वा ओषधी-
रस्मा अरिष्टतातये ॥

k. Powers emerge from the plants
like cows from their pasture,
from those who shall save your wealth
and your life, man!
l. They have climbed beyond all obstructions,
like a thief over a fence.
The plants have removed every disease of the body.
m. Those who have mounted your self,
who have entered every limb,
may they drive away your disease
like a powerful intermediary.
n. Disease! Fly off at once with the eagle,
with the blue jay,
with the rush of the wind!
Perish at once with the whirlwind!
o. All the plants, with stallions
and with Soma,
full of vigor, full of power,
I have assembled for his recovery.

(TS 4.2.6.1k-o)

Next the adhvaryu flings clods of earth in the four directions, saying:

मा नो हिꣳसीज्जनिता यः पृथिव्या
यो वा दिवꣳ सत्यधर्मा जजान ।
यश्चापश्चन्द्रा बृहतीर्जजान
कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥
अभ्यावर्तस्व पृथिवि
यज्ञेन पयसा सह ।
वपां ते अग्निरिषितोऽवं सर्पतु ॥
अग्ने यत् ते शुक्रं यच्चन्द्रं
यत् पूतं यज्ञियम् ।
तद्देवेभ्यो भरामसि ॥

a. Let him not injure us who created the earth,
who with true principles created the heavens,
and who created the great shining waters!
Which god shall we worship with oblation?
b. Earth! Turn to us
with milk, during the ritual!
Let Agni, aroused, creep over your mantle.
c. Agni! Whatever of you is pure,
shining and bright,
suitable for offering,
we carry to the gods.

(TS 4.2.7.1a-c)

He takes two clods of earth, saying:

इषमूर्जमहमित आ ददे
ऋतस्य धाम्नो अमृतस्य योनेः ।

d. From here I take food and strength,
from the abode of order,
from the womb of immortality.

He puts one on the Agni field:

आ नो गोषु विशत्वोषधीषु

Let it enter us, in cattle, in plants!

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and flings one away:

I abandon exhaustion, weakness, and disease. जहा॑मि से॒दिमनि॑रा॒ममी॑वाम् ।
(TS 4.2.7.2d)

Then the adhvaryu addresses the yajamāna:

Come Yajamāna! एहि यजमान ।

This is followed by the tracing and digging of the *cātvāla* trench north of the northern boundary of the Great Altar Space (see Figure 19). The adhvaryu takes some earth trom there, carries it to the uttaravedi, puts it there, and makes a small elevation, called the uttaravedi's navel (*uttaranābhi*). This is done three times with mantras and once without. The mantras are:

a. You are the home of wealth for me.
You are the home of the afflicted for me.
Protect me when I am oppressed!
Protect me when I am afflicted!
वित्तायनी मेऽसि
तिक्तायनी मेऽस्य-
वंतान्मा नाथित-
मवंतान्मा व्यथितम् ।
b. May Agni named Nabhas know!
PLATE 65 c. Agni Aṅgiras! You who are in this earth,
come with the name Long Life!
Whatever your unblemished name, ritual, relevant,
with that I deposit you.
विदेरग्निर्नभो॒ नाम ।
अग्ने अङ्गिरो॒ योऽस्यां पृथि॒व्या-
मस्यायु॒षा॒ नाम्नेहि
यत् तेऽनाधृष्टं॑ नाम॑ य॒ज्ञिय॑ं
तेन॒ त्वाऽऽद॑धे ।
d. (Similar, for the second and third deposition, with "second" and "third" earth, respectively.)
e. You are a lioness. You are a buffalo.
सि॒ꣳहीर॑सि महि॒षीर॑सि ।
f. (*flattening the ground*) Extend wide,
let the ritual patron extend wide (in power) for you!
उरु प्रथस्वो-
रु ते॑ य॒ज्ञप॑तिः प्रथताम् ।
g. (*striking the ground with the sphya*) You are firm.
ध्रु॒वाऽसि॑ ।
h. Be pure for the gods!
Be bright for the gods!
दे॒वेभ्यः॒ शुन्धस्व दे॒वेभ्यः॒ शुम्भस्व ।
(TS 1.2.12.1a-2n)

In the Agnicayana, the adhvaryu follows this up by scattering sand over the Field of Agni, and reciting:

e. Agni! You have glory and power.
Your rays shine powerfully, you splendid god!
Poet! With your lofty beams you give
praiseworthy strength to your worshipper.
अग्ने तव॒ श्रवो॒ वयो॒ महि॑
भ्राजन्त्य॒र्चयो॑ विभावसो ।
बृह॑द्भानो॒ शव॑सा॒ वाज॑-
मु॒क्थ्यं॑ दधासि दा॒शुषे॑ कवे ॥
f. Agni! As ruler spread among the creatures!
Immortal One, extend riches to us!
You are resplendent with a beautiful form.
Scatter splendid riches.
इ॒रज्यन्नग्ने प्रथयस्व॒ ज॒न्तुभि॑-
र॒स्मे रायो॑ अमर्त्य ।
स दर्शी॑तस्य॒ वपु॑षो॒ वि रा॑जसि
पु॒णक्षि॑ सानु॒सिꣳ र॒यिम् ॥

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g. Son of strength! Knower of everything!
Honored by our prayers, take delight in our best praises!
Those who possess wonderful protection and excellent birth
have placed food in you abounding in seed.

h. With pure splendor, with bright splendor,
with undiminished splendor, you come to light,
Like a son attending to his parents
you protect and fill up both worlds.

i. For favor men have honored Agni,
the rightous bull, common to all men.
You Divine One, ready to hear, pervading,
generations of men invoke with their song.

k. You provide the discerner arranger of ritual,
master of great solicitude,
the winning priest, wise in rites
who is the gift of the Bhṛgu tribe.

(TS 4.2.7.2e–3k)

ऊर्जो॑ नपा॒ज्जात॑वेदः सुश॒स्तिभि॒-
र्मन्द॑स्व धी॒तिभि॑र्हि॒तः ।
त्वे इषः॒ सं द॑धु॒र्भूरि॑रेतस-
श्चि॒त्रोत॑यो वा॒मजा॑ताः ॥
पा॒व॒कव॑र्चाः शु॒क्रव॑र्चा॒
अनू॑नवर्चा॒ उदि॑यर्षि भा॒नुना॑ ।
पु॒त्रः पि॒तरा॑ वि॒चर॒न्नुपा॑व-
स्यु॒भे पृ॑णक्षि॒ रोद॑सी ॥
ऋ॒तावा॑नं महि॒षं वि॒श्वच॑र्षणि-
म॒ग्निꣳ सु॒म्नाय॑ दधिरे पु॒रो जनाः॑ ।
श्रुत्क॑र्णꣳ स॒प्रथ॑स्तमं त्वा गि॒रा
दैव्यं॒ मानु॑षा यु॒गा ॥
नि॒ष्क॒र्तार॑मध्व॒रस्य॒ प्रचे॑तसं॒
क्षय॑न्त॒ꣳ राध॑से म॒हे ।
रा॒तिं भृगू॑णामु॒शिजं॑ क॒विक्र॑तुं
पृ॒णक्षि॑ सान॒सिꣳ र॒यिम् ॥

Finally the adhvaryu puts pebbles (śarkara) in the trenches. He consecrates them together with the yajamāna, reciting TS 4.2.7.4*l* (as above, page 340). While the adhvaryu pours water from a pitcher around the outline of the bird, the Ignorant Priest (avidvān) appears, the yajamāna holds his hand and hands him a cloth (vastram) in payment for his forthcoming services. The adhvaryu scatters sand over the Field of Agni, reciting TS 4.2.7.4m (above page 340). It is now 2:45 p.m. and the setting up of the agnikṣetra is complete.

Fourth Day: April 16, 1975

EPISODE 12

The Foundation of the Altar

YAJAMĀNA AND ADHVARYU leave the Field of Agni and go to the Old Hall to fetch a number of things that will be buried under the first layer of the altar: bunches of darbha grass and dūrvā grass; milk, ghee, and curds mixed with honey; twelve small pots, six male (kumbha) and six female (kumbhī); rice for Bṛhaspati, god of wisdom; thirteen pieces of gold; a pitcher of water; a lotus leaf; the golden breastplate (rukma) that was used at the consecration (page 323); two ladles made of *kārṣmarya* wood; *avakā* plants; a wooden representation of a tortoise (*kūrma*: 1975 was the first time that no live tortoise was used); mortar and pestle; the all-herb mixture (sarvauṣadha); the three ukhā pots; and the five animal heads. They

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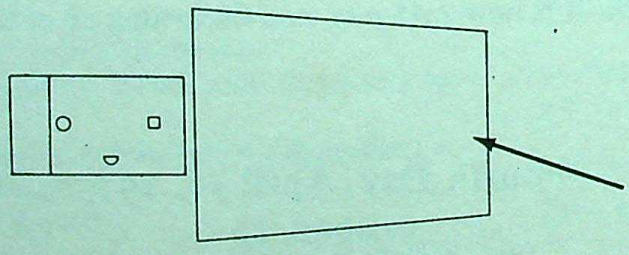
PLATE 65

Putting Earth in the Center

"Agni Aṅgiras! You who are in this earth,
come with the name Long Life!
Whatever your unblemished name, ritually relevant,
with that I deposit you."

(TS 1.2.12.1c)

After digging the cātvāla trench on the northern boundary of the Great Altar Space (mahāvedi), the adhvaryu returns to the center of the Field of Agni with the wooden sword (sphya) and some earth from the cātvāla. He deposits the earth in the center, while the yajamāna touches it. He does this three times with the mantra, and once without. The agnīdh sits on the left, and in the foreground is a peg, used to mark the location of the center.



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return with all these items in large clay pots which they put down in the area north of what will be the bird-shaped altar. Some of the objects are referred as iṣṭakā, "brick" (e.g., the avakā); all are regarded as Agnis, "fires."

The adhvaryu dips twenty-two bundles of darbha grass in milk and sprinkles all the Agnis, reciting:

I sprinkle the lovable Agnis with Agnis
(BŚS 10.27:26.8–9)

अग्नीन्वोऽग्निभ्यो जुष्टान्प्रोक्षामि ।

He then dips them in ghee and sprinkles the Agnis, reciting:

Agni is kindled with Agni,
the wise young lord of the house
bearing the oblation,
with the ladle in his mouth.
(TS 1.4.46.3*l*)

अग्निनाग्निः समिध्यते
कविर्गृहपतिर्युवा ।
हव्यवाड् जुह्वास्यः ॥

A helper (actually, the brāhmaṇacchaṃsin) brings the white horse. The adhvaryu leads it onto the Field of Agni from the tail's side, reciting:

He has overcome every battle, every enemy,
so says Agni and so says Soma.
Bṛhaspati and Savitṛ say that of me.
Pūṣan placed me in the world of good action.
(TS 4.2.8.1a)

अभ्यस्थाद्विश्वाः पृतना अरातीः-
स्तदग्निराह तदु सोम आह ।
बृहस्पतिः सविता तन्म आह
पूषा माऽधात् सुकृतस्य लोके ॥

The horse walks across, being pulled by the same assistant, now from the other side in the eastern direction, while the adhvaryu recites:

When first you cried at birth,
arising from the ocean, or from the earth;
like the wings of the eagle, the limbs of the gazelle.
that birth of yours is praised, stallion!
(TS 4.2.8.1b)

यदक्रन्दः प्रथमं जायमान
उद्यन्त्समुद्रादुत वा पुरीषात् ।
श्येनस्य पक्षा हरिणस्य बाहू
उपस्तुतं जनिमं ते अर्वन् ॥

The adhvaryu, touching his heart with his right hand, recites TS 5.7.9.1a-b and 5.7.8.1a as at the beginning of the construction of the new domestic altar (page 339) and at the beginning of the setting up of the Agni Field (page 386). Then he touches the white horse, steps on the aindrī brick, and recites:

1. This the gathering of the waters,
the abode of the ocean.
Let your darts burn somebody else!
Purify us, be friendly to us!

अपामिदं न्ययनꣳ
समुद्रस्य निवेशनम् ।
अन्यं ते अस्मत् तपन्तु हेतयः
पावको अस्मभ्यꣳ शिवो भव ॥

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m. Homage to your heat, your radiance!
Let there be homage to your flame!
Let your darts burn somebody else!
Purify us, be friendly to us!
(TS 4.6.1.2*l*–m)

नमस्ते हरसे शोचिषे
नमस्ते अस्त्वर्चिषे ।
अन्यं ते अस्मत् तपन्तु हेतयः
पावको अस्मभ्यꣳ शिवो भव ॥

The items that have been brought are now about to be buried under the altar, all within the area of the ātman or "self," the largest square within the bird-shaped altar (see Figures 7, 24, and 25). In the meantime, helpers have already put down some of the bricks of the first layer, especially in the outlying areas, away from the ātman. This is not the ritual piling of the first layer: it is merely the physical deposition of the bricks. They are "piled" later when they are consecrated ritually and in the proper order by the adhvaryu together with the yajamāna.

In order to obtain an idea of the various spots where the Agnis will be buried, it is necessary to know where the bricks are going to be piled, for the adhvaryu obviously has this in mind. The bird-shaped altar will be piled from five layers (Sanskrit: *citi*; Malayalam: *paṭavŭ*), the first four of two hundred bricks each, and the fifth of two hundred and five bricks. The bricks are of various sizes and shapes, as we have seen before (Figure 9). On the fourth through the eighth ritual day, each day one layer of bricks will be consecrated. From the second layer onwards, the bricks will be physically deposited, in any order, by helpers on the day preceding the day on which they will be ritually consecrated in the specified order. Because of the combination of the third and the fourth days on April 16, the bricks of the first layer are deposited and consecrated on that same day. The bricks of the first layer could not be deposited earlier in any case, as there are so many items to be buried under it.

There is one pattern of bricks for the first, third, and fifth layers; and another for the second and forth layers. In this way, bricks are made to cover the boundaries between bricks on the lower layer. With the exception of the vertical passage at the center, the interstices between bricks are never above or under the interstices between bricks in the next layer. The same principle underlies the piling of the domestic altar, without exception, as we have seen (page 338).

On each layer, some bricks are consecrated with individual mantras and in a specific order; they fall into groups with specific names, and after each group has been consecrated with the specific mantras, the bricks are consecrated in the same order for a second time with With That God (tayādevata, TS 4.2.4.4*l*) and for a third time with Pouring Milk (sūdadohasa, TS 4.2.4.4*o*). The remaining bricks are space fillers (lokampṛṇa), and are consecrated in any order, and each with the mantra Fill Space (TS 4.2.4.4 n). Afterwards, the space fillers are consecrated for a second time, with With That God, and for a third time, with Pouring Milk. To keep track of this threefold consecration, each brick is marked by a helper, generally the pratiprasthātā,

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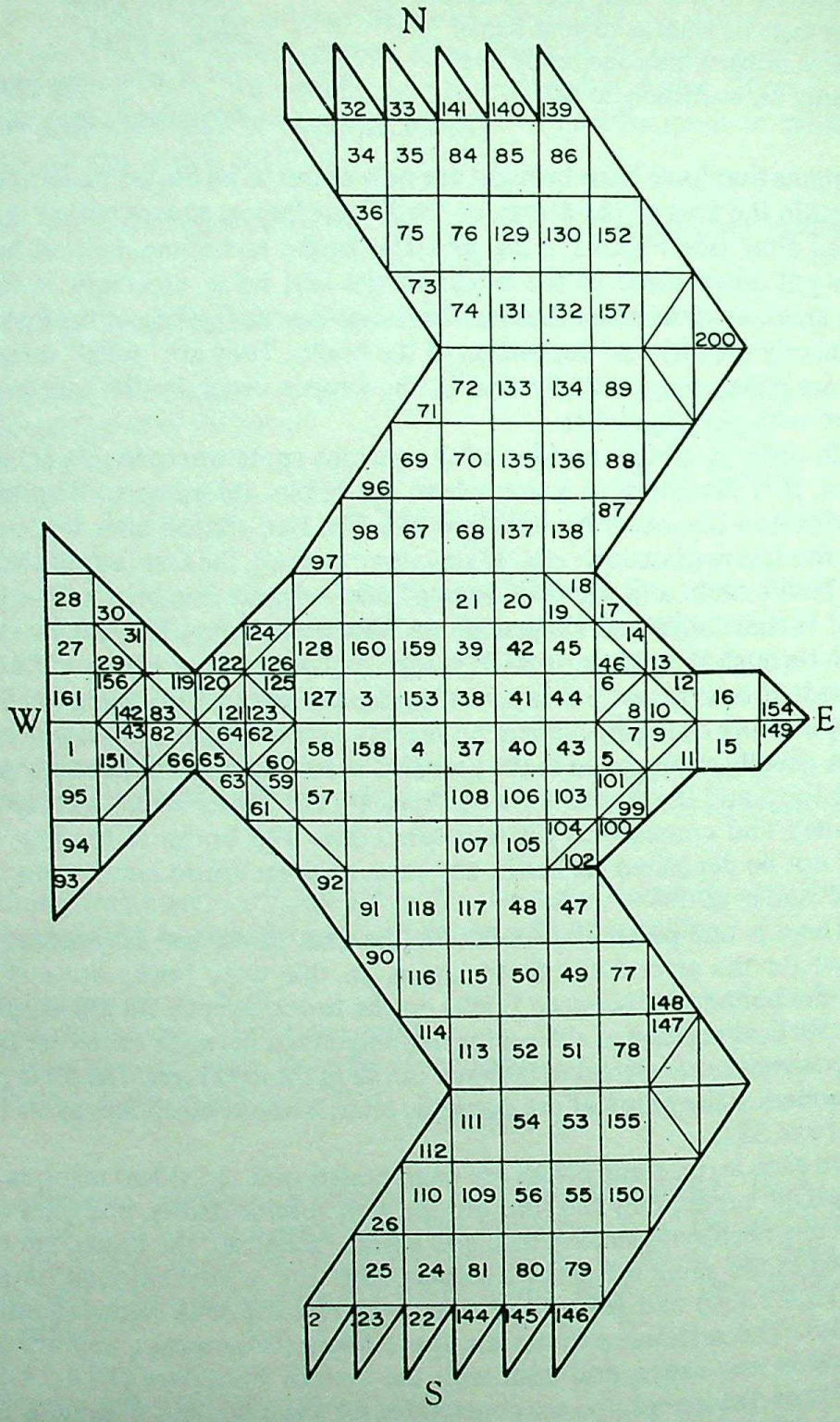

Figure 24—Order of Bricks in the First Layer

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with a dot of white paste, for each mantra, so that the brick first has one, then two, and finally three dots on it. PLATE 66,70B

In the first layer, the first one hundred and sixty bricks are consecrated with specific mantras and in a specific order; the remaining forty are space fillers, but the first and the last are also fixed. Figure 24 gives the prescribed order, the shape, and the location of the bricks of the first layer. Table 6 provides their names, either individually or of the groups they belong to.

In principle, each brick is consecrated by the adhvaryu on behalf of the yajamāna. Actually, both yajamāna and adhvaryu touch the brick and recite the prescribed mantra together.

NAMES OF BRICKS IN THE FIRST LAYER

Number	Name of Bricks	Number of Bricks
1	Aindrī, "for Indra"	1
2	Vibhakti, "share"	1
3	Maṇḍala, "circle"	1
4	Retaḥsic, "seed discharging"	1
5–16*	Skandhya, "shoulder"	12
17–36	Apasya, "watery"	20
37–86	Prāṇabhṛt, "supporting exhalation"	50
87–98	Saṃyat, "stretch"	12
99–148	Apānabhṛt, "supporting inhalation"	50
149–153	Mukham, "face"	5
154–158	Aṅgam, "limb"	5
159	Prājāpatya, "for Prajāpati"	1
160	Ṛṣabha, "bull"	1
161–200	Lokampṛṇa, "space filler"	40
		200

* 15–16 are called Saṃyānī, "way."

TABLE 6

There are five types of bricks used in the first layer (and also in the third, and, with slight modification, in the fifth). We have already seen their names and numbers (Table 3, page 202). With the help of Figure 24, the reader may verify the distribution of these types (pañcami, sapāda, adhyardha, pañcamyardha, and adhyardhārdha) over the layer (which is relatively simple, unlike the second or fourth layer). A hint for those who wish to undertake this exercise: the two sapāda bricks are in the neck of the bird.

The area of the bricks, and the total area of the layer, are given in Table 7.

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PLATE 66

Keeping Track of the Consecration

All the bricks of the altar will be consecrated with specific mantras, generally three for each brick: the first mantra is a specific mantra, in general different for each brick; the second and third are the same for all bricks, viz. With That God (tayādevata) and Pouring Milk (sūdadohasa), respectively. The order in which most bricks are consecrated is complex, as a glance at the diagrams in Figures 24, 26, 37, 38 and 39 will show. To keep track of the consecration, a helper puts a dot of white paste on each brick for each mantra. Each brick will therefore receive first one, then two, and finally three marks on it.

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AREA OF BRICKS IN THE FIRST, THIRD, AND FIFTH LAYERS

	Number	Area Per Brick	Area
pañcami	38	1	38
sapāda	2	1.25	2.5
adhyardha	56	1.5	84
pañcamyardha	60	.5	30
adhyardhārdha	44	.75	33
			187.5

TABLE 7

The total area of the altar (viz., of its first, third, or fifth layers; but also of its second or fourth, as well shall see: page 453) is 187.5 square aratnis, which is 7 1/2 times 25. So in spite of the complex sizes of their bricks, the Nambudiris preserve the tradition that the altar area should be 7 1/2 times a square puruṣa (cf. pages 65–66; and Seidenberg in Volume II, page 96).

As will be seen from Figure 24, the ātman, "body" or "self" of the bird consists entirely of squares and half squares. The Agnis will be buried under this ātman in specific spots, as illustrated in Figure 25.

PLATE 67 The first Agnis that are buried are the male and female pots. The adhvaryu takes a kumbha in his right hand, a kumbhī in his left, and puts a piece of gold in each. Then he goes with the yajamāna to the spot marked "A" in Figure 25 and buries them in a hole in the ground, which was made beforehand. He takes care that the male kumbha pot is closer to the center of the altar and the kumbhī pot further away from it. Yajamāna and adhvaryu then touch the pair with their hands and recite a pair of mantras:

a. Those of a golden color, pure, and purifying;
in whom Kaśyapa was born, in whom Indra;
who of many forms conceived Agni as an embryo—
let these waters be gentle and pleasant to us!

b. Among whom king Varuṇa goes
observing the truth and falsehood of man;
who, dripping honey, are pure and purifying—
let these waters be gentle and pleasant to us!
(TS 5.6.1.1a–b)

हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका
यासु जातः कश्यपो यास्विन्द्रः ।
अग्निं या गर्भं दधिरे विरूपा-
स्ता न आपः शꣳ स्योना भवन्तु ॥

यासाꣳ राजा वरुणो याति मध्ये
सत्यानृते अवपश्यञ्जनानाम् ।
मधुश्चुतः शुचयो याः पावका-
स्ता न आपः शꣳ स्योना भवन्तु ॥

They bury the second pair at "B", touch them, and recite:

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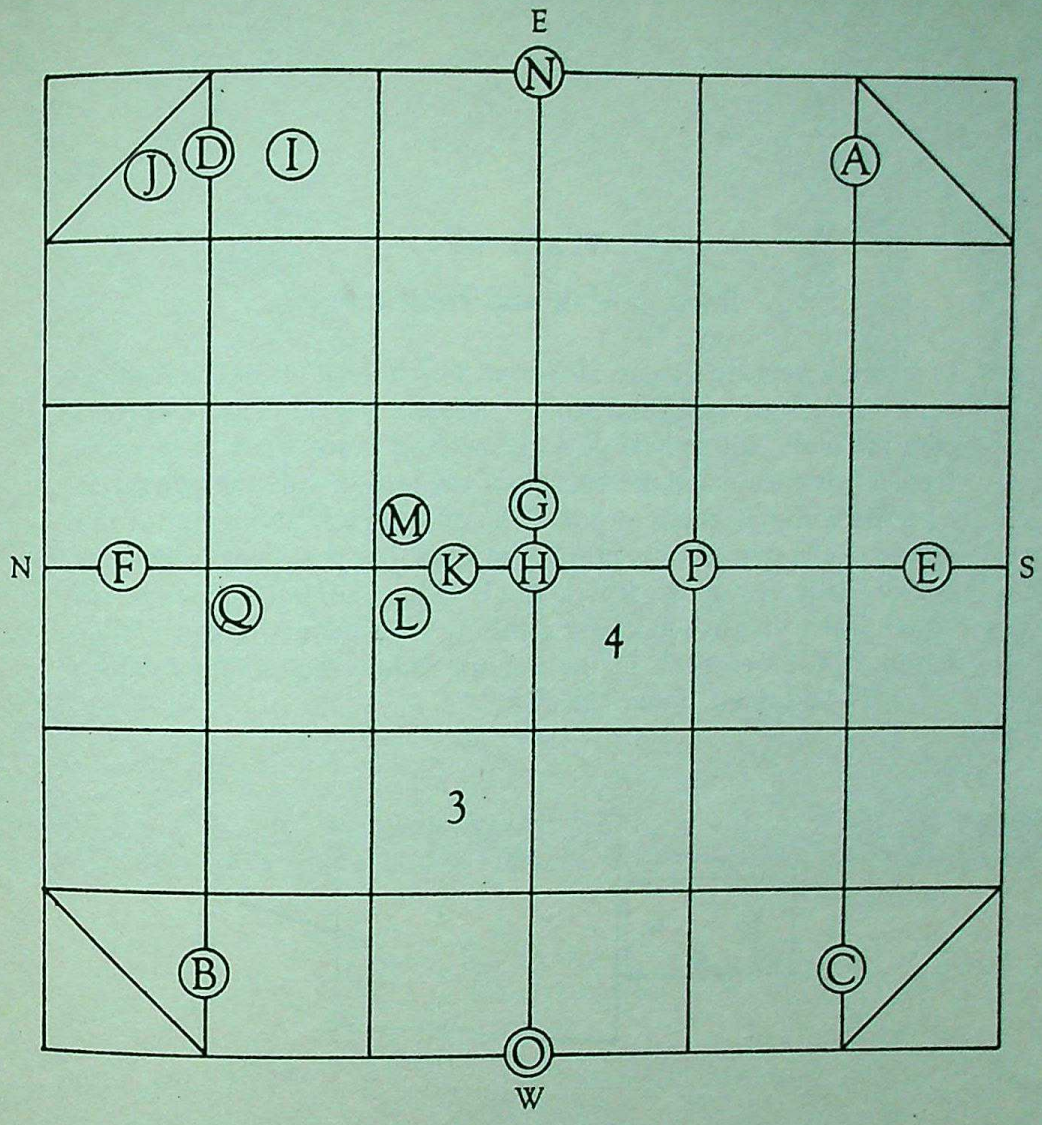

Figure 25—"Agnis" Buried under the Ātman

c. Out of whom in heaven the gods make food,
who are in many places in the sky,
who wet the earth with their milk—
let these pure ones, the waters, be gentle and pleasant to us!

यासां देवा दिवि कृण्वन्ति भक्षं
या अन्तरिक्षे बहुधा भवन्ति ।
याः पृथिवीं पयसोन्दन्ति शुक्रा-
स्ता न आपः शꣳ स्योना भवन्तु ॥

d. Waters! With a friendly eye, gaze on me!
With a friendly body, touch my skin.
I invoke all the Agnis who sit in the waters.
Grant to me radiance, strength, and power!
(TS 5.6.1.1c-d)

शिवेन मा चक्षुषा पश्यताऽऽपः शिवया
तनुवोपꣳ स्पृशत त्वचं मे ।
सर्वाꣳ अग्नीꣳरप्सुषदो हुवे वो
मयि वर्चो बलमोजो नि धत्त ॥

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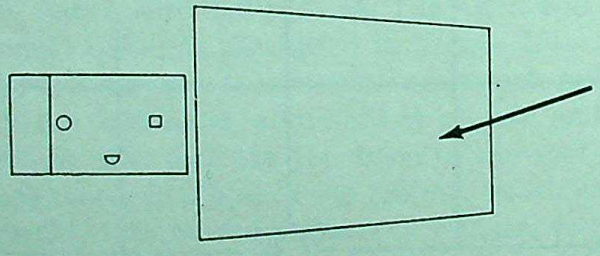
PLATE 67

Burying Male and Female Pots

In general, pots are female. However, under the altar of the Agnicayana six pairs of male and female pots are buried. The unmarked pots are male; the female pots are marked with two breasts each. Here a helper, outside the outline of the bird, hands the adhvaryu, who sits within, a piece of gold. The adhvaryu is about to put this in one of the pair of pots in front of him. The male pot in front of him is partly visible, the female pot is hidden behind a much larger vessel. The other five pairs are awaiting their turn, also outside the outline of the bird altar. To the extreme right is the ukhā pot, which will also be buried under the altar.



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They bury the third pair at "C," touch them, and recite:

e Since formerly going forth together
you roared (*anadata*) when the dragon was slain,
therefore you are named roarers (*nadyaḥ* "rivers").
These are your names: Rivers!

यद्दः सँप्रयती-
रहावनदता हते।
तस्मादा नद्यो नाम स्थ
ता वो नामानि सिन्धवः ॥

f. Since sent forth by Varuṇa,
you quickly leaped together,
therefore Indra obtained (*apnot*) you as you were going.
Therefore you are waters (*āpaḥ*).

यत् प्रेषिता वरुणेन
ताः शीभꣳ समवल्गत।
तदाप्नोदिन्द्रो वो यती-
स्तस्मादापो अनु स्थन ॥

(TS 5.6.1.2e-f)

They bury the fourth pair at "D", touch them, and recite:

g. Flowing against your will,
Indra restrained you (*avīvarata*) by his powers.
Divine ones! Therefore the name water (*vār*)
is proper for you.

अपक्रामꣳ स्यन्दमाना
अवीवरत वो हिकम्।
इन्द्रो वः शक्तिभिर्देवी-
स्तस्माद्वार्णाम वो हितम् ॥

h. One god stepped into them,
flowing as they desired:
"The great ones have exhaled (*udāniṣuḥ*)."
Therefore they are called water (*udaka*).

एको देवो अप्यतिष्ठत्
स्यन्दमाना यथावशम्।
उदानिषुर्महीरिति
तस्मादुदकमुच्यते ॥

(TS 5.6.1.3g-h)

They bury the fifth pair at "E," touch them, and recite:

i. The waters are excellent. The waters are ghee.
These waters bear Soma and Agni.
May their strong satisfying juice, mixed with honey,
come to me with breath, with radiance!

आपो भद्रा घृतमिदाप आसु-
रग्नीषोमौ बिभ्रत्याप इत् ताः।
तीव्रो रसो मधुपृचामरंगम
आ मा प्राणेन सह वर्चसा गन ॥

k. Then I see or hear.
To me comes a roar; to me voice.
I believe I partook of immortality,
when, gold-colored ones, I enjoyed you.

आदित् पश्याम्युत वा शृणोम्या
मा घोषो गच्छति वाङ्न आसाम्।
मन्ये भेजानो अमृतस्य तर्हि
हिरण्यवर्णा अतृपं यदा वः ॥

(TS 5.6.1.3i-k)

They bury the sixth and last pair at "F," touch them, and recite:

l. Waters! You are the granters of health.
Grant us strength to see great joy!

आपो हि ष्ठा मयोभुव-
स्तान ऊर्जे दधातन।
महे रणाय चक्षसे ॥

m. The most auspicious essence that you possess,
grant to us here,
like eager mothers!

यो वः शिवतमो रस-
स्तस्य भाजयतेह नः।
उशतीरिव मातरः ॥

(TS 5.6.1.4*l*-m)

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They bury the rice for Bṛhaspati, adding a piece of gold, a small distance to the east of the center, at "G," reciting:

Repose in heaven! Array yourself in the sky!
Flourish across the earth!
You are holy splendor. For holy splendor, you.
(TS 5.6.1.5o)

दिवि श्रयस्वान्तरिक्षे यतस्व
पृथिव्या सं भव
ब्रह्मवर्चसमसि ब्रह्मवर्चसाय त्वा ॥

The twelve pots and the Bṛhaspati rice are then further consecrated with With That God and with Pouring Milk.

The Agnicayana sequence is now interrupted for some rites that belong to the animal sacrifice, and that also occur in the Agniṣṭoma. They are concerned with the uttaravedi. Standing at the center, the adhvaryu sprinkles the altar ground with waters called *indraghoṣavatī* ("having Indra's roar"), toward the north on the eastern side (1), toward the east on the southern side (2), toward the north on the western side (3), and toward the east on the northern side (4), with the following four mantras, respectively:

Let Indra's roar, together with the Vasus,
protect you in the east!
Let the swift one of mind, together with the Fathers,
protect you in the south!
Let the sage, together with the Rudras,
protect you in the west!
Let Viśvakarman, together with the Ādityas,
protect you in the north!
(TS 1.2.12.2i)

इन्द्रघोषस्त्वा वसुभिः
पुरस्तात् पातु ।
मनोजवास्त्वा पितृभिः-
दक्षिणतः पातु ।
प्रचेतास्त्वा रुद्रैः
पश्चात् पातु ।
विश्वकर्मा त्वाऽऽदित्यैः-
उत्तरतः पातु ।

This is followed by five āghāra oblations of ghee, diagonally across the uttaranābhi, and accompanied by five mantras:

You are a lioness destroying enemies,
svāhā!
You are a lioness granting beautiful children,
svāhā!
You are a lioness granting increase of wealth,
svāhā!
You are a lioness winning the favor of the Ādityas,
svāhā!
You are a lioness. Bear the gods to god-minded
yajamāna!
Svāhā!
(TS 1.2.12.2k)

सिꣳहीरसि सपत्नसाही
स्वाहा ।
सिꣳहीरसि सुप्रजावनिः
स्वाहा ।
सिꣳहीरसि रायस्पोषवनिः
स्वाहा ।
सिꣳहीरसादित्यवनिः
स्वाहा ।
सिꣳहीरस्या वह देवान देवयते
यजमानाय
स्वाहा ॥

At each svāhā, the yajamāna pronounces his tyāga:

This is for the uttaravedi, not for me!

उत्तरवेदये इदं न मम

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The adhvaryu removes the juhū, with a piece of gold that was tied to its end, reciting:

For beings, you! भूतेभ्यस्त्वा ।
(TS 1.2.12.2*l*)

The rites near completion when the adhvaryu places three paridhi "enclosing" sticks on the west, south, and north side of the uttaranābhi, reciting:

You possess all life. Make the earth firm! विश्वायुरसि पृथिवीं दꣳह ।
You rest solid. Make the sky firm! ध्रुवक्षिदस्यन्तरिक्षं दꣳह ।
You rest unshakeable. Make heaven firm! अच्युतक्षिदसि दिवं दꣳह ॥
(TS 1.2.12.2m)

Finally he throws some grasses and hair on the uttaranābhi, reciting:

You are the ash of Agni, अग्नेर्भस्मास्य-
you are the mud of Agni! ग्नेः पुरीषमसि ।
(TS 1.2.12.2n)

PLATE 68 During all these rites, helpers continue to place bricks on the outlying areas of the Agni field.

We return to the Agnicayana rites. The adhvaryu places the lotus leaf in the center, at "H" point of Figure 25, reciting:

You are the back of the waters, the womb of Agni, अपां पृष्ठमसि योनिरग्नेः
the ocean overflowing on both sides. समुद्रमभितः पिन्वमानम् ।
Growing to greatness like the lotus, वर्धमानं महा आ च पुष्करं
spread out in breadth over the expanse of heaven! दिवो मात्रया वरिणा प्रथस्व ॥
(TS 4.2.8.1c)

This is followed by With That God and Pouring Milk.

At this point the udgātā enters the picture, and with him the chants of the Sāmaveda. He stands west of what will be the tail, against the northern post of the eastern door of what will be the havirdhāna shed. From this position he will sing many of the Jaiminīya chants that characterize the Nambudiri Agnicayana. All references are to the manuscript that Itti Ravi Nambudiri placed at our disposal (see the note on the Jaiminīya, above, pages 276–278). This is the first chant:

huve hā yi huve hā yi heṣāyā| brahma jajñānāṃ prāthāmaṃ purāstāt|
vi sīmatās suruco vena ā vāt| sa budhnyā upamā asya vāyiṣṭhāḥ|
sataś ca yonim āsātāś ca vivaḥ| huve hā yi huve hā yi heṣāyā au ho
vā| e ṛtam amṛtam e ṛtam amṛtam e ṛtam amṛtām||
(GG 33.9.2)

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This chant is characterized by meaningless stobhas such as: *huve hā yī hu ve hā yī heṣāyā* (though *have* means "I call") and *auhovā*; as well as meaningful stobhas such as: *ṛtam amṛtam*, "immortal order." It is based upon a cryptic mantra from the Atharvaveda, which also occurs in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā:

Born as brahman first in the east,
Vena has shone out of the glimmering horizon.
He has revealed its highest and lowest positions,
the womb of being and nonbeing.
(AV 4.1.1 = TS 4.2.8.2d)

ब्रह्म जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्
वि सीमतः सुरुचो वेन आवः।
स बुध्निया उपमा अस्य विष्ठाः
सतश्च योनिमसतश्च विवः॥

The udgātā continues with another chant:

satyom/satya ho yi satya ho yi satya hā ā vu vā/ ē suvar jyotiḥ
(AG 25.24)

This consists entirely of stobhas, including *satyam*, "truth," and ends: *suvar jyotiḥ*, "heaven light" (see Table 15, page 533).

At the same time, the adhvaryu has placed the golden breastplate (rukma) north of the lotus leaf, reciting the same mantra (TS 4.2.8.2d) upon which the first chant was based. This is followed by five ghee oblations, which occur also in the Agniṣṭoma, but which the Adhvaryu makes on the breast plate, in the Agnicayana, as he recites five mantras:

a. Assume your countenance broad like a net!
Come like a powerful king with his retinue!
Casting your swift net, you shooter,
strike the demons with your burning arrows!

कृणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीं
याहि राजेवामवाँ इभेन।
तृष्वीमनु प्रसितिं द्रूणानो-
ऽस्तासि विध्य रक्षसस्तपिष्ठैः॥

b. Your whirling flames fly swiftly.
Follow them with daring, glowing.
Agni! Shoot winged flames with your tongue.
Unrestrained, release your missiles of fire everywhere!

तवं भ्रमास आशुया पतन्त्य-
नुस्पृश धृषता शोशुचानः।
तपूंष्यग्ने जुह्वा पतङ्गा-
नसंन्दितो वि सृज विष्वगुल्काः॥

c. Send out your spies! Swift,
be the undeceived protector of our clan.
Who from far away and from nearby wishes evil upon us,
Agni, let him not dare your course.

प्रति स्पशो वि सृज तूर्णितमो
भवा पायुर्विशो अस्या अदब्धः।
यो नो दूरे अघशंसो यो अन्त्य-
ग्ने माकिष्टे व्यथिरादधर्षीत्॥

d. Agni! Stand up! Extend yourself!
You of piercing light! Burn down our enemies!
Burning one! Who has done evil to us,
burn him down like dry grass.

उदग्ने तिष्ठ प्रत्याऽऽतनुष्व
न्यमित्राँ ओषतात् तिग्महेते।
यो नो अरातिं समिधान चक्रे
नीचा तं धक्ष्यतसं न शुष्कम्॥

e. Rise up! Drive them away!
Reveal your divine power away from us! Agni!
Loosen the strung bows of those quickening sorcery!

ऊर्ध्वो भव प्रति विध्याध्यस्म-
दाविष्कृणुष्व दैव्यान्यग्ने।
अव स्थिरा तनुहि यातुजूनां

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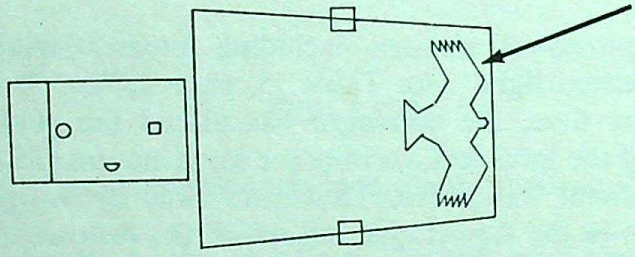
PLATE 68

The Bricks of the First Layer

While other ceremonies take place, the bricks of the first layer continue to be put down. Afterwards they will be consecrated.



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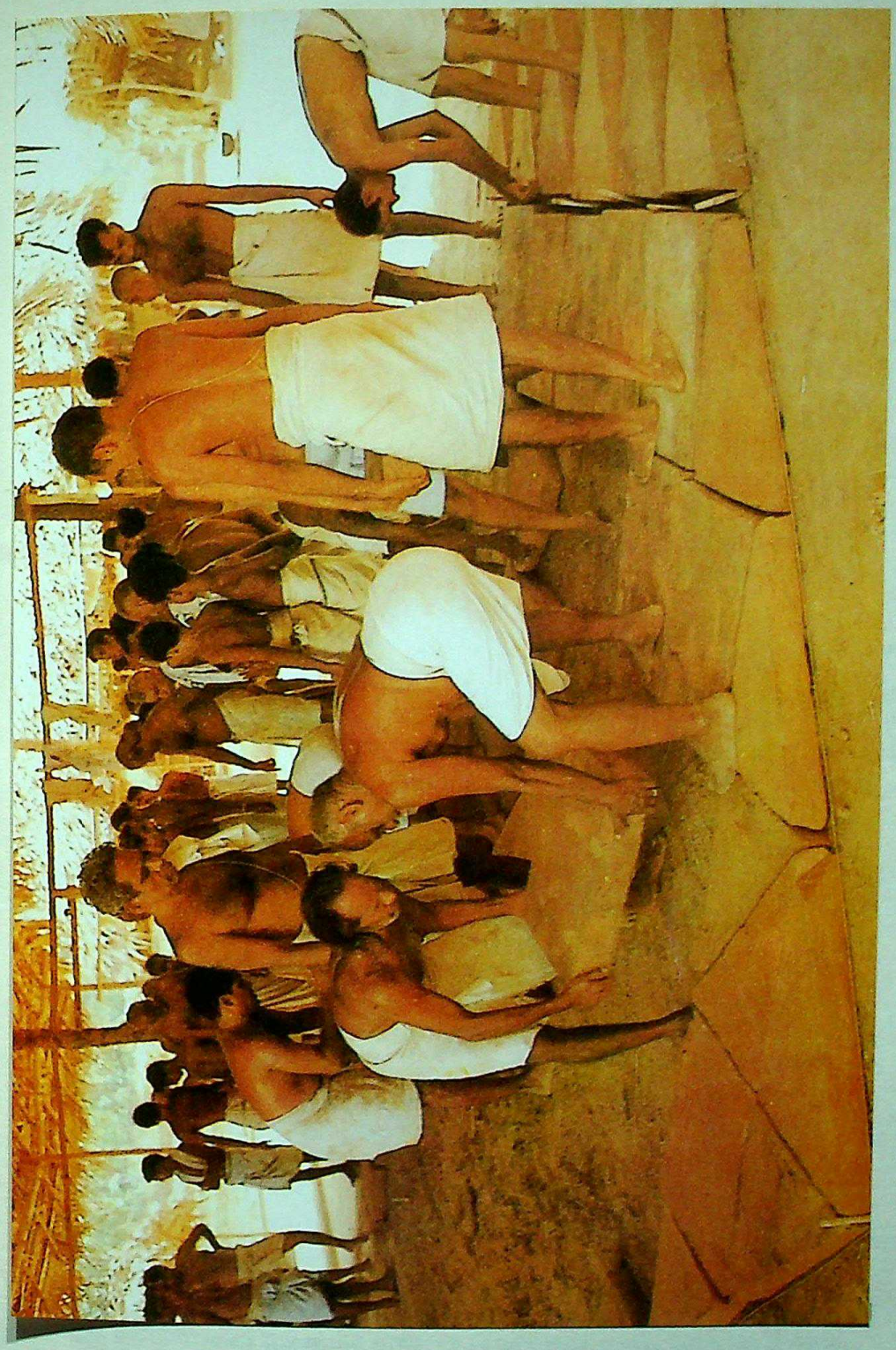

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Crush our enemies, be they relatives or not! जामिमजामिं प्र मृणीहि शत्रून् ॥
(TS 1.2.14.1a-2e)

At each svāhā the yajamāna says his renunciation:

This is for Agni, not for me! अग्नये इदं न मम

The adhvaryu then places the golden man (hiraṇmayapuruṣa) upon the lotus leaf. This is accompanied by:

e. The golden germ rose in the beginning.
Born, he was the single lord of creation.
He supported the earth and the sky.
What god shall we worship with oblation?

f. A drop fell on the earth and the sky,
on this womb of his and on his first one.
A drop wandering over his third womb,
I offer for each of the seven priestly functions.
(TS 4.2.8.2e-f)

हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे
भूतस्य जातः पतिरेक आसीत् ।
स दाधार पृथिवीं द्यामुतेमां
कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥
द्रप्सश्चस्कन्द पृथिवीमनु द्या-
मिमं च योनिमनु यश्च पूर्वः ।
तृतीयं योनिमनु संब्बरन्तं
द्रप्सं जुहोम्यनु सप्त होत्राः ।

This is followed by two recitations of With That God, and two of Pouring Milk: one each for the golden plate and one each for the golden man. At the same time, the udgātā chants a long sequence of sāmans, which continues throughout some of the subsequent rites. There are four parts:

I. The first is called the Great Chant (mahāsāman);

hā bu ho hā yi (3 x) / *antarikṣāt suvar divan jaganma* (3 x) *parāt paramair ayantā* (3 x)/ *au ho vā hā vu vā*/ *ē yajño divo mūrddhā devam ādano gharmo jyotiḥ*/ *hā bu ho hā yi* (3 x)/ *antarikṣāt suvar divan jaganma* (3 x) *parāt paramair ayantā* (3 x)/ *au ho vā hā vu vā*/ *ē pṛthivy antarikṣandyaurāvaḥ kanikradāt sindhur āpo maruto mādayantāṃ gharmo jyotiḥ*/ *hā bu ho hā yi* (3 x)/ *antarikṣāt suvar divan jaganma* (3 x) *parāt paramair ayantā* (3 x)/ *divomūrddhānaṃ samairayaddho ye ho vā*/ *yaśo gharmo jyotiḥ*/ *yaśas samairayaddho ye ho vā*/ *tejo gharmo jyotiḥ*/ *tejas samairayaddho ye ho vā*/ *suvar gharmo jyotiḥ*/ *suvas samairayaddho ye ho vā*/ *jyotir gharmo jyotiḥ*/ *jyotis samairayaddho ye ho vā*/ *gharmo gharmo gharmo jyotiḥ*/ *hā bu ho hā yi* (3 x)/ *antarikṣat suvar divan jaganma* (3 x) *parāt paramair ayantā* (3 x)/ *au ho vā hā vu vā*/ *ē ilā yācchāhas kṛti yāccha*/ *ē mano mahimānaṃ yaccha*/ *ē tviṣimojo yāccha*/ *ē āyuḥ prāṇa yāccha*/ *ē cakṣuśrotraṃ yāccha*/ *ē prajāṃ varco yāccha*/ *ē paśūn viśaṃ yāccha*/ *ē brahmakṣatraṃ yāccha*/ *ē suvar jyotir yaccha*/ *hā bu ho hā yi* (3 x)/ *antarikṣāt suvar divan jaganma* (3 x) *parāt paramair ayantā* (3 x)/ *yaj jāyathā apūrvāyā*/ *maghavan vṛtrahathāya*/ *tat pṛthivīm aprāthāyah*/

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tad astabhnā utā dāyivāṃ/ hā bu ho hā yi (3 x)*/ antarikṣāt suvar divan jaganma* (3 x) *parāt paramair ayantā* (3 x)*/ au ho vā hā vu vā/ ē tejo gharmas saṃkrīḷante śiśūmatīr vāyu gopās tejasvatīr marudbhir bhūvanāni cakraduḥ/ iḷ iḷa/*

(AG 25.7, based upon JA 107.50; cf. RV 8.89.5)

Apart from stobhas, this chant contains recurrent phrases such as "we have gone from sky to heaven, from the high to the higher."

II. The next is a series of seven songs, based upon the Puruṣa Hymn, but with changes in the order of verses, and some unexpected changes in the text:

u hu vā hā bu (3 x) *sahasrasīrṣā puruṣaḥ/ sahasrākṣas sahasrāpāt/ sa bhūmiṃ sarvato vārtvā/ atyatiṣṭhad dasāṃgulāṃ/ u hu vā hā bu* (2 x) *u hu vā hā vu vā/ iḷ iḷā/*

(AG 9.1, based upon JA 107.26; cf. RV 10.90.1)

u hu vau ho vā (3 x)*/ tripād ūrdhva udait puruṣaḥ/ pādo syehābhavat punaḥ/ tathā viṣvaṅ vyakrāmāt/ aśanānaśane ābhi/ u hu vau ho vā* (3 x) *au ho vā/ i ḷā/ u hu vau ho vā* (3 x) *au ho vā/ sūvāḥ/ u hu vau ho vā* (3 x) *au ho vā/ ū/ /*

(AG 9.2, based upon JA 107.27; cf. RV 10.90.4)

i hi yau ho vā (3 x)*/ puruṣa ēvedam sārvām/ yat bhūtaṃ yacca bhāvāyāṃ/ pādosya sarvā bhūtāni/ tripādasyāṃṛtan dāyivi/ i hi yau ho vā* (3 x) *au ho vā/ ī ḷā/ i hi yau ho vā* (3 x) *au ho va/ jyōtiḥ/ i hi yau ho vā* (3 x) *au ho vā/ ī//*

(AG 9.3, based upon JA 107.28; cf. RV 10.90.2,3)

ūrghā bu hā bu hā bu (3 x)*/ tāvānasya mahāyimā/ tato jyāyāṃśca pūruṣaḥ/ utāmṛtatvasyeśānaḥ/ yad annenātirohāti/ ūrghā bu hā bu hā bu* (2 x) *ūrghā bu hā bu hā vu vā/ iḷ iḷā //*

(AG 9.4, based upon JA 107.29; cf. RV 10.90.3,2)

hā bu (3 x) *tato virāḍ ajāyata/ virājo adhi pūruṣaḥ/ sa jāto atyaricyāta/ paścāt bhūmimatho puraḥ/ hā bu* (2 x) *hā vu vā / ī //*

(AG 9.5, based upon JA 107.30; cf. RV 10.90.5)

hā bu (3 x) *yat puruṣeṇa havāyiṣā/ devā yajñam atanvāta/ vasanta ēṣām āsīdājyāṃ/ grīśma idhmaś śaraddhāvāyiḥ/ hā bu* (2 x) *hā vu vā/ ī //*

(AG 9.6, based upon JA 107.31; cf. RV 10.90.6)

hā bu (3 x) *saptāsyāsan paridhāyaḥ/ tris sapta samidhaḥ kārttāḥ/ devā yad yajñan tanvānāḥ/ abadhnan puruṣaṃ hāvāyiḥ/ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā/ ī//*

(AG 9.7, based upon JA 107.32; cf. RV 10.90.15)

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III. The next piece consists of nine forest songs, full of magnificent stobhas:

u ha ha ha ha ha ū ha u ha ha ha ha ha ū (3 x)/ *yad itas tanvo mama/ doṣā rasasya bhāyijire/ narāśaṃsena somāyina/ ahan tat punar ādāde/ yuṣmad apsarasas parāyi/ u ha ha ha ha ha ū ha u ha ha ha ha ha ū* (2 x) *u ha ha ha ha ha ū hā u ha ha ha ha ha hā vu vā/ ē suvar jyotiḥ//*

(AG 12.1, based upon JA 107.35; cf. Staal 1961, 78–79)

hā bu (3 x) *hā ū* (3 x) *kā hvā hvā hvā hvā hvā* (3 x)/ *hā ū* (3 x) *kā hvā hvā hvā hvā hvā ū* (3 x)/ *yasyedamārajoyujāḥ/ tuje jane vanaṃ suvaḥ/ hā bu* (3 x) *hā ū* (3 x) *kā hvā hvā hvā hvā hvā* (3 x)/ *hā ū* (3 x)/ *kā hvā hvā hvā hvā hvā ū* (3 x)/ *indrasya rantiyāṃ bṛhāt/ namasvar i ḷā//*

(AG 12.2, based upon JA 107.36; cf. Staal 1961,79)

hā bu (3 x) *ho* (3 x) *ō ho* (3 x) *ve ho* (3 x)/ *prajā dūtam ajijane iḷ iḷā//*

(AG 12.3)

hā bu (3 x) *i ḷā* (3 x) *suvas suvas suvar jyotir jyotir jyotā au ho vā/ ē i ḷā suvar jyotiḥ//*

(AG 12.4)

hā bu (3 x) *i mā* (3 x) *prajāḥ* (3 x) *prajāpate ho yi* (2 x) *prajāpate hā vu vā/ e hṛdayam* (2 x) *e hṛdaya ā vu vā/ prajā rūpam ajijane iḷ ilā//*

(AG 12.5)

udyaṃ ḷokānaro cayo ho imāṃ ḷokānaro cayo ho yi/ divaṃ sūryam arocayo ho yi viśvaṃ dūtam arocayo ho hā au ho vā/ ghārmo rocīt//

(AG 12.6)

hā bu (3 x) *phāt phat phat phat phat phat* (3 x)[1] *hā bu* (3 x) *yo no vanuṣyann abhidāti mārtāḥ/ ugaṇā vā manyamānas turo vā/ kṣidhī yudhā śavasā vā tamā yindra/ abhi ṣyāma vṛṣamaṇastuvo tāḥ/ hā bu* (3 x) *phāt phat phat phat phat phat* (3 x)/ *hā bu* (2 x) *hā vu vā/ manasvar iḷā//*

(AG 12.7, based upon JA 35.5)

hā bu (3 x) *hā bu hau hau hau hau hau* (3 x)/ *hā bu* (3 x) *indran naro nemadhitā havāntā yi/yat pāryā yunajantā yi dhiyās tāḥ/ śūro nṛṣātā śravasaś cakāmā yi/ ā gomati vraje bhajā tuvānnāḥ/ hā bu* (3 x) *hā bu hau hau hau hau hau* (3 x)/ *hā bu* (2 x) *hā vu vā/ vayasvar iḷā//*

(AG 12.8, based upon JA 33.6; cf. RV 7.27.1)

hā bu (3 x) *bhā bhaṃ bhaṃ bhaṃ bhaṃ bhaṃ* (3 x)/ *hā bu* (3 x) *brahma jajñānaṃ prathamaṃ purāstāt/ vi sīmatas suruco vena ā vāt/ sa budhniyā upamā asya vā yi ṣṭhāḥ/ sataś ca yonim asataś ca vā yi vaḥ/ hā*

[1]Note that these final consonants written as "t" are pronounced as "l" (see above, page 173).

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bu (3 x) *bhā bhaṃ bhaṃ bhaṃ bhaṃ bhaṃ* (3 x)/ *hā bu* (2 x) *hā vu vā*/ *brahma devānāṃ bhāti parame vyoman* (2 x) *brahma devānāṃ bhāti parame vyomān*//

(AG 12.9, based upon JA 33.9; cf. Staal 1961, 79; TS 4.2.8.2d, above page 411)

IV. The fourth and last group of these songs consists of a single chant, similar to the chant for the lotus leaf (page 411), but with *puruṣa* as the main stobha:

puruṣoṃ/ *puruṣa ho yi puruṣa ho yi puruṣa hā ā vu vā*/ *ē suvar jyotiḥ*//

(AG 25.25; cf. Table 15, page 533)

These chants last, obviously, for a long time. In the meantime bricks continue to be put down. The adhvaryu has filled one of the kārṣmarya ladles with butter and an udumbara ladle with curds. He places both a little to the north of the center. Adhvaryu and yajamāna twice recite With That God and Pouring Milk for these two ladles. A helper recites the snake formula (sarpayajus), while it is recited mentally by adhvaryu and yajamāna:

g. Homage to the snakes
that are on earth,
those in the sky, in heaven,
to those snakes, homage.
f. Those that are in the sphere of heaven,
or that are in the rays of the sun,
those whose seat is made in the waters,
to those snakes, homage.
i. Those that are the arrows of sorcerers,
or those that are among the trees,
or those that lie in holes,
to those snakes, homage.

(TS 4.2.8.3g-i)

नमो॑ अस्तु स॒र्पेभ्यो॒
ये के च॑ पृथि॒वीमनु॑ ।
ये अ॒न्तरि॑क्षे॒ ये दि॒वि
तेभ्यः॑ स॒र्पेभ्यो॒ नमः॑ ॥
येऽदो॑ रोच॒ने दि॒वो
ये वा॒ सूर्य॑स्य र॒श्मिषु॑ ।
येषा॑मप्सु॒ सद॑: कृ॒तं
तेभ्यः॑ स॒र्पेभ्यो॒ नमः॑ ॥
या इष॑वो यातु॒धाना॑नां॒
ये वा॒ वन॒स्पती॑ꣳरनु॑ ।
ये वा॑ऽव॒टेषु॒ शेर॑ते
तेभ्यः॑ स॒र्पेभ्यो॒ नमः॑ ॥

The udgātā continues his chants.

Fourth Day: April 16, 1975

EPISODE 13

The First Layer

THE RITES FOR the Naturally Perforated Ones (svayamātṛṇṇā) are about to take place, which indicates that the piling of the first layer has begun. This also provides an opportunity to survey some features of the structure of the entire construction. Actually, rites continue without a break. There is

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no sharp boundary between the ceremonial foundation of the altar and the construction of the first layer. Not only have the helpers already physically deposited many of the bricks for the first layer, but the first and second brick, aindrī and vibhakti, have been ritually consecrated some time ago (pages 387, 388). Moreover, several of the "Agnis" that have been brought (including the avakā plant, the tortoise, mortar and pestle, and the ukhā pots) will only be buried after other bricks of the first layer have been consecrated.

The "naturally perforated" pebbles are śarkara pebbles (or "chicken-Fish") with holes in them. The rites for the "naturally perforated ones" on the first, third, and fifth layers form part of a larger sequence. The chants of the udgātā illustrate this. Five times they are of the same structure and end in *suvar jyotiḥ* "heaven light": when the golden breastplate is put down, the chant revolves around satyam, "truth" (also: "ritual correctness") (page 411); when the golden man is put down, the chant revolves around puruṣa, "man" (page 417); when the "naturally perforated ones" are put down in the first, third, and fifth layers, the chants revolved around *bhū*, "earth," *bhuvas*, "air," and *suvaḥ*, "sky," respectively. The adhvaryu's recitations on these three layers are also concerned with earth, air, and sky (see Table 15).

On the first layer, the naturally perforated pebble has three holes (dvārā), and the adhvaryu breathes out (Sanskrit: *anuprāṇyāt*, Malayalam: *puraṃ nokki*); on the third layer, it also has three holes, and he breathes out and in (*vyanyāt; akaṃ puraṃ nokki*); and on the fifth layer, it has five holes, and he breathes in (*apānyāt; akaṃ nokki*). Of course, it is not easy to find pebbles with a specified number of holes. As in all such contexts, three holes means: at least three holes, etc. As for the different deities invoked in the recitations, a survey has already been provided (page 159).

The first, third, and fifth layers are not only characterized by earth, air, and sky, but also by *tejas*, "glow," jyotis, "light," and suvar, "sky," respectively. The adhvaryu, after completing his oblation into the eastern hole of the pebble, places a piece of gold on its western hole: on the first layer he addresses it as "glow" and asks to restrain earth; on the third layer he addresses it as "light" and asks to restrain air; on the fifth layer he addresses it as "sky," and asks to restrain heaven (*div*).

We shall now continue with the description and return to the first layers. The adhvaryu addresses one of the *svayāmatṛṇṇā* pebbles:

You are firm, supporting, invincible,	ध्रुवाऽसि ध्रुरुणाऽस्तृता
well made by the All-maker (Viśvakarman).	विश्वकर्मणा सुकृता ।
Do not let the ocean dash you, or the eagle!	मा त्वा समुद्र उद्वधीन्मा सुपर्णो-
Unshaking, make the earth firm!	ऽभ्यथमाना पृथिवीं दृꣳह ॥

(TS 4.2.9.1 a)

He carries the pebble clockwise around the Agni field, makes the white horse sniff at it, returns and is joined by the yajamāna and the Ignorant

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Priest (avidvān). The yajamāna overtakes him and the three sit down at the center, facing east: the adhvaryu in the middle, the yajamāna to his right, and the Ignorant Priest to his left. Touching the pebble that has been placed over the golden man, they recite: PLATES 11,69

Earth (bhūḥ):
Let Prajāpati seat you on the ridge of the earth!
You who are wide and extending. You are broadness
You are the earth (*pṛthivī*).
You are earth (bhū). You are the ground.
You are Aditi the all-sustaining, supporter of the every being.
Hold fast the earth; make firm the earth;
do not harm the earth;
for every breath, for every inhalation (*apāna*),
for every diffused breath (*vyāna*),
for every exhalation (*udāna*), for support, for motion!
Let Agni protect you with great welfare, a safe cover!
With that god in the fashion of Aṅgiras, sit firm!
(TS 4.2.9.1b)

भूः
प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु पृथिव्याः पृष्ठे
व्यचस्वतीं प्रथस्वतीं प्रथोऽसि
पृथिव्यसि भूरसि भूमिरस्यदितिरसि
विश्वधाया विश्वस्य भुवनस्य धर्त्री
पृथिवीं यच्छ पृथिवीं दृꣳह
पृथिवीं मा हिꣳसीर्विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
व्यानायोदानाय प्रतिष्ठायै चरित्रायाग्निस्त्वाऽभि पातु मह्या स्वस्त्या
छर्दिषा शन्तमेन तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

At the same time the udgātā chants his sāman, which is composed on bhū, "earth":

bhorom|bhūr ho yi bhūr ho yi bhūr hā ā vu vā|e suvar jyotiḥ||
(AG 25.21; cf. Table 15, page 533)

The adhvaryu breathes out. The avidvān gives him a golden coin *(paṇam)*, which he passes on to the yajamāna. The latter returns it to the avidvān. After the avidvān has left, the adhvaryu makes an oblation of ghee into the eastern hole of the pebble, reciting:

To thought I offer with mind, with ghee,
so that the gods will come here,
delighted by the offerings, increasing the order.
On the path of the moving ocean
I offer to the All-maker (Viśvakarman)
every day the immortal oblation—svāhā!
(TS 5.5.4.3)

चित्तिं जुहोमि मनसा घृतेन
यथा देवा इहाऽऽगमन्
वीतिहोत्रा ऋतावृधः
समुद्रस्य वयुनस्य पत्मन
जुहोमि विश्वकर्मणे
विश्वाऽहाऽमर्त्यꣳ हविः स्वाहा ॥

The yajamāna renounces:

This is for Viśvakarman, not for me!

विश्वकर्मणे इदं न मम

The yajāmana and the adhvaryu put their thumbs (*aṅguṣṭha*) on the pebble and recite:

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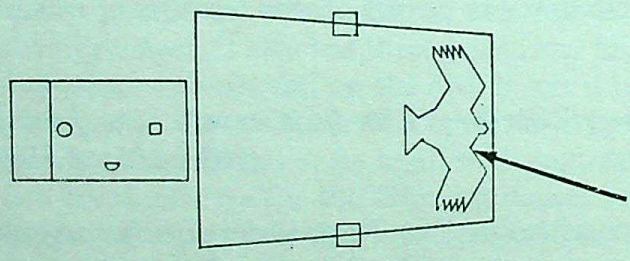
PLATE 69

The Ignorant Brahmin on the First Layer

This is the same event as was pictured on Plate 11 but more of the setting is visible. Many bricks of the first layer have already been put down, and the shoulders of the bird can be seen. Cherumukku Vaidikan watches the trio of yajamāna, adhvaryu, and ignorant brahmin. In the background, Itti Ravi Nambudiri, the udgātā, chants his sāman composed on the word *bhū*, "earth." He stands at his usual spot, west of the tail of the bird, against the northern post of the eastern door of what will be the Soma Hall or havirdhāna.



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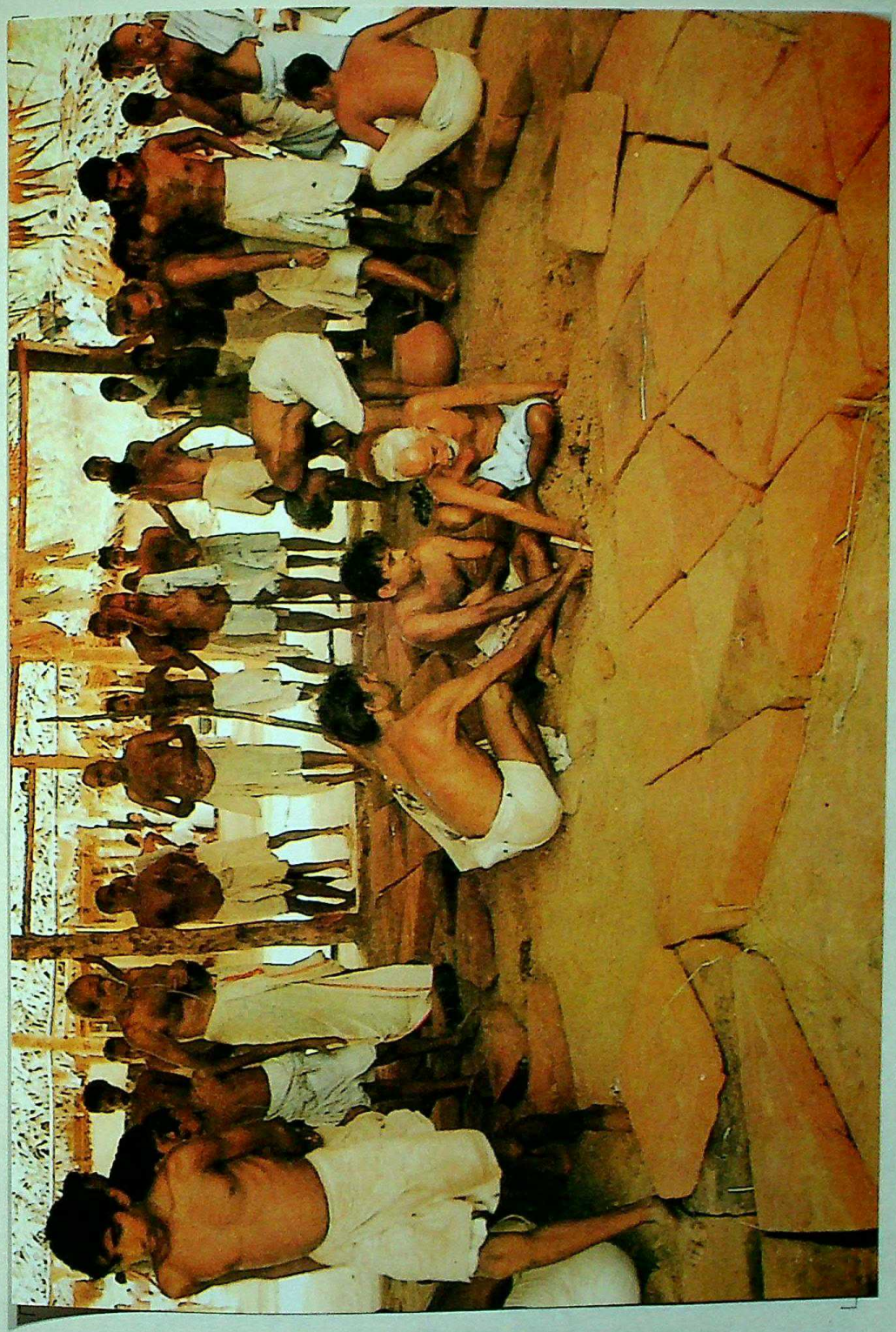

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I have mounted the earth,
let not breath abandon me!
(TS 5.6.8.1a[1])

पृथिवीमाऽक्रमिषं
प्राणो मा मा हासीत् ॥

They place a piece of gold on the western hole of the pebble, reciting:

You are glow, give me glow!
Restrain the earth, protect me from the earth!
(TS 5.7.6.1c[1])

तेजोऽसि तेजो मे यच्छ
पृथिवीं यच्छ पृथिव्यै मा पाहि ॥

When these rites are completed, the brick consecration continues. The adhvaryu consecrates the Circle Brick (maṇḍala), no. 3, with:

(You are) the earth filled with food, a reservoir of water.
Men are your guardians. Agni is placed in this.
To this I resort, let it be my protection and refuge!
(TS 4.4.5.1c)

पृथिव्युदपुरमन्नेन विष्टा
मनुष्यास्ते गोप्तारोऽग्निर्वियत्तोऽस्यां
तामहं प्र पद्ये सा मे शर्म च वर्म चास्तु ।

At the beginning of this recitation, the adhvaryu looks at the udgātā and the latter intones his chant, simultaneously:

ā te agna idhīmāhāyi| dyumantan deva ājaramā| yāddhāsyātāyi pāniyāsī| samiddīdayatāyi dyāviyā| iṣaṃ stoṭṛ| bhyāyābhāro| hā yi||
(GG 41.1.1)

This chant is based upon:

Agni, let us kindle you,
radiant, unaging god,
so that this famous kindling stick,
most admirable, shines in the sky!
Bring food to the singers!
(RV 5.6.4 = TS 4.4.4.6t)

आ ते अग्न इधीमहि
द्युमन्तं देवाजरम् ।
यद्ध स्या ते पनीयसी
समिद्दीदयति द्यवी-
षꣳ स्तोतृभ्य आ भर ॥

(This mantra will be used on the fifth layer to consecrate the first Paṅkti brick, one of the Meter Bricks: no. 113; page 335). The adhvaryu then consecrates the Seed-Discharging brick (*retaḥsic*), no. 4, reciting:

May earth with seed discharging give me seed,
may my seed procreate!
(BŚS 10.31:29.12–13)

पृथिवी रेतःसिक्ता मे रेतो दधातु
सा मे रेतः प्रजनयतु ॥

This is followed by With That God and Pouring Milk, each four times, for the pebble, the piece of gold, the Circle and the Seed-Discharging bricks.

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The adhvaryu then consecrates two Shoulder Bricks (*skandhya*), nos. 5 and 6, with:

You are Madhu and Mādhava, months of spring. (TS 4.4.11.1a)	मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृतू
You are the internal composition of fire.	अग्नेरन्तश्श्लेषोऽसि
Let heaven and earth agree!	कल्पेतां द्यावापृथिवी
Let waters and plants agree!	कल्पन्तामाप ओषधीः
(etc.: see above, page 339)	

He adds the avakā plant with:

You are Agni's womb! (BŚS 10.32:29.17–18)	अग्नेर्योनिरसि ॥

The adhvaryu consecrates the Dūrvā Brick (called after the dūrvā grass), no. 7, with:

c. Rising up from every stem, from every joint, dūrvā, extend to us a thousandfold, a hundredfold.	काण्डात्काण्डात् प्ररोहन्ती
	परुषः परुषः परि ।
	एवा नो दूर्वे प्र तनु
	सहस्रेण शतेन च ॥
d. You who extend with a hundred, arise with a thousand! To you, goddess brick, may we offer with oblation. (TS 4.2.9.2 c-d)	या शतेन प्रतनोषि
	सहस्रेण विरोहसि ।
	तस्यास्ते देवीष्टके
	विधेम हविषा वयम् ॥

At the beginning of this recitation the adhvaryu looks again at the udgātā, who intones his chants at the same time:

ayāmāyām (3x)/ *svādiṣṭhayā madāyiṣṭhāyā*/ *pavasva soma dhārāyā*/ *indrāya pātavāyi sūtaḥ*/ *ayāmayām* (3x) *au ho vā*/ *ī*// (AG 15.7, based upon JA 49.2)

This chant is based upon:

Soma, clarify yourself,	स्वादिष्ठया मदिष्ठया
with a flow most tasty and inebriating!	पवस्व सोम धारया ।
pressed for Indra, that he may drink! (RV 9.1.1)	इन्द्राय पातवे सुतः ॥

(This mantra, called *pavamāna* after the purified Soma, occurs also in the evening chant [*ārbhavapavamānastotra*] at the third Soma pressing, page 646).

The adhvaryu consecrates the Golden (hiraṇya) or Golden-Headed (*hiraṇyamūrdhnī*) brick, no. 8, upon which a piece of gold was put at the time of consecration:

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n. Agni! These flames of yours which rising up in the sun
spread over the sky with rays,
with all of them,
lead us to splendor, to men!

यास्ते अग्ने सूर्ये रुचं उद्यतो
दिवमातन्वन्ति रश्मिभिः ।
ताभिः सर्वाभी
रुचे जनाय नस्कृधि ॥

o. Gods! Those rays of yours which are in the sun,
in cows, in horses—
Indra! Agni! Bṛhaspati!—
with those grant us splendor!

(TS 4.2.9.4n-o)

या वो देवाः सूर्ये रुचो
गोष्वश्वेषु या रुचः ।
इन्द्राग्नी ताभिः सर्वाभी
रुचं नो धत्त बृहस्पते ॥

Again he has signaled the udgātā who sings his chant:

hā bu (3 x) *candraṃ* (3 x) / *hā bu hā bu hā vu vā/ abhrātṛvyo anā tvam anāpir indra januṣā sanād asi yudhed āpitvam icchase/ hā bu* (3 x) *chandraṃ* (3 x)/*hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē candraṃ* (3 x)//

(AG 24.10, based upon JA 45.1)

This chant is based upon:

Indra, you are without brother, without friend
ever since you were born.
Seek your friendship in war!

अभ्रातृव्यो अना त्वमनापिरिन्द्र
जनुषा सनादसि ।
युधेदापित्वमिच्छसे ॥

(RV 8.21.13)

The adhvaryu consecrates the Sovereign brick (*virāj*), no. 9:

Brilliance bore the light!

विराड् ज्योतिरधारयत् ।

(TS 4.2.9.4p)

and he consecrates the All-light brick (*viśvajyotiḥ*), no. 10, reciting:

Let Bṛhaspati seat you on the back of the earth,
All-light, for every breath, for every inhalation!
Offer all light! Agni is your lord.

बृहस्पतिस्त्वा सादयतु पृथिव्याः पृष्ठे
ज्योतिष्मतीं विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
विश्वं ज्योतिर्यच्छाग्निस्तेऽधिपतिः ॥

(TS 4.4.6.1a)

He consecrates the Companion brick (*sayuk*), no. 11, reciting:

I join you in bonds of companionship
with Indra and Agni.

इन्द्राग्निभ्यां त्वा सयुजां युजा युनज्मि ॥

(TS 4.4.5.1a[1])

and the Invincible (*aṣāḍha*), no. 13, which has three lines drawn on it, reciting:

e. You are invincible when you attack.

अषाढाऽसि सहमाना

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Conquer our enemies!
Conquer those who practice enmity!
f. Conquer the battles!
Conquer those who attack us!
You possess a thousand heroisms.
Impel me!
(TS 4.2.9.2 e-f)

सहस्वारातीः
सहस्वारातीयतः ॥
सहस्व पृतनाः
सहस्व पृतन्यतः ।
सहस्रवीर्यासि
सा मां जिन्व ॥

Next comes the Gharma brick, no. 13:

It has come forth like a ray from its hissing sound,
it supports its burden like earth the soil.
May pure divine inspiration come forth from me
as a well-built chariot wins the trophy.
Some have composed the great chant with concentration,
thereby causing the sun to continue,
thereby causing the sun the shrine.
That Agni is the dharma head.
You are the mud, well liked by people and beasts.
May Prajāpati seat you!
With that god, in the fashion of Aṅgiras,
sit firm!
(TĀ 4.17)

उदस्य शुष्मादानुनाऽऽतत बिभर्ति ।
भारं पृथिवी न भूमं ।
प्र शुक्रैतु देवी मनीषा ।
अस्मत्सुतष्टो रथो न वाजी ।
अर्चन्त एके महि सामं मन्वत ।
तेन सूर्यमधारयन् ।
तेन सूर्यमरोचयन् ।
धर्मः शिरस्तदयमग्निः ।
पुरीषमसि संप्रियं प्रजया पशुभिर्भुवत् ।
प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु ।
तया देवतयाङ्गिरस्वद्
ध्रुवा सीद ॥

The Invincible brick receives three strokes.
The Adhvaryu consecrates the Nest brick (*kulāyinī*), no. 14, with:

Your damp abodes, Agni, your nests,
your drops, Agni, your navels,
your bodies, Agni, truly powerful;
with each of those two you are united.
Agni, bestowing wealth, sit here with your offspring.
May Prajāpati seat you!
With that god, in the fashion of Aṅgiras,
sit firm!
(TĀ 4.18)

यास्ते अग्न आर्द्रा योनयो याः कुलायिनीः ।
ये ते अग्न इन्दवो या उ ते नाभयः ।
यास्ते अग्ने तनुव ऊर्जो नाम ।
ताभिस्त्वमुभयीभिः संविदानः ।
प्रजाभिरग्ने द्रविणेह सीद ।
प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु ।
तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद्
ध्रुवा सीद ॥

Then he consecrates the two Way bricks (*saṃyānī*), nos. 15 and 16, with:

You are the path of Agni,
you are the path of Agni for the gods
(TS 4.4.6.2e)

अग्नेर्यान्यसि देवानामग्नेयान्यसि ।

Signaled by the adhvaryu, the udgātā sings six Way chants, which are long, and are comprised of many stobhas. They all belong to the Grāmageyagāna:

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Part II The 1975 Performance

I. *au ho ho hā yi vṛṣā / pavasva dhārāyā mārutvātā yi / ō yi cā mā cā matsāraḥ / au ho ho hā yi viśvā / dadhāna ōjasā au ho vā / ō yi jvarā //*

(GG 49.3.8, based upon RV 9.65.10)

II. *vṛṣā bu ho ho hā yi / pāvasvā dhārāyā mārūtvātā yi / ca mā ō cā matsāraḥ / viśvā bu ho ho hā yi / dadhānā ōjāsā au ho vā / ō yi jū va //*

(GG 49.3.9, based upon RV 9.65.10)

III. *hā vu vā* (2 x) *hā hā vu vo vā hā yi / pūnānās somā dhārāyā / āpo vāsāno ārṣāsi / ā rātnādhā yonā yi mārtāsyā sīdāsi / ūtso dā yi vo hā yi rāṇyāyā / hā vu vā* (2 x) *hā hā vu vo vā hā au ho vā / ē ā ti viśvāni duritā tarema //*

(GG 53.1.16, based upon RV 9.107.4)

IV. *yad indro hā yi / citra mā ī hānāsti tvādā ho yi / tam adrā yi vo rādhas tan no vidā ho yi / vasā ubhayāhāsti yā vu vā / bhāro / hā yi //*

(GG 36.4.1, based upon RV 5.39. 1)

V. *agne vājāsya gomāto vā / īśānas sāhaso yaho asme dehi jātavedo mahā yi śravā vu vā / środhiyā ē hi yā / ō yi ḷā//*

(GG 11.3.1, based upon RV 1.79.4)

VI. *aśvan na tvā bu ho hā yi / vārāvāntaṃ / vandādhyo hā yi / agnā yin namā au ho vā i ho hā yi / u hu vā bhīḥ / saṃ mrājantām adhvārā au ho vā i ho hā yi / ū hū vā ṇā mehiyā hā / ho yi ḷā //*

(GG 2.7.3, based upon RV 1.27.1)

During this chant, the adhvaryu recites thirteen times With That God and thirteen times Pouring Milk, to complete the consecration of bricks nos.
PLATE 70B 5–6, the avakā plant, and bricks nos. 7–16.

The adhvaryu takes the wooden tortoise, smears it with the mixture of curds and honey, and recites:

g. Honey the winds (blow), and honey the streams flow,
for one who follows the cosmic order.
Honey-sweet be the plants to us!

मधु वाता ऋतायते
मधु क्षरन्ति सिन्धवः।
माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः॥

h. Sweet is the night and sweet
the earthly realm at dawn.
Sweet be our father the sky to us!

मधु नक्तमुतोषसि
मधुमत् पार्थिवꣳ रजः।
मधु द्यौरस्तु नः पिता॥

i. Sweet be the trees to us!
Sweet be the sun!
Sweet be the cows!

मधुमान् नो वनस्पति-
र्मधुमाꣳ अस्तु सूर्यः।
माध्वीर्गावो भवन्तु नः॥

(TS 4.2.9.3 g-i)

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At the same time the udgātā chants:

pra mitrāya prāhābu/ āryaṃmṇāyi sacāho thiyauhu mārttāvasābu/ varauho thiyauhuvāyi varuṇe cchāndiyaṃ vacaḥ/ stotrāṃ hoyi rājauhāvāṣu gāyātā ā vu vā/ ū pā

(GG 27.3.1)

This chant is based upon:

Sing forth a friendly word to Mitra and Aryaman,
you who follow the cosmic order,
safe and pleasing to Varuṇa!
Sing a chant among kings!

(RV 8.101.5)

प्र मित्राय प्रार्यम्णे
संचथ्यमृतावसो।
वरूथ्यं १ वरुणे छन्द्यं वचः
स्तोत्रं राजसु गायत॥

The adhvaryu wraps the tortoise in the avakā leaf and places it at "I" (see Figure 25), facing west, while he recites:

May the great ones, sky and earth,
prepare for us this ritual!
May they sustain us with support!

(TS 4.2.9.3k)

महो द्यौः पृथिवी च न इमं
यज्ञं मिमिक्षताम्।
पिपृतां नो भरीमभिः॥

Let the fires advance to the four quarters!
Discerning may he lead this ritual for us,
as he swells the ageless butter that brings good heroes.
Brahman is the kindling stick of the oblation.

(TS 5.7.8.1b)

चतस्र आशाः प्र चरन्त्वग्नयं
इमं नो यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्।
घृतं पिन्वन्नजरꣳ सुवीरं
ब्रह्म समिद्भवत्याहुतीनाम्॥

followed by With That God and Pouring Milk.

The adhvaryu pounds the mixture of herbs (sarvauṣadha) with the pestle (*musala*) in the mortar (*ulūkhala*), reciting:

You are a powerful share,
a powerful filter.
Power food for food!

(BŚS 10.33:30.11–12)

ऊर्जो भागोऽस्यू-
र्जः पवित्र-
मूर्गन्नमन्नाद्याय॥

He places the pestle at "J," reciting:

That highest step of Viṣṇu
the sages always gaze upon,
spreadout like an eye in the sky.

(TS 4.2.9.3*l*)

तद्विष्णोः परमं पदꣳ
सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः।
दिवीव चक्षुराततम्॥

and the mortar at "J" with the space-filler mantra (above page 341):

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PLATE 70A

The First Layer

"From the paṅkti meter
the concluding verse (of a chant)."

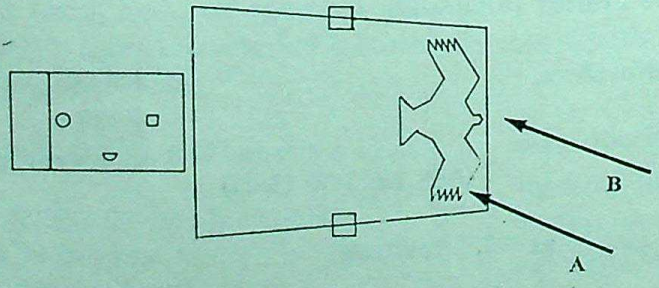
(TS 4.3.2.3e)

Yajamāna and adhvaryu consecrate brick no. 81, one of the Inhalation-Supporting bricks (prāṇabhṛt) in the southern wing, which will enable the bird to breathe. The brahman sits at his usual place, south of the altar, on his wooden turtle seat (kurmāsana).

PLATE 70B

Marking Bricks

The marking of bricks with dots of white paste continues throughout the consecration. Brick no. 15 receives its third mantra (Pouring Milk) and is immediately marked.



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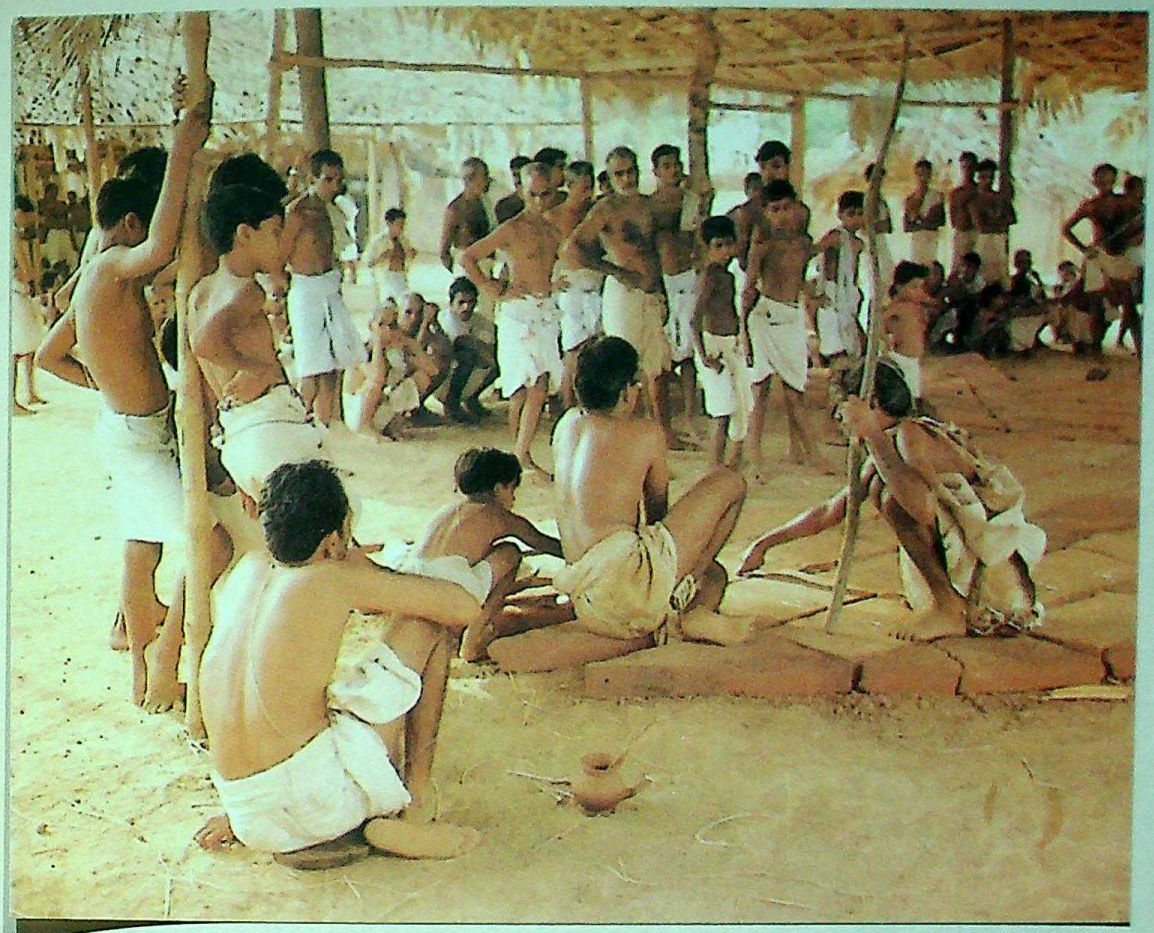

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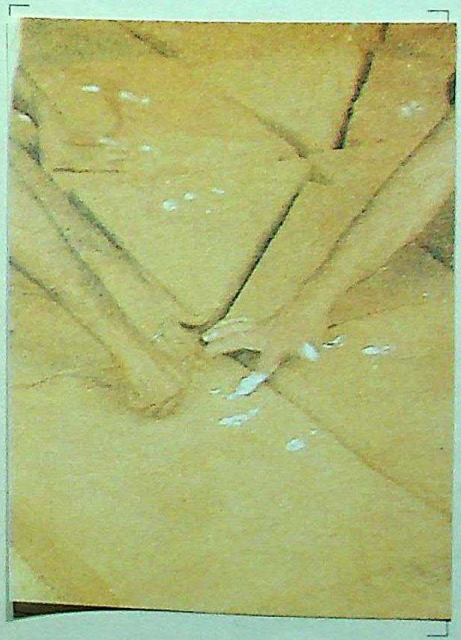

B

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Fill the space! Fill the hole!
Then sit down in a friendly manner!
Indra, Agni, and Bṛhaspati
have placed you in this womb.
(TS 4.2.4.4n)

लोकं पृण छिद्रं पृणा-
थो सीद शिवा त्वम्।
इन्द्राग्नी त्वा बृहस्पति-
रस्मिन् योनावसीषदन्॥

This is further followed by With That God and Pouring Milk, each twice, one for the mortar and one for the pestle.

The adhvaryu takes the ukhā pot and makes two ghee oblations with the sruva:

q. Harness, God Agni,
your excellent stallions,
the swift ones that correctly bear—svāhā!
r. Agni! Harness like a charioteer
the stallions that welcome the gods!
Sit down as the ancient Hotā—svāhā!
(TS 4.2.9.5q-r)

अग्ने युक्ष्वा हि ये तवा-
श्वासो देव साधवः।
अरं वहन्त्याशवः॥
युक्ष्वा हि देवहूतमाꣳ
अश्वाꣳ अग्ने रथीरिव।
नि होता पूर्व्यः सदः।

At each svāhā, the yajamāna renounces to Agni. Helpers dig a large hole at "K," north of the center, and another helper, Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad, puts the ukhā pot in it while the adhvaryu and the yajamāna consecrate it:

Earth! You are firm.
Conquer the enemies!
Sewn together by the gods,
you have reached immortality
(TS 4.2.9.4m)

ध्रुवाऽसि पृथिवि
सहस्व पृतन्यतः।
स्यूता देवेभि-
रमृतेनाऽऽगाः॥

PLATES 71,72A Akkitiripad puts in the two spare ukhā pots. The adhvaryu and yajamāna recite space filler for each and three times With That God and Pouring Milk.

In the meantime, the human head has been placed in the first ukhā pot. The adhvaryu places pieces of gold in its mouth, its two nostrils, eyes, and ears, with the following seven mantras:

TS 4.2.9.6s = 4.2.8.2f: see page 414 (for the mouth);
t. This has become the strength of all the world
and of Agni Vaiśvānara (for the nostrils);
Agni is light, full of light,
a disk radiant with radiance (for the eyes);
u. For the Ṛk, you! brilliance, you (for the ears).
(TS 4.2.9.6 s-u).

अभूदिदं विश्वस्य भुवनस्य
वाजिनमग्नेर्वैश्वानरस्य च।
अग्निर्ज्योतिषा ज्योतिष्मान
रुक्मो वर्चसा वर्चस्वान्॥
ऋचे त्वा रुचे त्वा।

The adhvaryu makes two ghee libations in the eyes, each time reciting:

The radiant face of the gods has arisen,

चित्र देवानामुदगादनीकं

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the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni.
He has filled heaven, earth, and air;
Sūrya (the sun) is the self of all that moves and stands—svāhā!

(TS 1.4.43.1b)

चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः।
आऽप्रा द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरिक्ष॰
सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च ॥

At each svāhā, the yajamāna renounces to Sūrya, the sun. The adhvaryu fills the mouth with the mixture of curds and honey:

v. The offerings flow together like streams,
purified within by heart and mind.
I look upon the streams of ghee.
A golden reed is in their midst.
w. In it sits an eagle, making honey,
nestling, apportioning honey to the gods.
On its edge sit seven brown ones,
freely milking forth the stream of immortality.

(TS 4.2.9.6v-w)

समित् स्रवन्ति सरितो न धेनाः।
अन्तर्हृदा मनसा पूयमानाः ॥
घृतस्य धारा अभि चाकशीमि।
हिरण्ययो वेतसो मध्य आसाम् ॥
तस्मिन्त्सुपर्णो मधुकृत् कुलायी।
भजंन्नास्ते मधु देवताभ्यः।
तस्याऽऽसते हरयः सप्त तीरे
स्वधां दुहाना अमृतस्य धाराम् ॥

He addresses the head in the ukhā pot:

a. Anointing the child Āditya with milk,
the equal of a thousand, possessed of every form,
spare him with your heat! Do not injure him!
Make his life a hundred years, as you are piled!
b. Do not injure this two-legged animal,
you with a hundred eyes, piled for the ritual!
I assign to you this manlike animal of the forest.
With that, piling your forms, be seated!

(TS 4.2.10.1a-b)

आदित्यं गर्भं पयसा समङ्ग-
न्त्सहस्रस्य प्रतिमां विश्वरूपम्।
परि वृङ्ग्धि हरसा माऽभि मृक्षः
शतायुषं कृणुहि चीयमानः ॥
इमं मा हिꣳसीर्द्विपादं पशूनाꣳ
सहस्राक्ष मेध आ चीयमानः।
मयुमारण्यमनु ते दिशामि
तेन चिन्वानस्तनुवो नि षीद ॥

He pauses briefly after "ritual." He places a piece of gold on the forehead of the human head:

Viśvakarman is master of the directions.
May he protect our cattle! May he protect us!
Homage to him!

(TS 5.5.5.1a)

विश्वकर्मा दिशां पतिः
स नः पशून् पातु सोऽस्मान् पातु
तस्मै नमः ॥

He puts the horse's head at "N," reciting:

c. The rush of the wind, the navel of Varuṇa,
born as a stallion in the midst of the waters;
that golden child of the rivers in a base of rock—
do not harm him, Agni! (Place him) in the highest heaven!
d. Do not harm this one-hooved one among the animals,

वातस्य ध्राजिं वरुणस्य नाभि-
मश्वं जज्ञानꣳ सरिरस्य मध्ये।
शिशुं नदीनाꣳ हरिमद्रिबुध्न-
मग्ने मा हिꣳसीः परमे व्योमन् ॥
इमं मा हिꣳसीरेकशफं पशूनां

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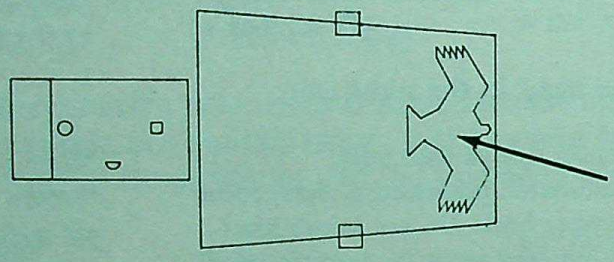
PLATE 71

Burying an Ukhā Pot

Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad puts a spare ukhā pot west of the center of the Field of Agni. The first ukhā, blackened by fire, is already there.



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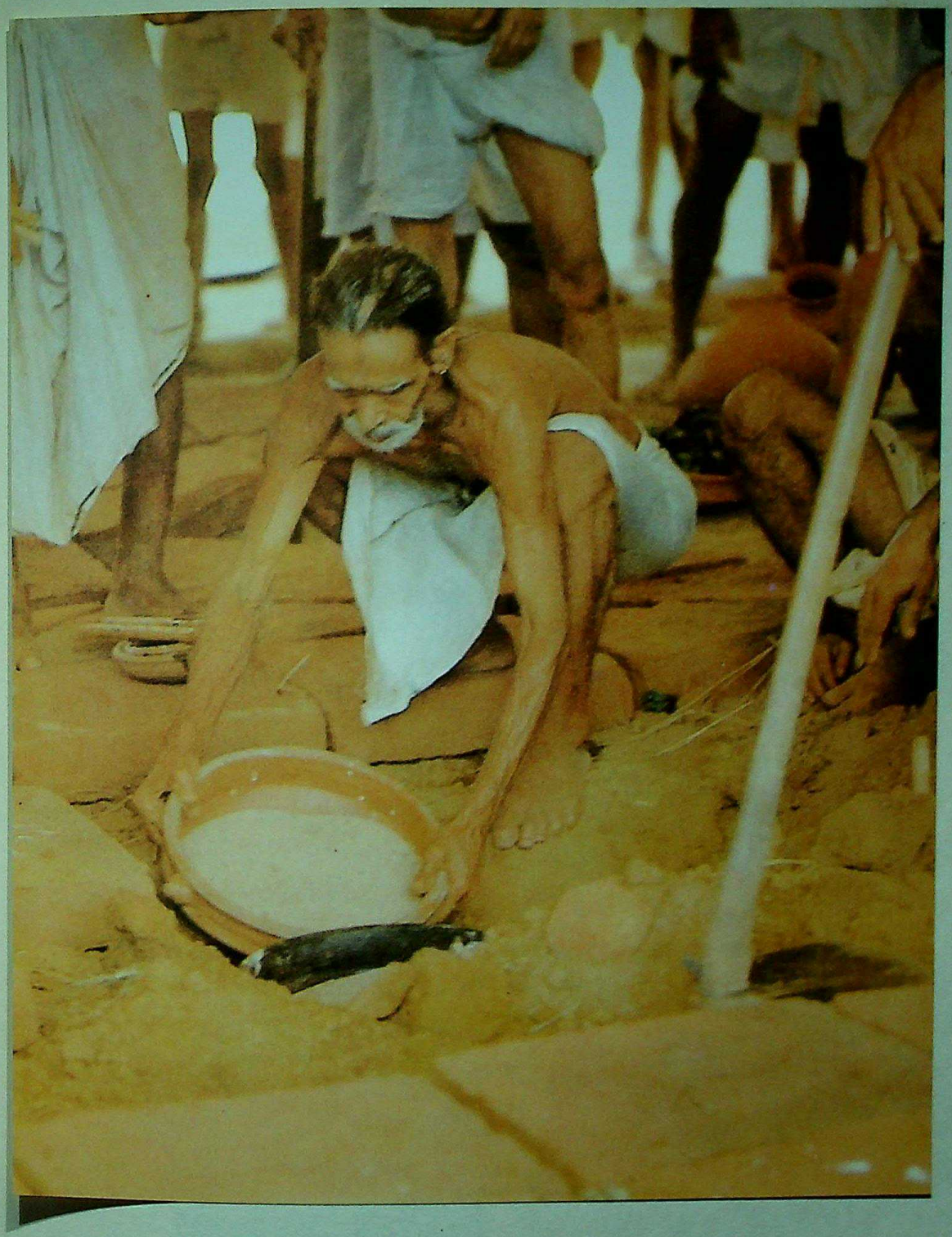

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PLATE 72A

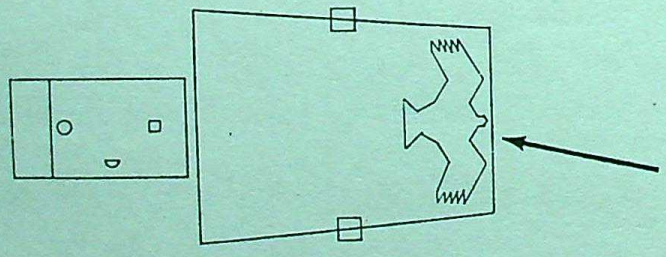
Consecrating an Ukhā Pot

Yajamāna and adhvaryu consecrate one of the spare ukhā pots. The human head has already been placed in the first ukhā. Only yajamāna and adhvaryu can step on the altar or be within the outline of the altar space.

PLATE 72B

The Sandal

Whenever yajamāna or adhvaryu step, or are about to step, on the altar or within the outline of the altar space, they wear sandals (upānah, "under-tie") made of a piece of antelope skin (kṛṣṇājina).



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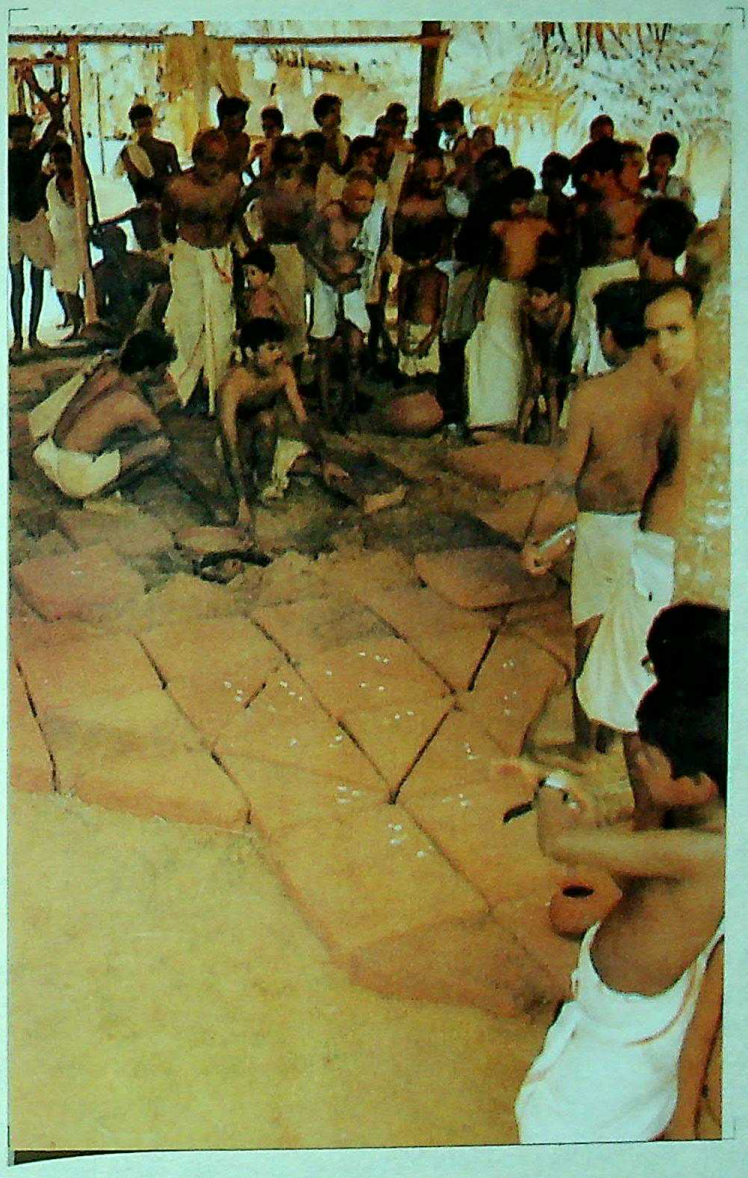

A

B

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neighing, the swift one in the races!
I assign to you the buffalo of the forest,
With that, piling your forms, be seated!
(TS 4.2.10.1c-d)

केनिक्रदं वाजिनं वाजिनेषु ।
गौरमारण्यमनु ते दिशामि
तेन चिन्वानस्तनुवो नि षीद ॥

He pauses briefly after "races." He places a piece of gold on the forehead of the horse, reciting TS 5.5.5.1a (above), replacing "Viśvakarman" by "Prajāpati."

He puts the bull's head at "O," reciting:

e. The unaging drop, red and spritely,
I praise Agni at first thought with salutations.
Arranging its joints according to the divisions,
do not harm the cow, the radiant Aditi!

अजस्रमिन्दुमरुषं भुरण्यु-
मग्निमीडे पूर्वचित्तौ नमोभिः ।
स पर्वभिर्ऋतुशः कल्पमानो गां
मा हिꣳसीरदितिं विराजम् ॥

f. This ocean, the spring of a hundred streams,
pouring out in the middle of the world,
which Aditi milks forth as butter for men—
do not harm her, Agni! (Place her) in the highest heaven!
I assign to you the steer of the forest.
With that, piling your forms, be seated!
(TS 4.2.10.2e-f)

इमꣳ समुद्रꣳ शतधारमुत्सं
व्यच्यमानं भुवनस्य मध्ये ।
घृतं दुहानामदितिं जनाया-
ग्ने मा हिꣳसीः परमे व्योमन् ।
गवयमारण्यमनु ते दिशामि
तेन चिन्वानस्तनुवो नि षीद ॥

He puts a piece of gold on the bull's forehead reciting TS 5.5.5.1a, replacing "Viśvakarman" by "Rudra." Then he puts the ram's head at "P" with:

g. Defender of Tvaṣṭṛ, navel of Varuṇa,
born like sheep from the highest region,
the great, thousandfold play of the demons—
do not harm it, Agni! (Place it) in the highest heaven!

वरूत्रिं त्वष्टुर्वरुणस्य नाभि-
मविं जज्ञानाꣳ रजसः परस्मात् ।
महीꣳ सांहस्रीमसुरस्य मायां
मग्ने मा हिꣳसीः परमे व्योमन् ॥

h. This woolen trick of Varuṇa,
skin of cattle, with two legs and four legs.
the first birthplace of the offspring of Tvaṣṭṛ—
do not harm it, Agni! (Place it) in the highest heaven!
I assign to you the brilliant one of the forest.
With that, piling your forms, be seated!
(TS 4.2.10.3g-h)

इमामूर्णायुं वरुणस्य नाभिं
त्वचं पशूनां द्विपदां चतुष्पदाम् ।
त्वष्टुः प्रजानां प्रथमं जनित्र-
मग्ने मा हिꣳसीः परमे व्योमन् ।
उष्ट्रमारण्यमनु ते दिशामि
तेन चिन्वानस्तनुवो नि षीद ॥

He puts a piece of gold on the ram's forehead, reciting TS 5.5.5.1a, replacing "Viśvakarman" by "Varuṇa." Then he puts the goat's head at "Q," reciting:

i. This Agni, born from the heat of Agni,
from the burning of earth or of the sky,
by which Viśvakarman obtained creatures—
him, Agni, let your wrath spare!

यो अग्निरग्नेस्तपसोऽधि जातः
शोचात् पृथिव्या उत वा दिवस्परि ।
येन प्रजा विश्वकर्मा व्यानट्
तमग्ने हेडः परि ते वृणक्तु ॥

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k. The goat was born from the embryo of Agni.
She perceived her progenitor in the beginning.
By her those worthy of ritual attained pre-eminence.
By her the gods formerly attained godhead.
I assign to you the deer of the forest.
With that, piling your forms, be seated!
(TS 4.2.10.4i-k)

अजा ह्यग्नेरजनिष्ट गर्भात्
सा वा अपश्यज्जनितारमग्रे ।
तया रोहमायुरुप मेध्यास-
स्तया देवा देवतामग्र आयन् ।
गां मृगमारण्यमनु ते दिशामि
तेन चिन्वानस्तनुवो निषीद ॥

He puts a piece of gold on the goat's forehead with TS 5.5.5.1a, replacing "Viśvakarman" by "Agni." Finally the adhvaryu recites With That God and Pouring Milk, each ten times for each of the heads and the pieces of gold. Throughout these recitations, the adhvaryu is joined by the yajamāna.

In the meantime, most of the bricks of the first layer have been put in place. While the last ones are placed in the center, the consecration continues. First come the twenty Watery bricks (*apasya*), nos. 17–36. They fall into four groups of five. The first group, nos. 17–21, are consecrated by adhvaryu and yajamāna, who recite:

I place you in the flow of the waters.
I place you in the rising of the waters.
I place you in the ashes of the waters.
I place you in the light of the waters.
I place you in the course of the waters.
(TS 4.3.1.1a)

अपां त्वेमन्त्सादयामि ।
अपां त्वोद्यन्त्सादयामि ।
अपां त्वा भस्मन्त्सादयामि ।
अपां त्वा ज्योतिषि सादयामि ।
अपां त्वायने सादयामि ॥

The second group, nos. 22–26, are consecrated with:

In your seat on the waves be seated!
In your seat on the ocean be seated!
In your seat on the stream be seated!
In the dwelling place of the waters be seated!
In the resting place of the waters be seated!
(TS 4.3.1.1b)

अर्णवे सदने सीद ।
समुद्रे सदने सीद ।
सलिले सदने सीद ।
अपां क्षये सीद ।
अपाꣳ सधिषि सीद ॥

The third group, nos. 27–31, are consecrated with:

I place you in the seat of the waters.
I place you in the dwelling of the waters.
I place you in the dust of the waters.
I place you in the womb of the waters.
I place you in the place of the waters.
(TS 4.3.1.1c)

अपां त्वा सदने सादयामि ।
अपां त्वा सधस्थे सादयामि ।
अपां त्वा पुरीषे सादयामि ।
अपां त्वा योनौ सादयामि ।
अपां त्वा पाथसि सादयामि ॥

The fourth group, nos. 32–36, are consecrated with:

The gāyatrī meter.

गायत्री छन्दः ।

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The triṣṭubh meter,
the jagatī meter,
the anuṣṭubh meter,
the paṅkti meter.

(TS 4.3.1.2d)

त्रिष्टुप्छन्दः।
जगती छन्दः।
अनुष्टुप्छन्दः।
पङ्क्तिश्छन्दः॥

Each of the twenty Watery bricks is then consecrated with With That God and with Pouring Milk.

Next come the 50 Exhalation-Supporting (*prāṇabhṛt*) bricks, nos. 37–86. in five groups of ten. Nos. 37–46 are consecrated with:

This one in the east is the existent; his is the breath of the existent.
Spring was born of breath; gāyatrī born of spring;
from gāyatrī the gāyatra (sāman); from gāyatra the upāṅśu (cup);
from upāṅśu the trivṛt (stoma); from trivṛt the rathantara;
from rathantara the seer Vasiṣṭha.
With you taken by Prajāpati, I take breath for offspring.

(TS 4.3.2.1a)

अयं पुरो भुवस्तस्य प्राणो भौवायनो
वसन्तः प्राणायनो गायत्री वासन्ती
गायत्रियै गायत्रं गायत्राद्रुपाꣳ श-
रुपाꣳशोस्त्रिवृत् त्रिवृतो रथन्तरꣳ
रथन्तराद्वसिष्ठ ऋषिः
प्रजापतिगृहीतया त्वया
प्राणं गृह्णामि प्रजाभ्यः॥

Nos. 47–56 with:

This one in the south is the All-maker (Viśvakarman); his is the mind of Viśvakarman.
Summer was born of mind; triṣṭubh born of summer;
from triṣṭubh the aiḍa (sāman); from aiḍa the antaryāma (cup);
from antaryāma the fifteenfold (stoma); from fifteenfold the bṛhat;
from bṛhat the seer Bharadvāja.
With you taken by Prajāpati, I take mind for offspring.

(TS 4.3.2.1b)

अयं दक्षिणा विश्वकर्मा
तस्य मनो वैश्वकर्मणं
ग्रैष्मो मानसस्त्रिष्टुग्ग्रैष्मो
त्रिष्टुभ ऐडमैडादन्तर्यामो-
ऽन्तर्यामात् पञ्चदशः पञ्चदशाद्बृहद्
बृहतो भरद्वाज ऋषिः
प्रजापतिगृहीतया त्वया
मनो गृह्णामि प्रजाभ्यः॥

Nos. 57–66 with:

This one in the west is the All-extending; his is the eye of the All-extending.
Rains were born of the eye; jagatī born of rains;
from jagatī the ṛkṣāma (sāman); from ṛkṣāma the śukra (cup);
from śukra the seventeenfold (stoma); from seventeenfold the vairūpa;
from vairūpa the seer Viśvāmitra.

अयं पश्चाद्विश्वव्यचा-
स्तस्य चक्षुर्वैश्वव्यचसं
वर्षाणि चाक्षुषाणि जगती वार्षी
जगत्या ऋक्षममृक्षमाच्छुक्रः
शुक्रात् सप्तदशः सप्तदशाद्वैरूपं
वैरूपाद्विश्वामित्र ऋषिः

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With you taken by Prajāpati, I take the eye for offspring.

(TS 4.3.2.2c)

प्रजापतिगृहीतया त्वया
चक्षुर्गृह्णामि प्रजाभ्यः ॥

Nos. 67–76 with:

This one in the north is the light; his is the ear of the light.
Autumn was born of the ear; anuṣṭubh connected with autumn;
from anuṣṭubh the svāra (sāman); from svāra the manthin (cup);
from manthin the twenty-one-fold (stoma); from twenty-one-fold the vairāja;
from vairāja the seer Jamadagni.
With you taken by Prajāpati, I take the ear for offspring.

(TS 4.3.2.2 d)

इदमुत्तरात् सुव-
स्तस्य श्रोत्रꣳ सौवꣳ
शारच्छ्रोत्र्यनुष्टुप्छार-
नुष्टुभः स्वारꣳ स्वारान्मन्थी
मन्थिनं एकविꣳश
एकविꣳशाद् वैराजं
वैराजाज्जमदग्निर्ऋषिः
प्रजापतिगृहीतया त्वया
श्रोत्रं गृह्णामि प्रजाभ्यः ॥

Nos. 77–86 with:

This one above is thought; his is the speech of thought.
Winter was born of speech; paṅkti born of winter;
from paṅkti the concluding verse (of a sāman); from concluding verse the āgrayaṇa (cup);
from āgrayaṇa the twenty-seven-fold and the thirty-seven-fold (stomas);
from twenty-seven-fold and thirty-three-fold the śākvara and raivata;
from śākvara and raivata the seer Viśvakarman.
With you taken by Prajāpati, I take speech for offspring.

(TS 4.3.2.3e)

इयमुपरि मति-
स्तस्यै वाङ्मात्री
हेमन्तो वाच्यायनः पङ्क्तिर्हैमन्ती
पङ्क्त्यै निधनवन्निधनवत आग्रयण
आग्रयणात् त्रिणवत्रयस्त्रिꣳशौ
त्रिणवत्रयस्त्रिꣳशाभ्याꣳ शाक्वरैरैवते
शाक्वरैरैवताभ्यां विश्वकर्मर्षिः
प्रजापतिगृहीतया त्वया
वाचं गृह्णामि प्रजाभ्यः ॥

Next all the Exhalation-Supporting bricks are consecrated with With That God and with Pouring Milk. PLATE 70A

Next are the twelve Stretch bricks (*saṃyat*), nos. 87–98. The adhvaryu consecrates them on behalf of the yajamāna, and sometimes accompanied by him, with twelve mantras:

From life stretch to exhalation (prāṇa).
From exhalation stretch to inhalation (apāna).
From inhalation stretch to diffused breath (vyāna).
From diffused breath stretch to eye.
From eye stretch to ear.
From ear stretch to mind.
From mind stretch to language.

आयुषः प्राणꣳ संतनु।
प्राणादपानꣳ संतनु।
अपानाद्व्यानꣳ संतनु।
व्यानाच्चक्षुस्संतनु।
चक्षुषः श्रोत्रꣳ संतनु।
श्रोत्रान्मनस्संतनु।
मनसो वाचꣳ संतनु।

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From language stretch to self.
From self stretch to earth.
From earth stretch to air.
From air stretch to sky.
From sky stretch to heaven.
(TB 1.5.7)

वाच आत्मानꣳ संतनु।
आत्मनः पृथिवीꣳ संतनु।
पृथिव्या अन्तरिक्षꣳ संतनु।
अन्तरिक्षाद्दिवꣳ संतनु।
दिवस्सुवस्संतनु।

followed by twelve times With That God and twelve times Pouring Milk.

The adhvaryu then consecrates fifty Inhalation-Supporting bricks (*apānabhṛt*), nos. 99–148, in five groups of ten. Nos. 99–108 are consecrated with:

East among the directions;
spring among the seasons;
Agni the deity; brahman (priestly power) wealth;
Trivṛt the stoma; its fifteenfold path;
the eighteen-month calf strength;
kṛta[1] among dice throws,
the east wind the wind; Sānaga the seer.
(TS 4.3.3.1a)

प्राचीं दिशां
वसन्त ऋतूना-
मग्निर्देवता ब्रह्म द्रविणं
त्रिवृत् स्तोमः स उं पञ्चदशवर्तनि-
स्त्र्यविर्वयः
कृतमयानां
पुरोवातो वातः सानग ऋषिः

Adhvaryu and yajamāna recite:

May the fathers and grandfathers, near and far, protect us.
May they help us in this brahman (priestly power),
in this *kṣatra* (military power), in this prayer,
in this *purohita* office, in this ritual,
in this invocation of the gods!
(TS 4.3.3.2f)

पितरः पितामहाः परेऽवरे
ते नः पान्तु ते नोऽवन्त्व-
स्मिन् ब्रह्मन्नस्मिन् क्षत्रे-
ऽस्यामाशिष्यस्यां पुरोधायां-
मस्मिन् कर्मन्नस्यां देवहूत्याम् ॥

Nos. 109–118 are consecrated with:

South among the directions;
summer among the seasons;
Indra the deity; *kṣatra* (military power) the wealth;
fifteenfold the stoma; its seventeenfold path;
the two-year-old strength;
tretā[2] among dice throws;
the south wind the wind; Sanātana the seer.
(TS 4.3.3.1b)

दक्षिणा दिशां
ग्रीष्म ऋतूना-
मिन्द्रो देवता क्षत्रं द्रविणं
पञ्चदशः स्तोमः स उं सप्तदशवर्तनि-
र्दित्यवाड्व्य-
स्त्रेताऽयानां
दक्षिणाद्वातो वातः सनातन ऋषिः ॥

Adhvaryu and yajamāna recite TS 4.3.3.2f, as before. Nos. 119–128 are consecrated with:

West among the directions;

[1] The winning throw.
[2] The second best throw.

प्रतीचीं दिशां

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the rains among the seasons;
The Viśvedevas the deity; viṣ (agricultural power) wealth;
seventeenfold the stoma; its twenty-one-fold path;
the three-year-old strength;
dvāpara[3] among the dice throws;
the west wind the wind; Ahabūna the seer.
(TS 4.3.3.1c)

वर्षा ऋतूनां
विश्वे देवा देवता विड् द्रविणꣳ
सप्तदशः स्तोमः स उवेकविꣳशवर्तनि-
स्त्रिवत्सो वयो द्वापरोऽयानां
पश्चाद्वातो वातोऽहभून ऋषिः ॥

Adhvaryu and yajamāna recite TS 4.3.3.2f. Nos. 129–138 are consecrated with:

North among the directions;
autumn among the seasons;
Mitra-Varuṇa the deity; nourishment wealth;
twenty-one-fold the stoma; its twenty-seven-fold path;
the four-year-old strength;
āskanda among the dice throws;
the north wind the wind; Pratna the seer.
(TS 4.3.3.2d)

उदीची दिशा ꣳ
शरदृतूनां
मित्रावरुणौ देवता पुष्टं द्रविण-
मेकविꣳशः स्तोमः स उ त्रिणववर्तनि-
स्तुर्यवाड् वयं
आस्कन्दोऽयाना-
मुत्तराद्वातो वातः प्रत्न ऋषिः ॥

Adhvaryu and yajamāna recite TS 4.3.3.2f. Nos. 139–148 are consecrated with:

Zenith among the directions.
winter among the seasons;
Bṛhaspati the deity; brilliance wealth;
twenty-seven-fold the stoma; its thirty-three-fold path;
the draught-animal strength;
abhibhū among the dice throws;
the all-pervading wind the wind; Suparṇa the seer.
(TS 4.3.3.2e)

ऊर्ध्वा दिशा ꣳ
हेमन्तशिशिरावृतूनां
बृहस्पतिर्देवता वर्चो द्रविणं
त्रिणवः स्तोमः स उ त्रयस्त्रिꣳशवर्तनि-
पष्ठवाद्वयोऽभिभूरयानां
विष्वग्वातो वातः सुपर्ण ऋषिः ॥

Adhvaryu and yajamāna recite TS 4.3.3.2f. Each of the fifty Inhalation-Supporting bricks is consecrated with With That God and Pouring Milk.

Five Face bricks (*mukham*), nos. 149–153, are consecrated with five mantras:

This Agni is the head and peak of heaven
lord of the earth.
He gives life to the seeds of the waters.
(TS 4.4.4.1a)

अग्निर्मूर्धा दिवः ककुत्
पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् ।
अपाꣳ रेताꣳसि जिन्वति ॥

You are the leader of the ritual and the region,
where you resort with auspicious stallions.

भुवो यज्ञस्य रजसश्च नेता
यत्रा नियुद्भिः सचसे शिवाभिः ।

[3] The third best throw.

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You placed your head in heaven, winning splendor.
Agni! You made your tongue bear the oblation.
(TS 4.4.4.1d)

दिवि मूर्धानं दधिषे सुवर्षां
जिह्वामग्ने चकृषे हव्यवाहम् ॥

Guardian of the people, vigilant and clever,
Agni was born for new prosperity.
Face touched with butter, he shines brightly
with great sky-touching flame for all the Bhāratas.
(TS 4.4.4.2g = RV 5.11.1: see page 74)

जनस्य गोपा अजनिष्ट जागृवि-
रग्निः सुदक्षः सुवितायु नव्यसे ।
घृतप्रतीको बृहता दिविस्पृशा
द्युमद्वि भा ति भरतेभ्यः शुचिः ॥

Agni! You, a radiant celebrity,
with flaming hair and dear to many,
men invoke you in their homes
to carry the oblation.
(TS 4.4.4.3k)

त्वां चित्रश्रवस्तम
हवन्ते विक्षु जन्तवः ।
शोचिष्केशं पुरुप्रिया-
ग्ने हव्याय वोढवे ॥

May we kindle you, God Agni,
radiant and unaging.
When this wonderful kindling stick of yours
radiates in the sky,
then bear food to the praisers.
(TS 4.4.4.6t)

आ ते अग्न ऋचा हविः
शुक्रस्य ज्योतिषस्पते ।
सुश्चन्द्र दस्म विश्पते
हव्यवाट् तुभ्यꣳ हूयत
इषꣳ स्तोतृभ्य आ भर ॥

This is followed by With That God and Pouring Milk, each five times.

The adhvaryu then consecrates five Limbs (*aṅgam*), nos. 154–158, with five mantras:

With the eastern direction I place you, with the gāyatrī meter,
with Agni as the deity;
with the head of Agni I put down the head of Agni.
With the southern direction I place you, with the triṣṭubh meter,
with Indra as the deity;
with the wing of Agni I put down the wing of Agni.
With the western direction I place you, with the jagatī meter,
with Savitṛ as the deity;
with the tail of Agni I put down the tail of Agni.
With the northern direction I place you, with the anuṣṭubh meter,
with Mitra and Varuṇa as the deity;
with the wing of Agni I put down the wing of Agni.
With the upward direction I place you, with the paṅkti meter,
with Bṛhaspati as the deity,
with the back of Agni I put down the back of Agni.
(TS 5.5.8.2–3)

प्राच्या त्वा दिशा सादयामि
गायत्रेण छन्दसाऽग्निना देवतया-
ऽग्नेः शीर्ष्णाऽग्नेः शिर उप दधामि ।
दक्षिणया त्वा दिशा सादयामि
तैष्टुभेन छन्दसेन्द्रेण देवतया-
ऽग्नेः पक्षेणाग्नेः पक्षमुप दधामि ।
प्रतीच्या त्वा दिशा सादयामि
जागतेन छन्दसा सवित्रा देवतया-
ऽग्नेः पुच्छेनाग्नेः पुच्छमुप दधामि ।
उदीच्या त्वा दिशा सादया-
म्यानुष्टुभेन छन्दसा मित्रावरुणाभ्यां देवतया-
ऽग्नेः पक्षेणाग्नेः पक्षमुप दधामि ।
ऊर्ध्वया त्वा दिशा सादयामि
पाङ्क्तेन छन्दसा बृहस्पतिना देवतया-
ऽग्नेः पृष्ठेनाग्नेः पृष्ठमुप दधामि ॥

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followed by With That God and Pouring Milk, each five times.

Next comes the Prājāpatya brick, no. 159, consecrated with:

The equal of the year
that they worship in you, night!
Making his children rich in heroes,
may he obtain a full life!

संवत्सरस्य प्रतिमां
यां त्वा रात्र्युपास्महे।
प्रजाꣳ सुवीरां कृत्वा
विश्वमायुर्व्यश्नवत॥

(TS 5.7.2.1b)

and the Bull, no. 160, with:

To you, Agni, bull, clever one,
I have come, creating you young again.
May our household rites not falter!
With pointed sacred power, sharpen us!

त्वामग्ने वृषभं चेकितानं
पुनर्युवानं जनयन्नुपागाम्।
अस्थूरिणो गार्हपत्यानि सन्तु
तिग्मेननो ब्रह्मणा सꣳशिशाधि॥

(TS 5.7.2.1a)

followed by twice With That God and Pouring Milk.

The only bricks left on the first layer are the forty Space Fillers (lokampṛṇa). They may be consecrated in any order by reciting the mantras Fill the Space, With That God, and Pouring Milk. On the first, third, and fifth layer, they are consecrated in the eastern direction. The first Space-Filler brick (no. 161) is consecrated jointly by adhvaryu and yajamāna. This occurs on all layers. Moreover, on the first and third layer, the last brick, no. 200 in Figures 23 and 25, is consecrated by the adhvaryu.

The adhvaryu commands brahman and pratiprasthātā:

Cover this Agni with space fillers
in the eastern direction!

इममग्निं प्राचीभिर्लोकंपृणाभिः
संप्रच्छादयत॥

The text of this praiṣa, "command," is not found elsewhere (but cf. BŚS 10.36:34.8–9). While adhvaryu and yajamāna, assisted by pratiprasthātā and brahman, recite the three mantras over the space fillers as fast as they can, the udgātā sings his eight space-filler chants, all taken from the Araṇyegeyagāna and replete with stobhas:

I. *hā bu mahi* (3 x) *mahī mahi* (3 x) *mahye maṃ hye* (3 x) / *mahi triṇām avār astu* / *dyukṣaṃ mitrasyāryamṇāḥ* / *durādharṣaṃ varuṇasya* / *hā bu mahi* (3 x) *mahī mahi* (3 x) *mahye maṃ hye* (2 x) *mahi māhi mā au ho vā* / *ē mahy e mahy e mahi* //
AG 24.5, based upon JA 20.8;cf. RV 10.185.1)

II. *hā bu divi* (3 x) *divī divi* (3 x) / *dā yi ve* (6 x) / *au ho au ho vā* / *mahi triṇām avār astu* / *au ho au ho vā* / *dyukṣaṃ mitrasyāryamṇāḥ* / *au ho au ho vā* / *durādharṣaṃ varuṇasya* / *hā bu divi*

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(3 x) *divi divi* (3 x) / *dā yi ve* (4 x) *divi dā yi vā au ho vā* / *ē divy e divy e divi* //
(AG 24.6 based upon JA 20.8; cf. RV 10.185.1)

III. *agnoṃ* / *agna ho agna ho agna hā ā vu vā* / *ē jyotiḥ* //
(AG 25.32)

IV. *vāyoṃ* / *vāya ho yi vāya ho yi vāya hā ā vu vā* / *ē rājā* //
(AG 25.33)

V. *sūryoṃ* / *sūrya ho yi sūrya ho yi sūrya hā ā vu vā* / *ē bhrājā* //
(AG 25.34)

VI. *candroṃ* / *candra ho yi candra ho yi candra hā ā vu vā* / *ē ā bhrājā* //
(AG 25.35)

VII. *nākoṃ* / *nāka ho yi nāka ho yi nāka hā ā vu vā* / *ē pṛṣṭham* //
(AG 25.36)

VIII. *śukroṃ* / *śukra ho yi śukra ho yi śukra hā ā vu va* / *ē bhrāḷā bhrājā* //
(AG 25.37)

The last six chants have a structure similar to the chants of AG 25.21–25, which occur elsewhere in the Agnicayana (see Table 15 on page 533). While these chants continue, adhvaryu and yajamāna complete the consecration of the Space Fillers. The adhvaryu sweeps the layer with a broom of palāśa leaves and recites the space-filler mantra once more together with the yajamāna. The adhvaryu touches the layer and recites:

The wise (Agni) will distinguish good and bad thought,
like the straight and crooked questions of men!
For wealth and good offspring, god,
grant us gifts and remove their absence.
(TS 5.5.4.4 = RV 4.2.11, a difficult verse; cf. Renou 1964, 89–91)

चित्तिमचित्तिं चिनवद्वि विद्वान
पृष्ठेव वीता वृजिना च मर्तान् ।
राये च नः स्वपत्याय देव
दितिं च रास्वादितिमुरुष्य ॥

TS 4.4.4.1a (as above, page 441).

May speech be in my mouth, breath in my nostrils,
sight in my eyes, hearing in my ears,
strength in my arms, power in my thighs.
May all my limbs be uninjured.
May your body be with my body!
Homage to you! Do not harm me!
(TS 5.5.9.2g)

वाङ् म आसन् नसोः प्राणो-
ऽक्ष्योश्चक्षुः कर्णयोः श्रोत्रं
बाहुवोर्बलमूरुवोरोजो-
ऽरिष्टा विश्वान्यङ्गानि
तनूस्तनुवा मे सह
नमस्ते अस्तु मा मा हिꣳसीः ॥

You are giver of exhalation, giver of inhalation,
giver of the diffused breath, giver of eyesight,

प्राणदा अपानदा
व्यानदाश्चक्षुर्दा

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giver of splendor, giver of freedom.
Let your flames injure somebody else!
Be purifying and friendly to us!
(TS 4.6.1.4q)

वर्चोदा वरिवोदाः।
अन्यं ते अस्मत् तपन्तु हेतयः
पावको अस्मभ्यं शिवो भव॥

The first layer is now almost completed. The adhvaryu recites TS 5.7.9.1 a-b and 5.7.8.1a, as he did at the beginning of the construction of the domestic altar, of the setting up of the Agni field, and of the first layer (pages 339, 386, 398). He touches the black horse and spreads loose soil over the first layer, reciting TS 1.5.11.1d, followed by With That God and Pouring Milk, as he did on all layers of the domestic altar (page 342). He makes two Piled Together (*saṃcita*) butter oblations, reciting:

Agni, ocean! Your arrow is called young.
Be gentle with it to us.
To this arrow of yours, homage!
Living on it, may we prosper—svāhā!
(TS 5.5.9.1a)

अग्ने उदधे यात इषुर्युवा नाम
तया नो मृड
तस्यास्ते नम-
स्तस्यास्त उप जीवन्तो भूयास्म॥

This I request of you, praising you with brahman;
this the yajamāna seeeks with offerings:
Without anger, Varuṇa, be here!
Wide ruler! Don't take away our life—svāhā!
(TS 2.1.1.6w)

तत्त्वा यामि ब्रह्मणा वन्दमान-
स्तदा शास्ते यजमानो हविर्भिः।
अहेडमानो वरुणेह बोध्यु-
रुशꣳस मा न आयुः प्र मोषीः॥

At the first svāhā, the yajamāna renounces to Agni; at the second, to Varuṇa.

At about 4:30 p.m., less than two hours after the fetching of the Agnis, the first layer is completed. All return to the Old Hall. After the evening Pravargya, Upasad, and the usual rites, the fourth ritual day ends.

Fifth Day: April 17, 1975

EPISODE 14

The Second Layer

THE FIFTH RITUAL day starts with the morning Pravargya and Upasad, and the accompanying ceremonies. As on the previous and following days, a brown and a white horse are tied to poles immediately east of the altar, to the north and south, respectively. The bricks of the second layer have already been put down on the evening before, not without expert guidance, for their shapes and pattern are very complex. They will now be consecrated by the adhvaryu together with the yajamāna. Though the pattern is more complicated than that of the first layer, the consecration procedure is simpler. The description will therefore be relatively brief.

In the second layer, the first 57 bricks are consecrated in a particular order; the remaining 143 bricks are lokampṛṇa, Space Fillers. The order

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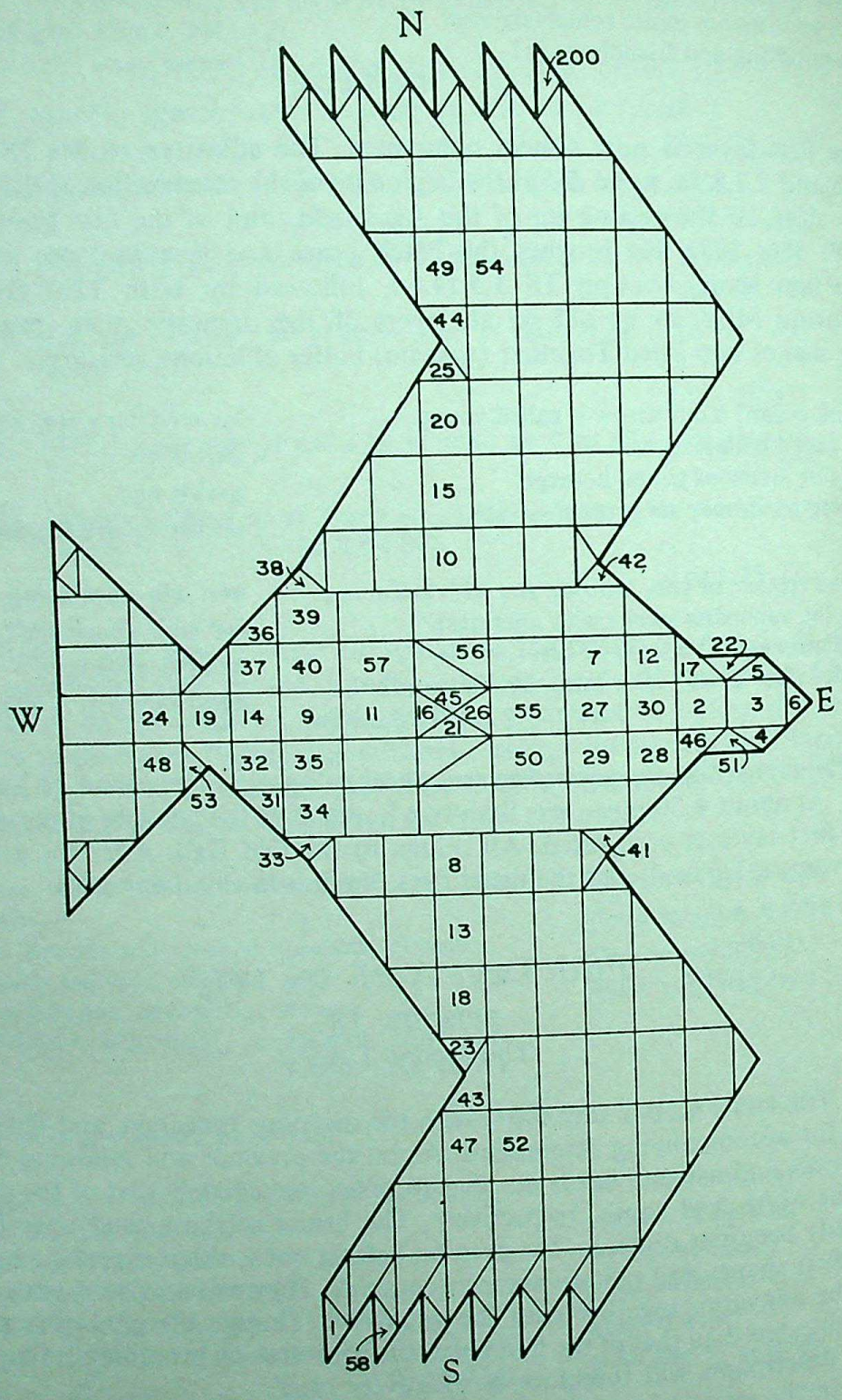

Figure 26—Order of Bricks in the Second Layer

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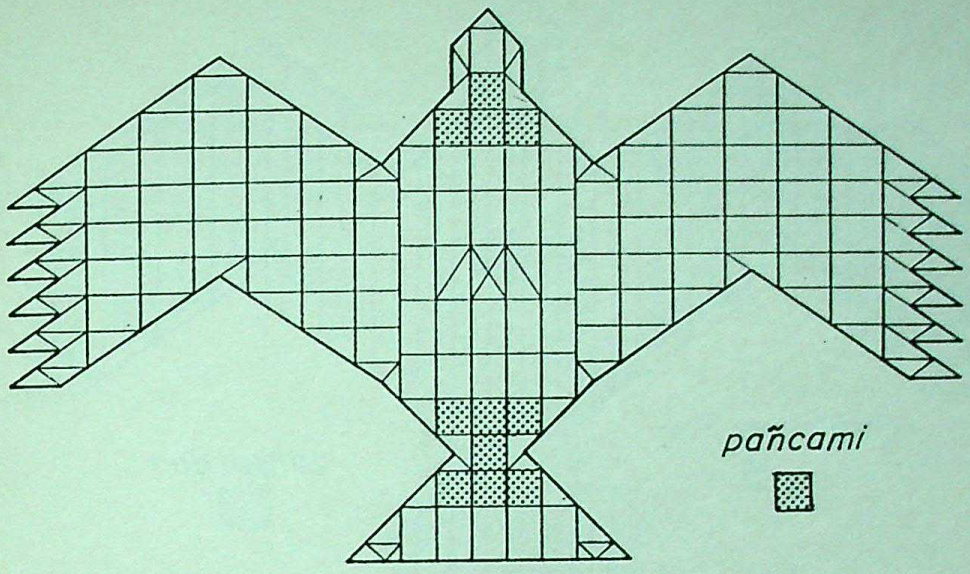

Figure 27—Pañcami Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

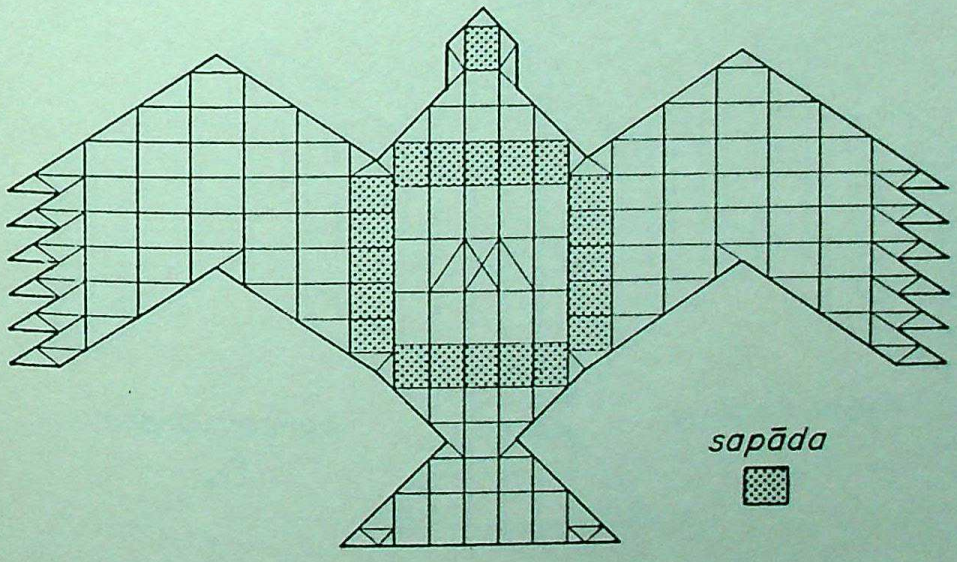

Figure 28—Sapāda Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

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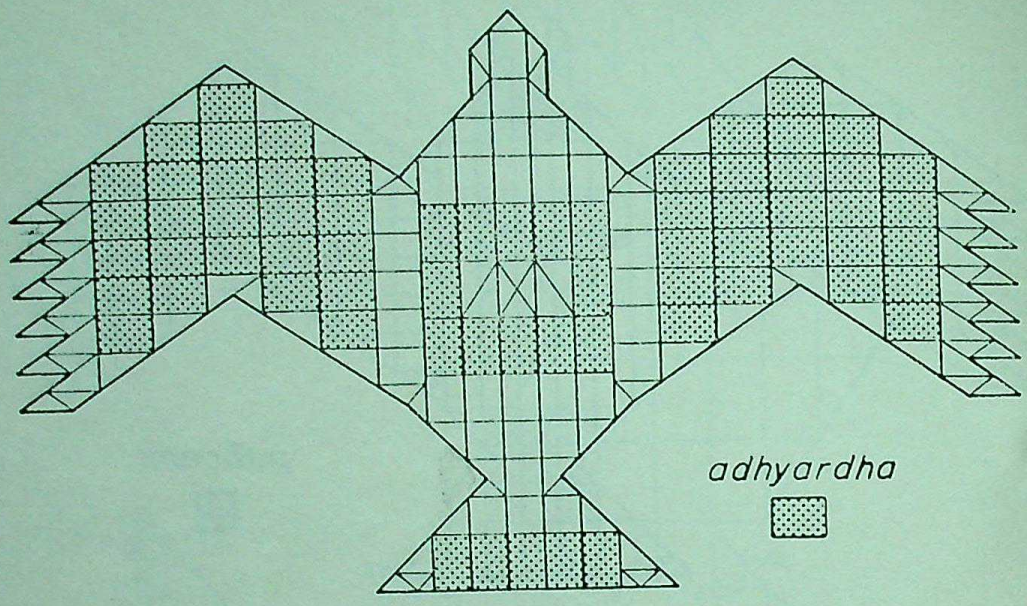

Figure 29—Adhyardha Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

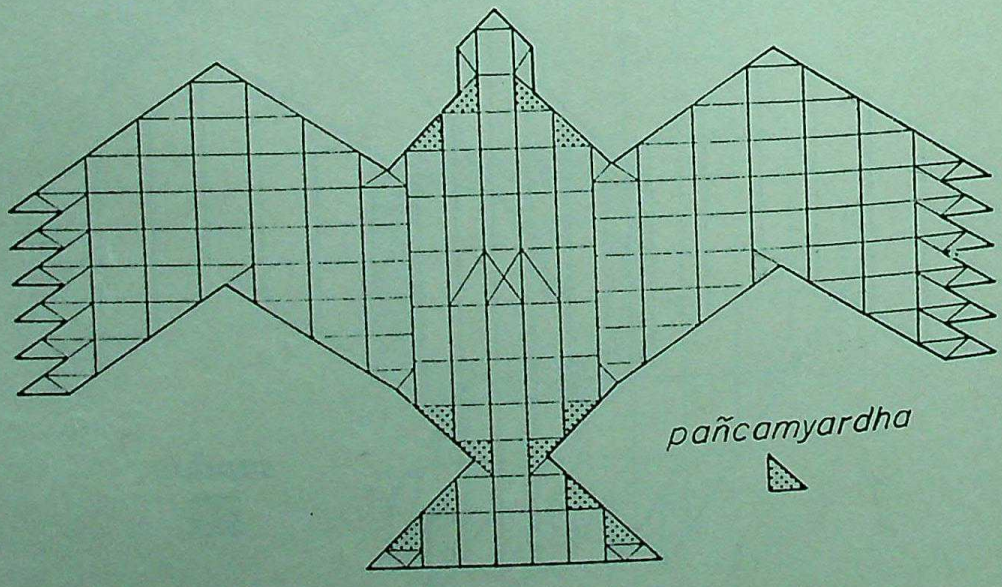

Figure 30—Pañcamyardha Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

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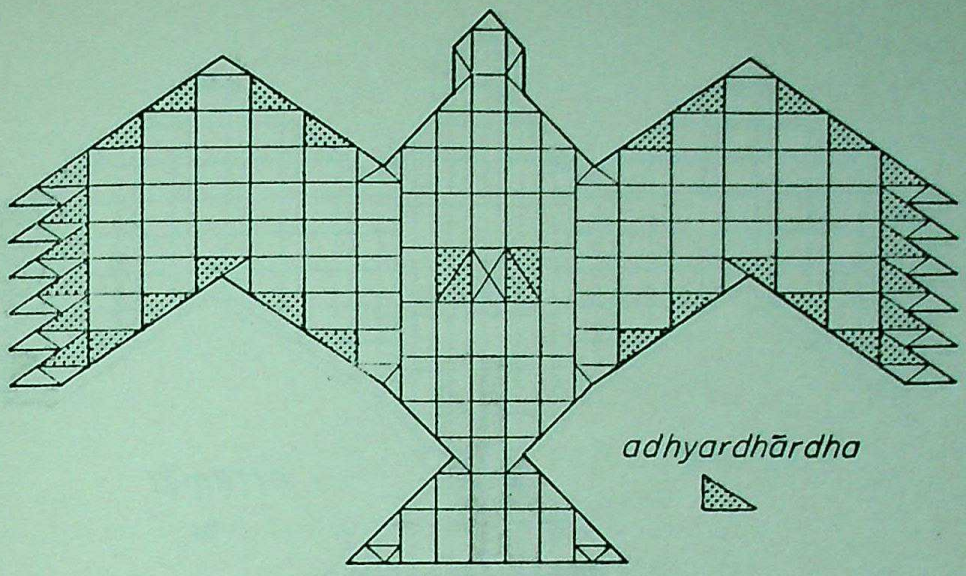

Figure 31—Adhyardhārdha Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

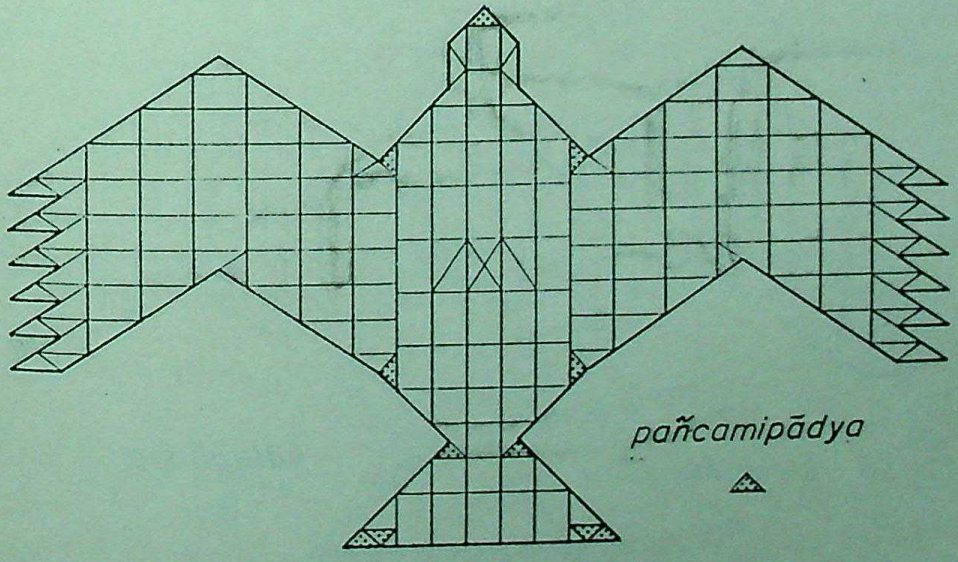

Figure 32—Pañcamipādya Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

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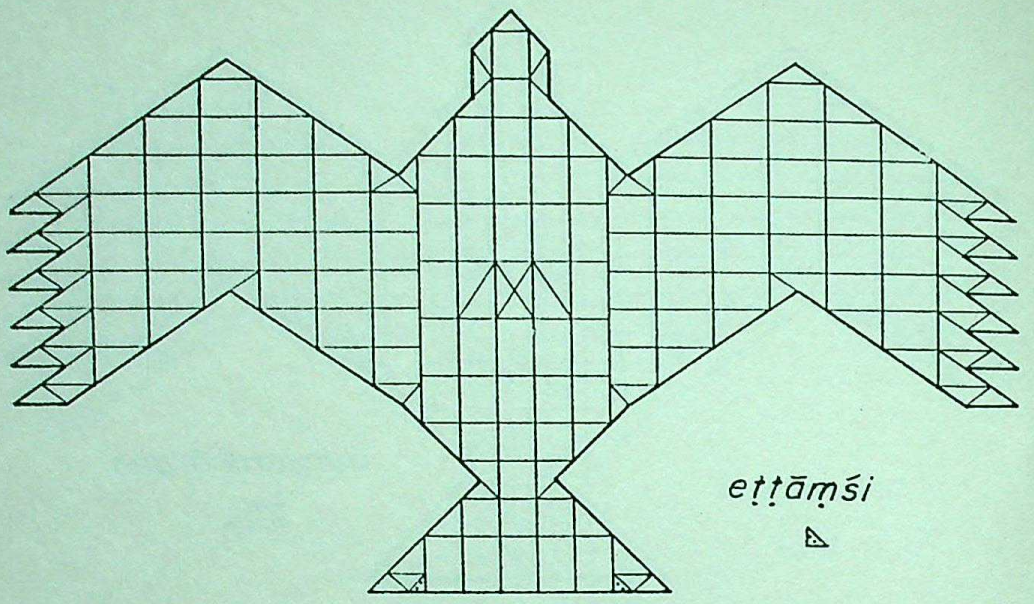

Figure 33—Eṭṭāṃśi (Aṣṭāṃśi) Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

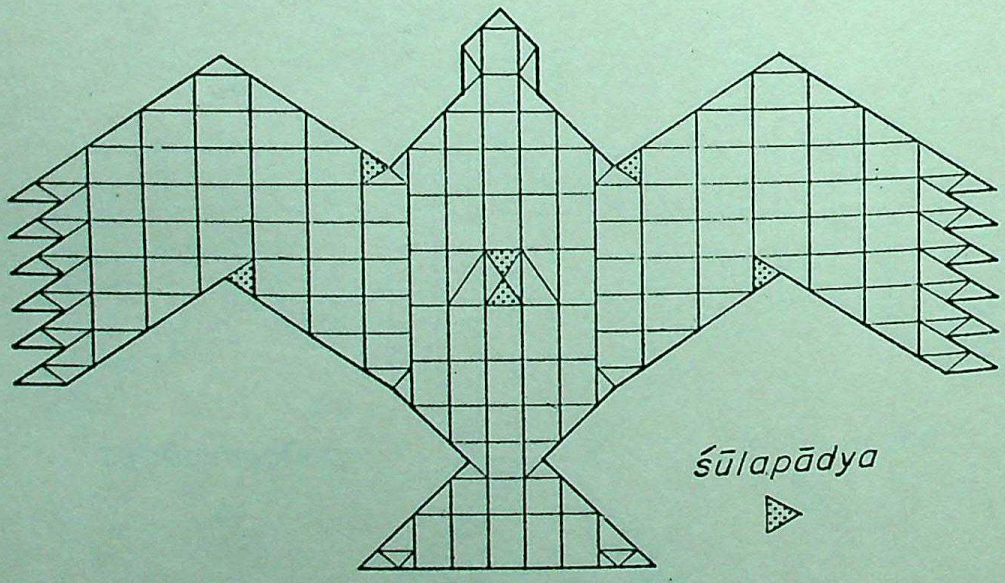

Figure 34—Śūlapādya Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

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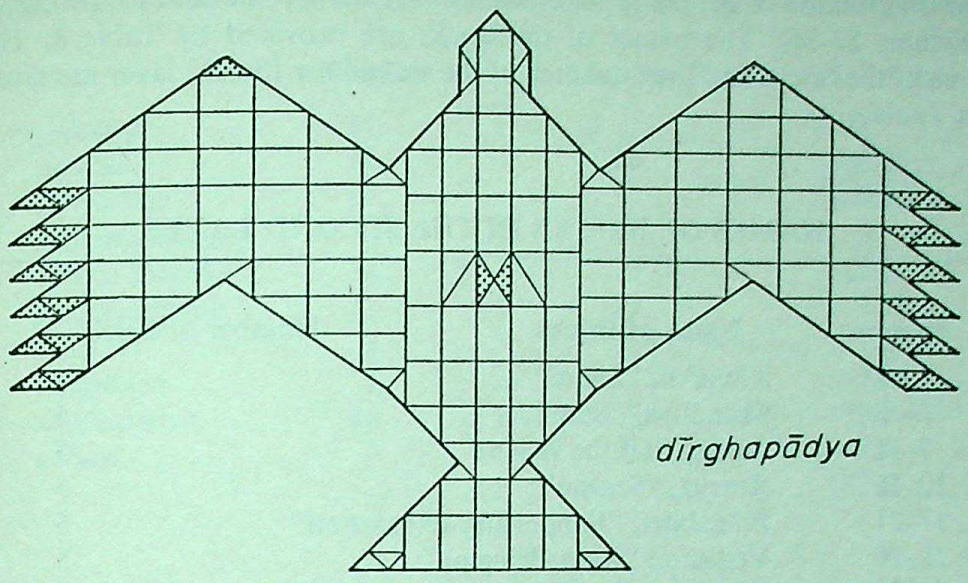

Figure 35—Dīrghapādya Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

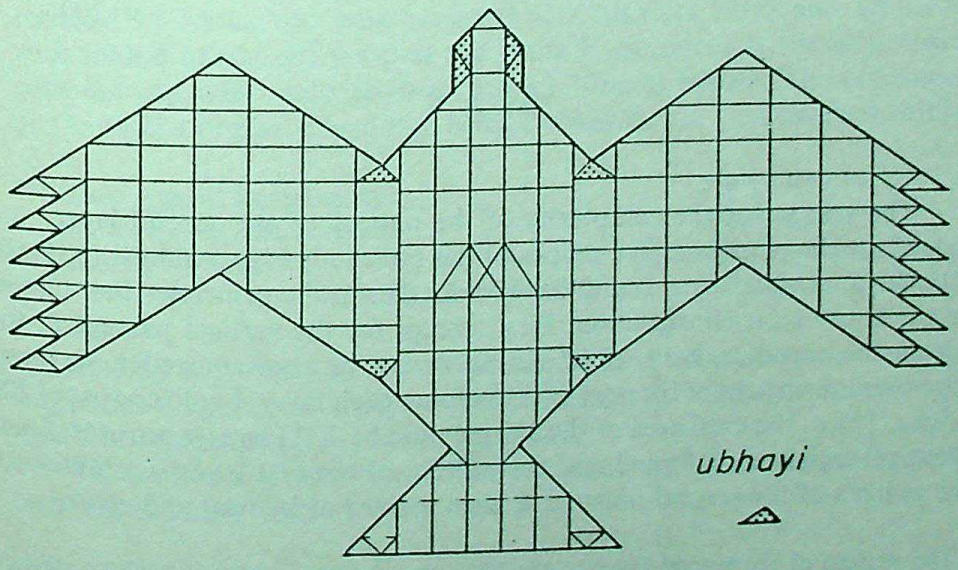

Figure 36—Ubhayi Bricks in the Second and Fourth Layers

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and shapes of the bricks are given in Figure 26. Ten separate figures illustrate the distribution of the ten types of bricks over the second (and fourth) layer (Figures 27–36). The names of the bricks are provided by Table 8. The area of the bricks and the total area of the second (or fourth) layer are given in Table 9.

NAMES OF BRICKS IN THE SECOND LAYER

Number	Name of Bricks	Number of Bricks
1	Vibhakti, "Share"	1
2– 6	Skandhya, "Shoulder"	5
7–11	Āśvinī, "Of the Aśvins"	5
12–16	Ṛtavya, "Season"	5
17–21	Prāṇabhṛt, "Supporting Exhalation"	5
22–26	Vṛṣṭisani, "Rain Bringing"	5
27–30	Mūrdhanvatī, "Containing "Head""	4
31–45	Vayasya, "Vigor"	15
46–50	Mukham, "Face"	5
51–55	Aṅga, "Limb"	5
56	Prājāpatya, "for Prajāpati"	1
57	Ṛṣabha, "Bull"	1
58–200	Lokampṛṇa, "Space Filler"	143
		200

TABLE 8

The reason for the complexity of the pattern of the second layer, and indeed for the more complex shapes of the pañcamipādya, aṣṭāmśi (eṭṭāṃśi) śūlapādya, dīrghapādya, and ubhayi bricks, lies in the principles that underlie the entire altar construction. First, except for the vertical passage at the center, the interstices between bricks must never be above or under the interstices between bricks of the next layer. Second, each layer should consist of 200 bricks. Third, the total area of the altar should be 7 1/2 square puruṣas. Once these principles are adopted and the pattern of the first layer is established, the pattern of the second must have been arrived at by trial and error.[1]

[1] The pattern of the second layer of the 1975 altar is almost identical with a pattern known to earlier commentators in the Baudhāyana tradition (see Thibaut's edition and translation of the Baudhāyana Śulva Sūtra, with excerpts from commentaries: *The Pandit*, February 1, 1876, p. 218).

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The Second Layer

AREA OF BRICKS IN THE SECOND AND FOURTH LAYER

	Number	Area Per Brick	Total Area
pañcami	11	1	11
sapāda	21	1.25	26.25
adhyardha	67	1.5	100.5
pañcamyardha	12	.5	6
adhyardhārdha	34	.75	25.5
pañcamipādya	11	.25	2.75
eṭṭāṃśi	2	.125	.25
śūlapādya	6	.375	2.25
dīrghapādya	28	.375	10.5
ubhayi	8	.3125	2.5
			187.5

TABLE 9

So let us return to the consecration of the second layer on April 17, 1975. After yajamāna, adhvaryu, brahman and pratiprasthātā have put on their sandals, the yajamāna sits down at his usual place south of the bird, the brahman on his right. The adhvaryu, standing west of the tail, again recites TS 5.7.9.1a, touching his heart with his right hand, and TS 5.7.8.1a, with folded hands. He touches the white horse, ascends the altar together with the yajamāna, and recites TS 4.6.1.3*l*-m, as before. The consecration of the bricks begins. The Share brick (*vibhakti*), no. 1, is touched, with: PLATE 72B

We chose Agni as our messenger,
as omniscient hotṛ of this ritual,
rich in spiritual power.
(TB 3.5.2.3 = RV 1.12.1)

अग्निं दूतं वृणीमहे।
होतारं विश्ववेदसम्।
अस्य यज्ञस्य सुक्रतुम्।

followed by With That God and Pouring Milk. At the same time, the udgātà begins the chanting of his Way chants (saṃyānī), which continues over the next five bricks (same as above, page 426).

Of the five Shoulder bricks (skandhya), nos. 2–6, the first two are consecrated together with:

You are Śukra and Śuci, months of summer.
(TS 4.4.11.1b)

शुक्रश्च शुचिश्च ग्रैष्मावृतू

The adhvaryu adds an avakā plant, with:

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You are Agni's womb! अग्नेर्योनिरसि।
(BŚS 10.38:35.16; above page 423)

Nos. 4 and 5 are consecrated with:

I join you in bonds of companionship with two ghee oblations.
I join you in bonds of companionship with brilliance.
आघाराभ्यां त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मि।
तेजसा त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मि॥
(TS 4.4.4.1a²; cf. page 442)

No. 6 is consecrated with:

You are the path of Vāyu. वायोर्यान्यसि।
(TS 4.4.6.2f¹; page 425)

followed by six times With That God and Pouring Milk for nos. 2–3, the avakā plant, and nos. 4–6.

The five bricks for the Aśvins (āśvinī), nos. 7–11, are consecrated with:

a. Firm your dwelling; firm your womb; you are firm.
In your firm womb sit correctly!
As first sign of fire in the ukhā pot,
may the two Aśvins, adhvaryus,
seat you here in the east!
ध्रुवक्षितिर्ध्रुवयोनिर्ध्रुवाऽसि
ध्रुवां योनिमा सीद साध्या।
उख्यस्य केतुं प्रथमं पुरस्ता-
दश्विनाऽध्वर्यू सादयतामिह त्वा॥

b. Under your own skill, you whose father is skill, sit here,
as the great earth bountiful among the gods!
Settle down with your body,
kind, like a father to his son!
May the two Aśvins, adhvaryus, seat you here!
स्वे दक्षे दक्षपितेह सीद
देवत्रा पृथिवी बृहती रराणा।
स्वासस्था तनुवा सं विशस्व
पितेवैधि सूनव आ सुशेवा-
श्विनाऽध्वर्यू सादयतामिह त्वा॥

PLATE 73 c. Nesting, rich in wealth, granting strength;
increase our wealth, abundant and rich in heroes!
Dispelling enmity and hostility,
let the lord of ritual share in the increase of wealth,
grant heaven as property to the yajamāna!
May the two Aśvins, adhvaryus, seat you here!
कुलायिनी वसुमती वयोधा
रयिं नो धेहि बहुलꣳ सुवीरम्।
अरायतिं दुर्मतिं बाधमाना
रायस्पोषे यज्ञपतिमाभजन्ती
सुवर्धेहि यजमानाय पोष-
मश्विनाऽध्वर्यू सादयतामिह त्वा॥

d. You are the mud of Agni, leader of the gods.
May the Viśvadevas greet you as such!
With stomas for your back, rich in ghee, sit here!
Gain us wealth with offspring through ritual!
May the two Aśvins, adhvaryus, seat you here!
अग्नेः पुरीषमसि देवयानी
तां त्वा विश्वे अभि गृणन्तु देवाः।
स्तोमपृष्ठा घृतवतीह सीद
प्रजावदस्मे द्रविणाऽऽयजस्वा-
श्विनाऽध्वर्यू सादयतामिह त्वा॥

e. You are the head of heaven, navel of the earth, divider of the directions, supreme woman of the worlds.
दिवो मूर्धाऽसि पृथिव्या नाभि-
र्विष्टम्भनी दिशामधिपत्नी भुवनानाम्।

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You are the wave, the drop of water,
Viśvakarman is your seer.
May the two Aśvins, adhvaryus seat you here!
(TS 4.3.4.1a–2e)

ऊर्मिर्द्रप्सो अपामसि
विश्वकर्मा त ऋषिः
रश्विनाऽध्वर्यू सादयतामिह त्वा ॥

This is followed by five times With That God and Pouring Milk.

The five Season bricks (*rtavya*), nos. 12–16, are consecrated with:

United with the seasons, with the ordainers,
with the Vasus, establishing strength,
you for Agni Common-to-all-men,
may the two Aśvins, adhvaryus, seat you here!
(TS 4.3.4.3f)

सजूर्ऋतुभिः सजूर्विधाभिः
सजूर्वसुभिः सजू रुद्रैः
सजूरादित्यैः सजूर्विश्वैर्देवैः
सजूर्देवैः सजूर्देवैर्वयोनाधै-
रग्नये त्वा वैश्वानराया-
श्विनाऽध्वर्यू सादयतामिह त्वा ॥

and four more mantras resulting from this by replacing "Vasus" by "Rudras," "Ādityas," "All-gods" and "gods"; followed by five times With That God and Pouring Milk.

The five Exhalation-Supporting bricks (prāṇabhṛt), nos. 17–21, are consecrated with:

Protect my exhalation!
Protect my inhalation!
Protect my diffused breath!
Make my eyes shine wide!
Make my ears hear!
(TS 4.3.4.3g)

प्राणं मे पाह्य-
पानं मे पाहि
व्यानं मे पाहि
चक्षुर्म उर्व्या वि भाहि
श्रोत्रं मे श्लाकय ॥

followed by five times With That God and Pouring Milk.

The five Rain-Bringing bricks (*vṛṣṭisani*), nos. 22–26, receive special treatment: each is lifted out of the layer where it had already been placed, and carried by two helpers clockwise around the altar, while the adhvaryu touches it. Each is consecrated after it has been put back in its place. The five mantras are:

Make the waters overflow!
Bring the plants to life!
Protect those with two legs!
Help those with four legs!
From the sky produce rain!
(TS 4.3.4.4h)

अपस्पिन्वो-
षधीर्जिन्व
द्विपात् पाहि
चतुष्पादव
दिवो वृष्टिमेरय ॥

followed by five times With That God and Pouring Milk.

The four *mūrdhanvati* bricks, "containing [the word] 'head' (*mūrdhan*)," nos. 27–30, are consecrated with four mantras of which the fourth contains the word 'head':

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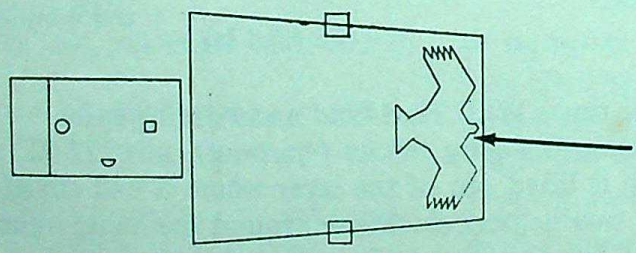
PLATE 73

The Second Layer

"Nesting, rich in wealth, granting strength;
increase our wealth, abundant and rich in heroes!
Dispelling enmity and hostility,
let the lord of ritual share in the increase of wealth,
grant heaven as increase to the yajamāna.
May the two Aśvins, adhvaryus, seat you here!"

(TS 4.3.4.1c)

Yajamāna and adhvaryu consecrate brick no. 9, one of the bricks for the Aśvins in the second layer, while the udgātā continues his Way chants (saṃyānī). The ṛsabha brick, no. 57, has a picture in white paste of a bull on it.



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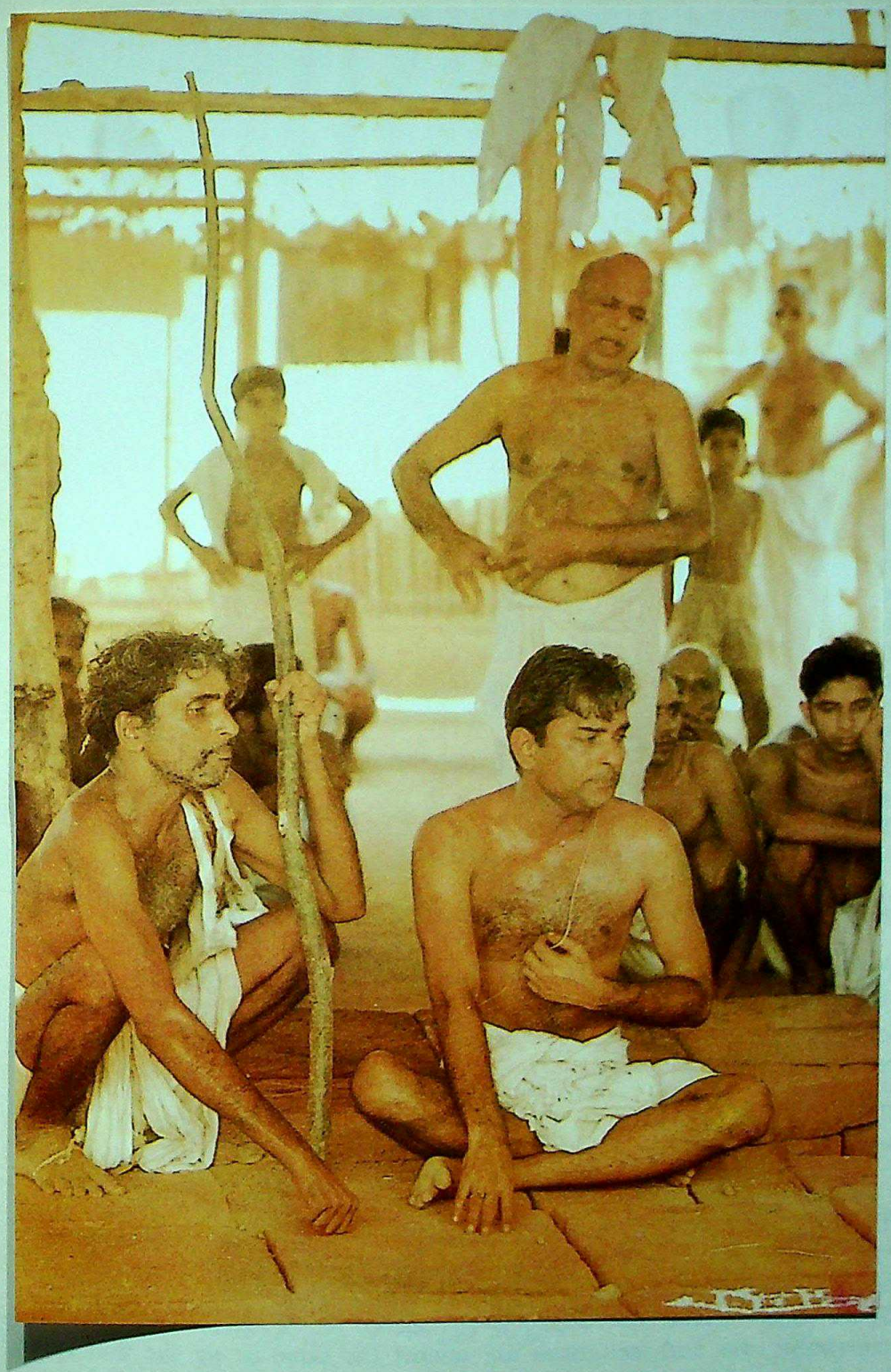

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(You are) support in strength, overlord meter;
military power in strength, delightful meter;
Viśvakarman in strength, parameṣṭin meter;
head in strength, prajāpati meter
(TS 4.3.5.1a[16–19])

विष्टम्भो वयोऽधिपतिश्छन्दः
क्षत्रं वयो मयन्दं छन्दो
विश्वकर्मा वयः परमेष्ठी छन्दो
मूर्धा वयः प्रजापतिश्छन्दः ॥

followed by four times With That God and Pouring Milk.

The fifteen Vigor bricks (*vayasya*), nos. 31–45, are consecrated with fifteen mantras:

(You are) the calf of eighteen months in strength, the triṣṭubh meter;
the two-year-old in strength, the virāj meter;
the two-and-a-half-year-old in strength, the gāyatrī meter;
the three-year-old in strength, the uṣṇih meter;
the four-year-old in strength, the anuṣṭubh meter;
the draught animal in strength, the bṛhatī meter;
the bull in strength, the satobṛhatī meter;
the bullock in strength, the kakubh meter;
the cow in strength, the jagatī meter;
the beast of burden in strength, the paṅkti meter;
the goat in strength, the averted meter;
the ram in strength, the spacious meter;
the tiger in strength, the invincible meter;
the lion in strength, the covering meter;
the man in strength, the lazy meter.
(TS 4.3.5.1a[1–12,14–15,13])

त्र्यविर्वयस्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दो
दित्यवाड् वयो विराट् छन्दः
पञ्चाविर्वयो गायत्री छन्दः
स्त्रिवत्सो वयः उष्णिहा छन्दः
स्तुर्यवाड् वयोऽनुष्टुप् छन्दः ॥
पष्ठवाड्वयो बृहती छन्दः
उक्षा वयः सतोबृहती छन्दः
ऋषभो वयः ककुच्छन्दो
धेनुर्वयो जगती छन्दो
ऽनड्वान् वयः पङ्क्तिश्छन्दः ॥
वस्तो वयो विवलं छन्दः ।
वृष्णिर्वयो विशालं छन्दः ।
व्याघ्रो वयोऽनाधृष्टं छन्दः ।
सिंहो वयश्छदिश्छन्दः ।
पुरुषो वयस्तन्द्रं छन्दः ।

followed by fifteen times With That God and Pouring Milk.

The remaining groups of bricks: Face (mukham), Limb (aṅgam), For Prajāpati (prājāpatya), and Bull (ṛṣabha), nos. 46–57, are consecrated in the same manner as on the first layer. The 143 Space-Filler bricks are consecrated in the northern direction, beginning with no. 58. The adhvaryu recites:

PLATE 73

Cover this Agni with Space Fillers
in the northern direction!
(not found elsewhere, but cf. BŚS 10.38:36.16)

इममग्निमुदीचीभिर्लोकंपृणाभिः
सम्प्रच्छादयत ।

The last brick consecrated is the brick marked no. 200 in Figure 26. While yajamāna and adhvaryu, assisted by pratiprasthātā and brahman, complete the mantras Fill The Space, With That God, and Pouring Milk over the Space-Filler bricks, the udgātā sings again his space-filler chants. The remaining rites and recitations are almost the same as on the first layer, but instead of TS 4.4.4.1a, the adhvaryu recites:

You are the leader of the ritual and the region

भुवो यज्ञस्य रजसश्च नेता

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where you resort with auspicious stallions.
You placed your head in heaven, good with rain.
Agni! You made your tongue bear the oblation.
(TS 4.4.4.1d)

यत्रा नियुद्भिः सचसे शिवाभिः।
दिवि मूर्धानं दधिषे सुवर्षां
जिह्वामग्ने चकृषे हव्यवाहम् ॥

After spreading loose soil, the Piled-Together (saṃcita) oblation is made. The adhvaryu addresses "Agni, boisterous" (TS 5.5.9.1.b) instead of "Agni, ocean" (TS 5.5.9.1a: see above, page 445).

When the second layer is completed, the bricks for the third layer are put down, ready for consecration on the next day. All return to the Old Hall. After the evening Pravargya, the Upasad, and the other customary rites, the fifth day ends.

Sixth Day: April 18, 1975

EPISODE 15

The Third Layer

THE THIRD LAYER is similar in pattern to the first. The first 90 bricks are consecrated in a particular order. The remaining 110 bricks are Space Fillers, with fixed locations only for the first and last. The order and shape of the bricks are given in Figure 37. Their names are provided by Table 10.

NAMES OF BRICKS IN THE THIRD LAYER

Number	Name of Bricks	Number of Bricks
1	Vibhakti, "Share"	1
2	Maṇḍala, "Circle"	1
3	Retaḥsic, "Seed Discharging"	1
4–13	Skandhya, "Shoulder"	10
14–18	Diśya, "Direction"	5
19–28	Prāṇabhṛt, "Supporting Exhalation"	10
29–64	Bṛhatī, "Great"	36
65–78	Vālakhilya	14
79–83	Mukham, "Face"	5
84–88	Aṅgam, "Limb"	5
89	Prājāpatya, "For Prajāpati"	1
90	Vṛṣabha, "Bull"	1
91–200	Lokampṛṇa, "Space Filler"	110
		200

TABLE 10

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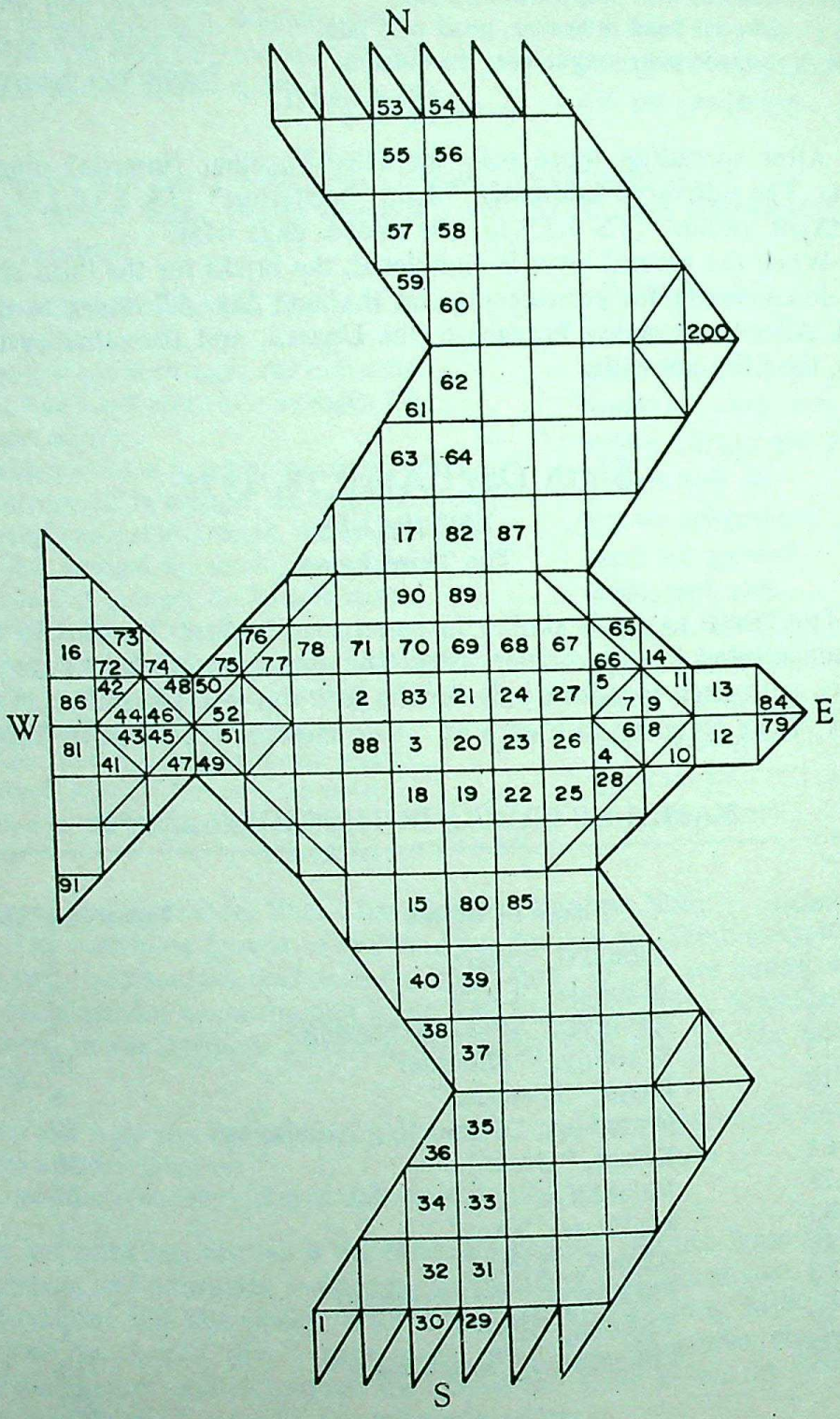

Figure 37—Order of Bricks in the Third Layer

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The Third Layer

After the morning Pravargya and other customary rites, the introductory rites on the third layer are the same as on the second. The mantras with which the bricks are consecrated will now be listed, but the reader is invited to supply for himself the mantras With That God and Pouring Milk.

The Share brick (vibhakti), no. 1, which is above the Share brick of the lower layers, is consecrated with TS 1.4.46.3*l* (above page 398). This is followed by the rites for the naturally perforated pebble, in which the Ignorant Priest participates (cf. above, 418). The pebble, with its three holes, is taken up with:

Indra and Agni! Make firm
the unshaking brick!
With its ridge may it set apart
heaven, earth and sky!

इन्द्राग्नी अव्यथमाना-
मिष्टकां दृꣳहतं युवम्।
पृष्ठेन द्यावापृथिवी
अन्तरिक्षं च वि बाधताम्॥

(TS 4.3.6.1a)

The adhvaryu goes through the same moves as on the first layer: he takes the pebble, goes around the altar, makes the white horse sniff at it, and returns, followed by the yajamāna and the avidvān (Ignorant Brahmin). The three sit down, touch the pebble, and recite:

Sky! (bhuvaḥ)
Let the All-maker (Viśvakarman) seat you
on the ridge of the sky; you who are wide,
extending, brilliant, sun-filled,
who shines on the land, in the wide sky.
Hold fast the sky, make firm the sky,
don't harm the sky;
for every breath, for every exhalation,
for every diffused breath, for every inhalation,
for support, for motion!
May Vāyu protect you with great success,
a safe cover.
With that god, in the fashion of Aṅgiras,
sit firm!

भुवः
विश्वकर्मा त्वा सादयत्वन्तरिक्षस्य पृष्ठे
व्यचस्वतीं प्रथस्वतीं भास्वतीꣳ सूरिमती-
मा या द्यां भास्या पृथिवीमोर्वन्तरिक्ष-
मन्तरिक्षं यच्छान्तरिक्षं दृꣳहा-
न्तरिक्षं मा हिꣳसी-
र्विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
व्यानायोदानाय
प्रतिष्ठायै चरित्राय
वायुस्त्वाऽभि पातु
महा स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा शन्तमेन
तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद॥

(TS 4.3.6.1b)

At the same time the udgātā sings his chant composed on the word bhuvaḥ, "sky" (cf. Table 15, page 533):

bhuvoṃ / bhuva ho yi bhuva ho yi bhuva hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //

(AG 25.22)

The adhvaryu breathes out and in. The Ignorant Priest gives the golden coin to the adhvaryu and leaves. The adhvaryu makes an oblation over

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the eastern hole of the pebble with TS 5.5.4.3. At the svāhā, the yajamāna renounces to Viśvakarman. Then both recite:

I have mounted the sky.	अन्तरिक्षमाऽक्रमिषं
Let offspring not abandon me!	प्रजा मा मा हासीत्।

(TS 5.6.8.1a²)

They put a piece of gold on the western hole of the pebble and recite:

You are light, give me light,	तेजोऽसि तेजो मे यच्छा-
give me the sky, protect me from the sky!	न्तरिक्षं यच्छान्तरिक्षान्मा पाहि॥

(TS 5.7.6.2c²)

The consecration of the bricks continues. The adhvaryu consecrates the Circle brick (maṇḍala), no. 2, which is above the Circle brick of the first layer:

You are the highest heaven,	अधिद्यौरन्तरिक्षं
sky penetrated by brahman.	ब्रह्मणा विष्टा
The Maruts are your guardians.	मरुतस्ते गोप्तारो
Vāyu is placed in this.	वायुर्वियत्तोऽस्यां
I resort to it.	तामहं प्रपद्ये
Let it be my protection and refuge!	सा मे शर्म च वर्म चास्तु।

(TS 4.4.5.2d)

At the same time the udgātā chants his Circle song, the same as before. The Seed-Discharging brick (retaḥsic), no. 3, above the Seed-Discharging brick of the first layer, is consecrated with a mantra recited mentally by adhvaryu and yajamāna, but aloud by a helper:

May the sky, seed-discharging,	अन्तरिक्षं रेतःसिक्तन्
conceive my seed.	मे रेतो दधातु।
May it cause my seed to be produced.	तन्मे रेतः प्रजनयतु॥

(BŚS 10.39:38.5–6)

The first two of the ten Shoulder bricks (skandhyas), nos. 4–13, are consecrated with:

You are Nabha and Nabhasya,	नभश्च नभस्यश्च
months of rain.	वार्षिकावृतू

(TS 4.4.11.1c)

An avakā plant is added, with the usual mantra. The next two bricks, nos. 6–7, are consecrated with:

You are Iṣa and Urja,	इषश्चोर्जश्च
months of autumn.	शारदावृतू

(TS 4.4.11.1d)

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to which another avakā plant and mantra are added. In the meantime the Udgātā has started his Way songs, the same as before (pages 426, 453). The remaining six Shoulder bricks, nos. 8–13, are consecrated with six mantras:

The brilliant bore the light,
the shining bore the light,
the self-radiant bore the light.
(TS 4.2.9.4p)

विराड् ज्योतिरधारयत्
सम्राड् ज्योतिरधारयत्
स्वराड् ज्योतिरधारयत् ॥

Let the All-maker (Viśvakarman) seat you
on the ridge of the sky,
full of light,
for every exhalation, inhalation.
Support all light,
Vāyu is your master.
(TS 4.4.6.1b)

विश्वकर्मा त्वा सादयत्व-
न्तरिक्षस्य पृष्ठे
ज्योतिष्मतीं
विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
विश्वं ज्योतिर्यच्छ
वायुस्तेऽधिपतिः ॥

I join you in bonds of companionship
with radiance.
I join you in bonds of companionship
with hymns.
(TS 4.4.5.1a[3]; cf. pages 424, 454)

वर्चसा त्वा सयुजा
युजा युनज्मि ।
उक्थेभिस्त्वा सयुजा
युजा युनज्मि ॥

You are the path of Vāyu for the gods
You are the path of the sky.
TS 4.4.6.2f[2], g[1]; cf. pages 425, 454)

देवानां वायोर्यान्यस्य-
न्तरिक्षस्य यान्यसि ।

Five Direction bricks (diśya), nos. 14–18, are consecrated with:

You are queen, the eastern direction;
You are ruling, the southern direction;
You are sovereign, the western direction;
You are self-ruling, the northern direction;
You are supreme woman, the great direction.
(TS 4.3.6.2c)

राज्ञ्यसि प्राची दिक् ।
विराडसि दक्षिणा दिक् ।
सम्राडसि प्रतीची दिक् ।
स्वराडस्युदीची दिक् ।
अधिपत्न्यसि बृहती दिक् ॥

Ten Exhalation-Supporting bricks (prāṇabhṛt), nos. 19–28, are consecrated with:

Protect my life, protect my breath;
protect my exhalation, protect my diffused breath;
protect my eye, protect my ear;
infuse my mind, strengthen my voice;
protect my self, give me light!
(TS 4.3.6.2d)

आयुर्मे पाहि प्राणं मे पा-
ह्यपानं मे पाहि व्यानं मे पाहि
चक्षुर्मे पाहि श्रोत्रं मे पाहि
मनो मे जिन्व वाचं मे पिन्वा-
ऽऽत्मानं मे पाहि ज्योतिर्मे यच्छ ॥

Thirty-six Great bricks (bṛhatī), nos. 29–64, are consecrated with:

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You are mā meter, pramā meter, pratimā meter,
asrīvis meter, paṅkti meter, uṣṇih meter,
bṛhati meter, anuṣṭubh meter, virāj meter,
gāyatrī meter, triṣṭubh meter, jagatī meter.
Earth meter, sky meter, heaven meter,
seasons meter, nakṣatras meter, mind meter,
speech meter, ploughing meter, gold meter,
cow meter, female goat meter, horse meter.
Agni the deity, Vāta the deity, Sūrya the deity,
Candramas the deity, the Vasus the deity, the Rudras the deity,
the Ādityas the deity, the All-gods the deity, the Maruts the deity,
Bṛhaspati the deity, Indra the deity, Varuṇa the deity.

(TS 4.3.7.1a)

मा छन्दः। प्रमा छन्दः। प्रतिमा छन्दः।
अस्रीविश्छन्दः। पङ्क्तिश्छन्दः। उष्णिहा छन्दः।
बृहती छन्दः। अनुष्टुप् छन्दः। विराट् छन्दः।
गायत्री छन्दः। त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः। जगती छन्दः।
पृथिवी छन्दः। अन्तरिक्षं छन्दः। द्यौश्छन्दः।
समाश्छन्दः। नक्षत्राणि छन्दः। मनश्छन्दः।
वाक् छन्दः। कृषिश्छन्दः। हिरण्यं छन्दः।
गौश्छन्दः। अजा छन्दः। अश्वश्छन्दः॥
अग्निर्देवता। वातो देवता। सूर्यो देवता।
चन्द्रमा देवता। वसवो देवता। रुद्रा देवता।
आदित्या देवता। विश्वे देवा देवता। मरुतो देवता।
बृहस्पतिर्देवता। इन्द्रो देवता। वरुणो देवता॥

Fourteen Vālakhilya bricks, nos. 65–78, are consecrated with:

You are the head, ruling.
You are firm, supporter.
You are the instrument, restrainer.
For food, you!
For power, you! For ploughing, you!
For safety, you! You are the instrument, ruling.
You are firm, supporting.
You are holder, sustainer.
For life, you! For radiance you!
For power, you! For force, you!

(TS 4.3.7.2b)

मूर्धासि राड्
ध्रुवासि धरुणा
यन्त्र्यसि यमित्री-
य त्वोर्जे त्वा
कृष्यै त्वा क्षेमाय त्वा॥
यन्त्री राड्
ध्रुवासि धरुणी
धर्त्र्यसि धरित्र्यायुषे त्वा
वर्चसे त्वौजसे त्वा
बलाय त्वा॥

The rest is routine, but the Space-Filler bricks are consecrated in the eastern direction, and the first and last bricks are the bricks marked 91 and 200, respectively, in Figure 37. The Piled-Together (saṃcita) oblation is addressed to "Agni, abysmal," (TS 5.5.9.1c; cf. above, pages 445, 459).

The bricks for the fourth layer are put in place. All return to the Old Hall for the evening ceremonies, and the sixth ritual day ends.

Seventh Day: April 19, 1975

EPISODE 16

The Fourth Layer

THE FOURTH LAYER is similar to the second. The first 79 bricks are consecrated in a particular order; the remaining 121 bricks are Space Fillers. The order and shape of the bricks are given in Figure 38. Their names are provided by Table 11.

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The Fourth Layer

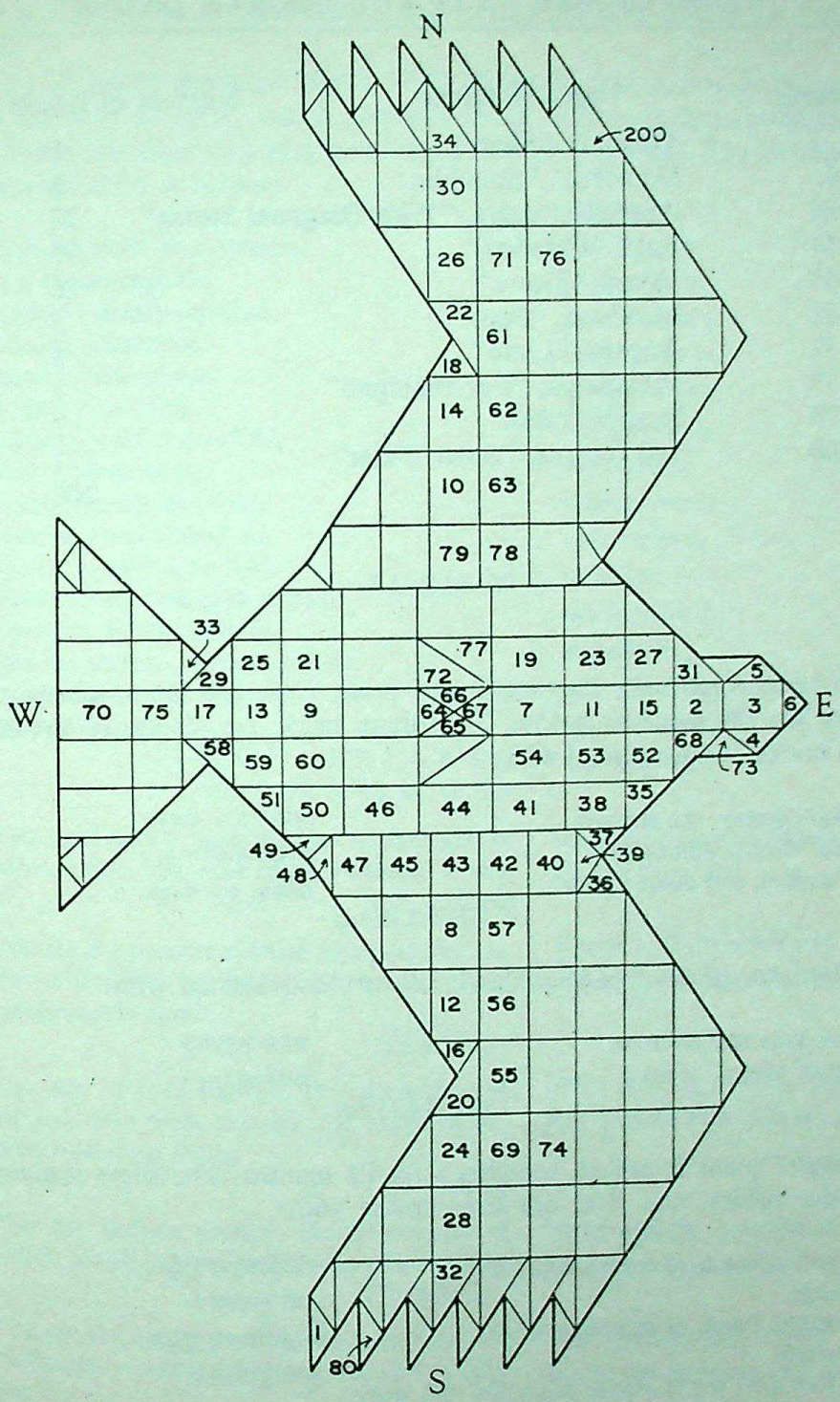

Figure 38—Order of Bricks in the Fourth Layer

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NAMES OF BRICKS IN THE FOURTH LAYER

Number	Name of Bricks	Number of Bricks
1	Vibhakti, "Share"	1
2–6	Skandhya, "Shoulder:	5
7–34	Akṣṇayāstomīya, "With Diagonal Stoma"	28
35–51	Sṛṣṭi, "Creation"	17
52–67	Vyuṣṭi, "Dawn"	16
68–72	Mukham, "Face"	5
73–77	Aṅgam, "Limb"	5
78	Prājāpatya, "For Prajāpati"	1
79	Ṛṣabha, "Bull"	1
80–200	Lokampṛṇa, "Space Filler"	121
		200

TABLE II

After the morning Pravargya and other rites, the introductory ceremonies are the same as before. The Share brick, no. 1, above the other Share bricks, is consecrated with:

May Agni destroy the enemies,
eager for wealth, admirably,
when kindled, and offered pure.

अग्निर्व्रत्राणि जङ्घनद्
द्रविणस्युर्विपन्यया ।
समिद्धः शुक्र आहुतः ॥

(TS 4.3.13.1a)

The first two of the five Shoulder bricks are consecrated with:

You are Saha and Sahasya,
months of winter.

सहश्च सहस्यश्च
हैमन्तिकावृतू ।

(TS 4.4.11.1e)

The avakā plant is added, together with its mantra. The three remaining Shoulder bricks, nos. 4–6, are consecrated with:

I join you in bonds of companionship
with songs.
I join you in bonds of companionship
with meters.

स्तोमेभिस्त्वा सयुजा
युजा युनज्मि ।
छन्दोभिस्त्वा सयुजा
युजा युनज्मि ॥

(TS 4.4.5.1 a[4]; cf. above pages 424, 454, 463)

You are the path of the sky for the gods.

देवानामन्तरिक्षयान्यसि ।

(TS 4.4.6.2 g[2]; cf. above pages 425 454, 463)

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The Fourth Layer

In the meantime, the udgātā has started to sing his Way songs, the same as before.

The 28 *akṣṇayāstomīya* bricks, With Diagonal Stoma, nos. 7–34, constitute a difficult exercise, which requires much concentration, because the order is not the same as it was memorized from the Saṃhitā. The 28 mantras are prompted by a helper:

		आशुस्त्रिवृत् ।
(1)	You are swift, triple stoma,	द्यौम सप्तदशः ।
(2)	sky, seventeenfold,	ध्रुणं एकविꣳशः ।
(3)	support, twenty-one-fold,	भान्तः पंञ्चदशः ।
(4)	shining, fifteenfold,	प्रतूर्तिरष्टा शः ।
(5)	speed, eighteenfold,	अभिवर्तः संविꣳशः ।
(6)	attack, twentyfold,	वर्चो द्वाविꣳशः ।
(7)	radiance, twenty-two-fold,	तपो नवदशः ।
(8)	heat, nineteenfold,	योनिश्चतुर्विꣳशः ।
(9)	womb, twenty-four-fold,	गर्भाः पञ्चविꣳशः ।
(10)	embryo, twenty-five-fold,	ओजस्त्रिणवः ।
(11)	power, twenty-seven-fold,	सम्भरणस्त्रयोविꣳशः ।
(12)	arrangement, twenty-three-fold,	कतुरेकत्रिꣳशः ।
(13)	intention, thirty-one-fold,	ब्रध्नस्य विष्टपं चतुस्त्रिꣳशः ।
(14)	pale red surface, thirty-four-fold,	प्रतिष्ठा त्रयस्त्रिꣳशः ।
(15)	foundation, thirty-three-fold,	नाकः षट्त्रिꣳशः ।
(16)	vault, thirty-six-fold.	
	(TS 4.3.8.1a: 1, 3, 7, 2, 4, 6, 8, 5, 10, 11, 12, 9, 13, 15, 14, 16)	
(17)	You are Agni's portion, the sovereignty of consecration, brahman saved, threefold stoma. (TS 4.3.9.1a)	अग्नेर्भागोऽसि दीक्षाया आधिपत्यं ब्रह्म स्पृतं त्रिवृत् स्तोमः ॥
(18)	You are the portion of those who gaze on men, the sovereignty of Dhātṛ, birthplace saved, seventeenfold stoma. (TS 4.3.9.1c)	नृचक्षसां भागोऽसि धातुराधिपत्यं जनित्रꣳ स्पृतꣳ सप्तदश स्तोमः ।
(19)	You are Mitra's portion, the sovereignty of Varuṇa, rain from the sky, the winds saved, twenty-one-fold stoma. (TS 4.3.9.1d)	मित्रस्य भागोऽसि वरुणस्याऽऽधिपत्यं दिवो वृष्टिर्वाताः स्पृता एकविꣳशः स्तोमः ।
(20)	You are Indra's portion, the sovereignty of Viṣṇu, kingly power saved, fifteenfold stoma. (TS 4.3.9.1b)	इन्द्रस्य भागोऽसि विष्णोराधिपत्यं क्षत्रꣳ स्पृतं पंञ्चदशः स्तोमः ।
(21)	You are the Vasus' portion, the sovereignty of the Rudras, quadrupeds saved, twenty-four-fold stoma. (TS 4.3.9.1f)	वसूनां भागोऽसि रुद्राणामाधिपत्यं चतुष्पात् स्पृतं चतुर्विꣳशः स्तोमः ।
(22)	You are Ādityas' portion, the sovereignty of the	आदित्यानां भागोऽसि मरुतामाधिपत्यं

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Maruts, the embryo saved, twenty-five-fold stoma. गर्भाः स्पृताः पञ्चविꣳशः स्तोमः ।

(TS 4.3.9.2g)

(23) You are Aditi's portion, the sovereignty of Pūṣan, power saved, twenty-seven-fold stoma. अदित्यै भागोऽसि पूष्ण आधिपत्य-मोज स्पृतं त्रिणवः स्तोमः ।

(TS 4.3.9.1e)

(24) You are god Savitṛ's portion, the sovereignty of Bṛhaspati, all directions saved, fourfold stoma. देवस्य सवितुर्भागोऽसि बृहस्पतेराधिपत्यꣳ समीचीर्दिशः स्पृताश्चतुष्टोमः स्तोमः ॥

(TS 4.3.9.2h)

(25) Support, fourfold stoma. ध्रुवश्चतुष्टोमः

(TS 4.3.8.1a[18])

(26) You are the Yāvas' portion, the sovereignty of the Ayāvas, offspring saved, forty-four-fold stoma. यावानां भागोऽस्ययावानामाधिपत्यं प्रजाः स्पृताश्चतुश्चत्वारिꣳशः स्तोमः ॥

(TS 4.3.9.2i)

(27) You are the Ṛbhus' portion, the sovereignty of the All-gods, calm and saved, thirty-three-fold stoma. ऋभूणां भागोऽसि विश्वेषां देवानामाधिपत्यं भूतं निशान्तꣳ स्पृतं त्रयस्त्रिꣳशः स्तोमः ॥

(TS 4.3.9.2k)

(28) Revolving, forty-eight-fold stoma. विवर्तोऽष्टाचत्वारिꣳशः ।

(TS 4.3.8.1a[17])

The 17 Creation bricks (*sṛṣṭi*), nos. 35–51, are consecrated with 17 mantras, also prompted by a helper:

(1) With one they praised; creatures were established; Prajāpati was the sovereign. एकयाऽस्तुवत प्रजा अधीयन्त प्रजापतिरधिपतिरासीत् ।

(2) With three they praised; brahman was created; the lord of brahman was the sovereign. तिसृभिरस्तुवत ब्रह्मासृज्यत ब्रह्मणस्पतिरधिपतिरासीत् ।

(3) With five they praised; beings were created; the lord of beings was the sovereign. पञ्चभिरस्तुवत भूतान्यसृज्यन्त भूतानां पतिरधिपतिरासीत् ।

(4) With seven they praised; the seven seers were created; Dhātṛ was the sovereign. सप्तभिरस्तुवत सप्तर्षयोऽसृज्यन्त धाताऽधिपतिरासीत् ।

(5) With nine they praised; the fathers were created; Aditi was the sovereign. नवभिरस्तुवत पितरोऽसृज्यन्ता-दितिरधिपत्न्यासीत् ।

(6) With eleven they praised; the seasons were created; the seasonal one was the sovereign. एकादशभिरस्तुवतर्वोऽसृज्यन्ता-ऽऽर्तवोऽधिपतिरासीत् ।

(7) With thirteen they praised; the months were created; the year was the sovereign. त्रयोदशभिरस्तुवत मासा असृज्यन्त संवत्सरोऽधिपतिरासीत् ।

(8) With fifteen they praised; kingly power was created; Indra was the sovereign. पञ्चदशभिरस्तुवत क्षत्रमसृज्यते-न्द्रोऽधिपतिरासीत् ।

(9) With seventeen they praised; cattle were created; Bṛhaspati was the sovereign. सप्तदशभिरस्तुवत पशवोऽसृज्यन्त बृहस्पतिरधिपतिरासीत् ।

(10) With nineteen they praised; Śūdra and Ārya were created; day and night were the sovereigns. नवदशभिरस्तुवत शूद्रार्यावसृज्येता-महोरात्रे अधिपत्नी आस्ताम् ।

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The Fourth Layer

(11) With twenty-one they praised; whole-hooved cattle were created; Varuṇa was the sovereign.
(12) With twenty-three they praised; small cattle were created; Pūṣan was the sovereign.
(13) With twenty-five they praised; wild cattle were created; Vāyu was the sovereign.
(14) With twenty-seven they praised; heaven and earth separated; the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas drew apart; theirs was the sovereignty.
(15) With twenty-nine they praised; trees were created; Soma was the sovereign.
(16) With thirty-one they praised; creatures were created; the Yāvas and the Ayāvas were the sovereigns.
(17) With thirty-three they praised; creatures came to rest; Prajāpati was the supreme sovereign. (TS 4.3.10)

एकंविꣳशत्याऽस्तुवतैकशफाः पशवोऽसृज्यन्त
वरुणोऽधिपतिरासीत् ।
त्रयोविꣳशत्याऽस्तुवत क्षुद्राः पशवोऽसृज्यन्त
पूषाऽधिपतिरासीत् ।
पञ्चविꣳशत्याऽस्तुवताऽऽरण्याः पशवोऽसृज्यन्त
वायुरधिपतिरासीत् ।
सप्तविꣳशत्याऽस्तुवत द्यावापृथिवी व्यैतां
वसवो रुद्रा आदित्या अनु व्यायन
तेषामाधिपत्यमासीत् ।
नवं वेꣳशत्याऽस्तुवत वनस्पतयोऽसृज्यन्त
सोमोऽधिपतिरासीत् ।
एकंत्रिꣳशताऽस्तुवत प्रजा असृज्यन्त
यावानां चायावानां चाऽऽधिपत्यमासीत् ।
त्रयस्त्रिꣳशताऽस्तुवत भूतान्यशाम्यन्
प्रजापतिः परमेष्ठ्यधिपतिरासीत ।

The 16 Dawn (vyuṣṭi) bricks, nos. 52–67, are consecrated with a straightforward series of mantras, albeit often long and complex. The first fifteen are prompted by Cherumukku Vaidikan:

a. This is she who first dawned;
after entering this world she moves.
The newly married bride gave birth.
Three majesties attend her.
b. Bright night and day, well adorned,
move on together along the same course,
Wives of the sun, they move alternately, understanding,
assuming a banner of light, unaging, rich in seed.
c. Three have come along the path of cosmic order,
three vessels have come with the light.
One guards offspring, one strength;
one guards the ways of the devotees.
d. The fourth became the fourfold stoma,
turning into wings of the ritual, seers!
Harnessing gāyatrī, triṣṭubh, jagatī, anuṣṭubh, bṛhat meters,
the hymn, they supported this heaven.
e. With five the creator arranged this world,
when he created their sisters five by five.
Their five strengths go mingling,
dressed in various forms.
f. Thirty sisters go to the appointed place,
putting on the same insignia.
The sages, knowing, spread out the seasons.

ड्यमेव सा या प्रथमा व्यौच्छ-
दन्तरस्यां चरति प्रविष्टा ।
वधूर्जजान नवगज्जनित्री
त्रयं एनां महिमानः सचन्ते ॥
छन्दꣳस्वती उषसा पेपिशाने
समानं योनिमनु सञ्चरन्ती ।
सूर्यपत्नी वि चरतः प्रजानती PLATE 74
केतुं कृण्वाने अजरे भूरिरेतसा ॥
ऋतस्य पन्थामनु तिस्र आऽगु-
स्त्रयो घर्मासो अनु ज्योतिषाऽऽगुः ।
प्रजामेका रक्षत्यूर्जमेका
व्रतमेका रक्षति देवयूनाम् ॥
चतुष्टोमो अभवद्य तुरीया
यज्ञस्य पक्षावृषयो भवन्ती ।
गायत्रीं त्रिष्टुभं जगतीमनुष्टुभं
बृहदर्कं युञ्जानाः सुवराऽभरन्निदम् ॥
पञ्चभिर्धाता वि दधाविदं यत्
तासाꣳ स्वसॄरजनयत् पञ्चपञ्च ।
तासामु यन्ति प्रयुवेण पञ्च
नानां रूपाणि कृतवो वसानाः ॥
त्रिꣳशत् स्वसार उप यन्ति निष्कृत-
ꣳसमानं केतुं प्रतिमुञ्चमानाः ।
ऋतूꣳस्तन्वते कवयः प्रजानती-

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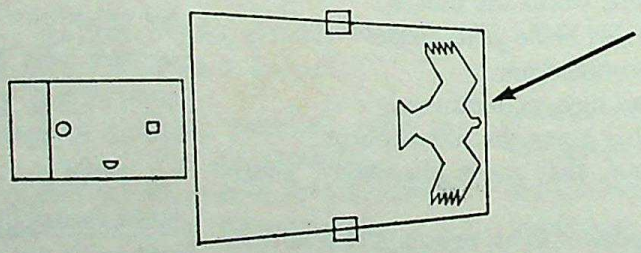
PLATE 74

The Fourth Layer

"Charming dawns, well adorned,
move on together along the same course;
wives of the sun, they move, understanding,
assuming a banner of light, unaging, rich in seed."

(TS 4.3.11.1b)

Yajamāna and adhvaryu consecrate brick no. 53, one of the Dawn (vyuṣṭi) bricks in the fourth layer. The pratiprasthātā stands ready to mark the brick. Several bricks in front (nos. 7, 11, 15, 23, 27) have already received their three mantras, as the dots clearly show.



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With meters in their midst they go about in brilliance.

मैधे छन्दसः परि यन्ति भास्वतीः ॥

g. Full-of-light put on the clouds,
goddess night the ways of the sun.
Animals born with many forms
look about on their mother's lap.

ज्योतिष्मती प्रति मुञ्चते नभो
रात्री देवी सूर्यस्य व्रतानि ।
वि पश्यन्ति पशवो जायमाना
नानारूपा मातुरस्या उपस्थे ॥

h. The eighth day of full moon, performing austerities,
generated an embryo, the great Indra.
With his help the gods conquered the demons.
By his skill he became the demon slayer.

एकाष्टका तपसा तप्यमाना
जजान गर्भं महिमानमिन्द्रम् ।
तेन दस्यून् व्यसहन्त देवा
हन्ताऽसुराणामभवच्छचीभिः ॥

i. You have made me, who am not younger, younger.
Speaking truth, I desire this.
May I enjoy his kindness as you do!
May none of you act against the other!

अनानुजामनुजां मामकर्त
सत्यं वदन्त्यन्विच्छ एतत् ।
भूयासमस्य सुमतौ यथा यूय-
मन्या वो अन्यामति मा प्र युक्त ॥

k. The omniscient has enjoyed my kindness.
He has gained support,
for he has won a fort.
May I enjoy his kindness as you do!
May none of you act against the other!

अभून्मम सुमतौ विश्ववेदा
आष्टे प्रतिष्ठामविदद्धि गाधम् ।
भूयासमस्य सुमतौ यथा यूय-
मन्या वो अन्यामति मा प्र युक्त ॥

l. After five dawns, five milkings;
after the cow with five names come five seasons.
Five directions are arranged by the fifteenfold,
with equal heads toward one world.

पञ्च व्युष्टीरनु पञ्च दोहा
गां पञ्चनाम्नामृतवोऽनु पञ्च ।
पञ्च दिशः पञ्चदशेन क्लृप्ताः
समानमूर्धीरभि लोकमेकम् ॥

m. She who first shone forth is the embryo of cosmic order.
One supports the majesty of waters;
one moves among the stations of the sun;
one, among those of heat. Savitṛ governs one.

ऋतस्य गर्भः प्रथमा व्यूषु-
व्यपामेका महिमानं बिभर्ति ।
सूर्यस्यैका चरति निष्कृतेषु
धर्मस्यैका सवितैकां नियच्छति ॥

n. She who first dawned
became a cow for Death.
Rich in milk, give milk to us,
season after season!

या प्रथमा व्यौच्छत्
सा धेनुरभवद्यमे
सा नः पयस्वती दुहाम्
उत्तरामुत्तरां समाम् ॥

o. With right bulls she has come with clouds, with light,
kaleidoscopic, variegated, with Agni as her banner.
Performing your common task,
bringing old age, you have come, unaging dawn.

शुक्रैभा नभसा ज्योतिषाऽऽगा-
द्विश्वरूपा शबलीरभिकेतुः ।
समानमर्थं स्वपत्यमाना
बिभ्रती जरामजर उप आऽगाः ॥

p. First lady of the seasons, she has come here,
leader of days, bearer of offspring.
Although one, Dawn, you shine in many places.
Unaging, you cause everything else to age.

ऋतूनां पत्नी प्रथमेयमाऽगा-
दह्नां नेत्री जनित्री प्रजानाम् ।
एका सती बहुधोपो व्युच्छस्य-
जीर्णा त्वं जरयसि सर्वमन्यत् ॥

(TS 4.3.11)

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Departed are those mortals who beheld
an earlier dawn of morning.
Now dawn has become visible to us.
They come who shall behold her in days to come.
(TS 1.4.33 = RV 1.113.11)[1]

ईयुष्टे ये पूर्वतरामपश्यन्
व्युच्छन्तीमुषसं मर्त्यासः।
अस्माभिरू नु प्रतिचक्ष्याऽभू-
दो ते यन्ति ये अपरीषु पश्यान्॥

The rest is routine. The Space Filler bricks are consecrated in the northern direction, as on the second layer, while the yajamāna and adhvaryu are assisted by the brahman and pratiprasthātā. First comes brick no. 80, and last brick no. 200 in Figure 38. The Piled-Together (saṃcita) oblation is addressed to "Agni, strong" (TS 5.5.9.1d; cf. above, pages 445, 459, 464). PLATE 75A

The bricks for the fifth layer are put in place. All return to the Old Hall for the evening ceremonies. The seventh ritual day ends.

Eighth Day: April 20, 1975

EPISODE 17

The Fifth Layer

THE FIFTH LAYER is similar to the first and third layers. There are 205 bricks instead of 200, but 10 of these are half of the ordinary thickness, nos. 85–94. There are only five Space-Filler bricks, nos. 198–202. All others are consecrated in a particular order. The order and shape of the bricks are given in Figure 39. Their names are provided in Table 12.

After the usual ceremonies, the Share brick, no. 1, is consecrated with: PLATE 76

Agni, we consider a song of praise!
(RV 5.13.2 in TS 5.5.6.1e)

अग्नेः स्तोमं मनामहे।

The first two Shoulder bricks, nos. 2–3, are consecrated with:

You are Tapa and Tapasya,
months of the cool season!
(TS 4.4.11.1f)

तपश्च तपस्यश्च
शैशिरावृतू

While the udgātā starts his Way songs, the adhvaryu adds an avakā plant with the usual mantra. The five remaining Shoulder bricks, nos. 4–8, are consecrated with:

The self-resplendent upheld the light!
(TS 4.2.9.4p[3])

स्वराड् ज्योतिरधारयत्॥

[1] Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (10.42:41.6) mentions fifteen Dawn bricks, consecrated with TS 4.3.11: three for each direction and three in the center. Here there are four bricks in the center (nos. 64–67), and so one mantra has been added. It occurs in the Yāgambhāṣā of both the Ceṛumukkū and Taikkāṭū traditions. A century ago, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, leader of Hindu nationalism, made use of this verse in arguing that the Vedas had originated in the arctic region.

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PLATE 75A

Brahman Consecrating Brick

"Fill the space! Fill the hold!
Auspicious may you sit down!
Indra, Agni, and Bṛhaspati
have placed you in this womb."

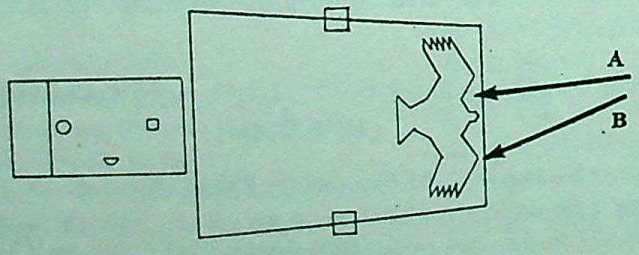
(TS 4.2.4.4n)

The brahman and pratiprasthātā assist the yajamāna and adhvaryu in consecrating the Space-Filler bricks. Each is consecrated with the Space-Filler mantra Fill the Space, with With That God, and with Pouring Milk. The plate shows the brahman consecrating the easternmost brick of the southern wing on the fourth layer.

PLATE 75B

The Woman Without Ears

The last brick of the fifth layer, no. 205, is called vikarṇī, "without ears." The word ends in the long "*ī*" which is a feminine ending (probably because the word iṣṭakā, "brick," is feminine). It has a picture in white paste of a woman without ears on it.



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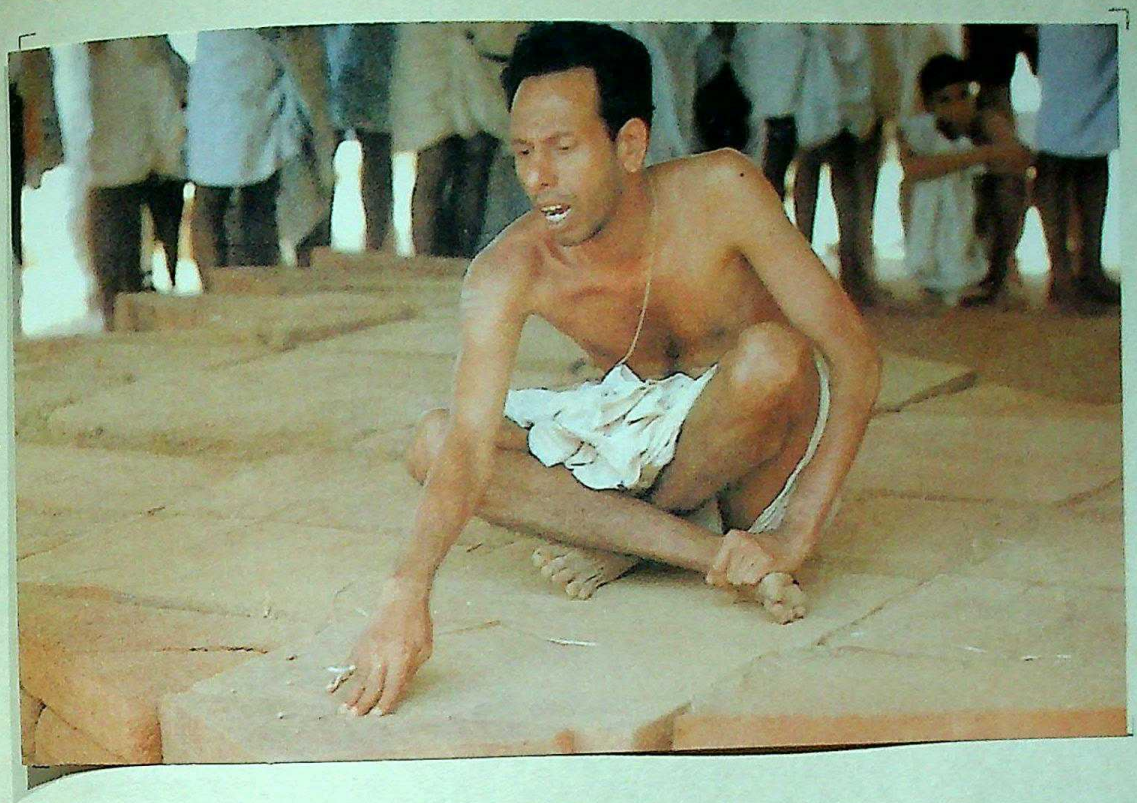
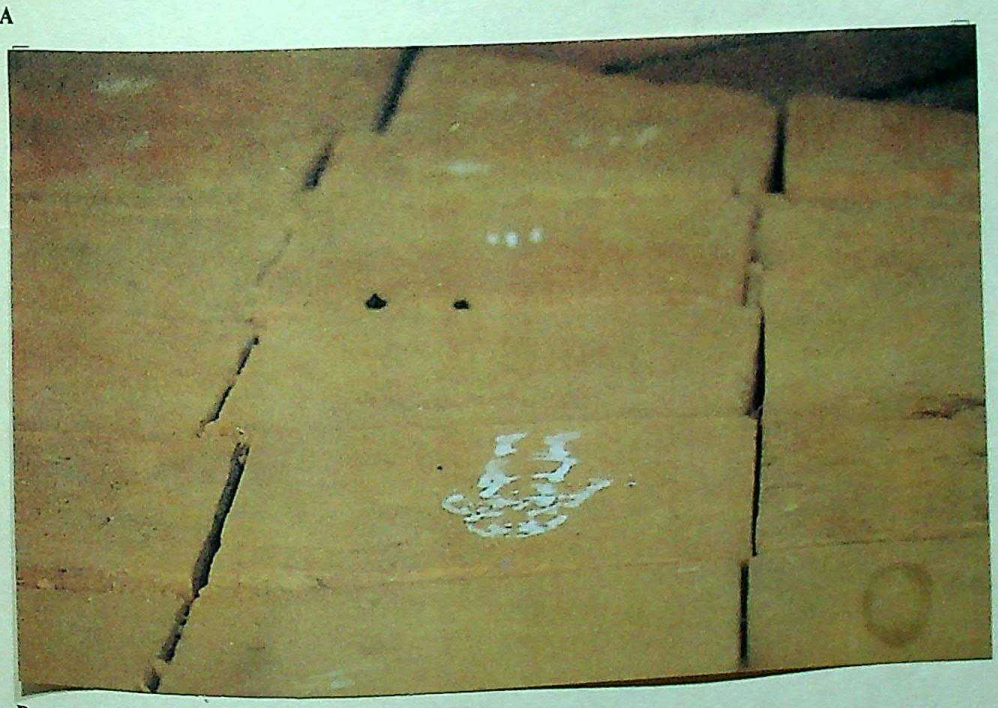


A



B

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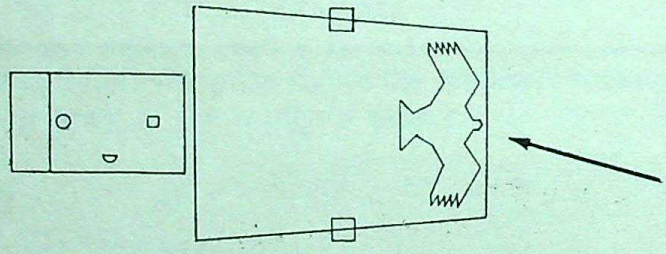
PLATE 76

Touching the Horse

As he does with respect to all layers of the altar, the adhvaryu touches the light horse before ascending the fifth layer. This will be followed by the consecration of the bricks. Round the bird-shaped altar there are piles of broken bricks, which are used as stepping stones.



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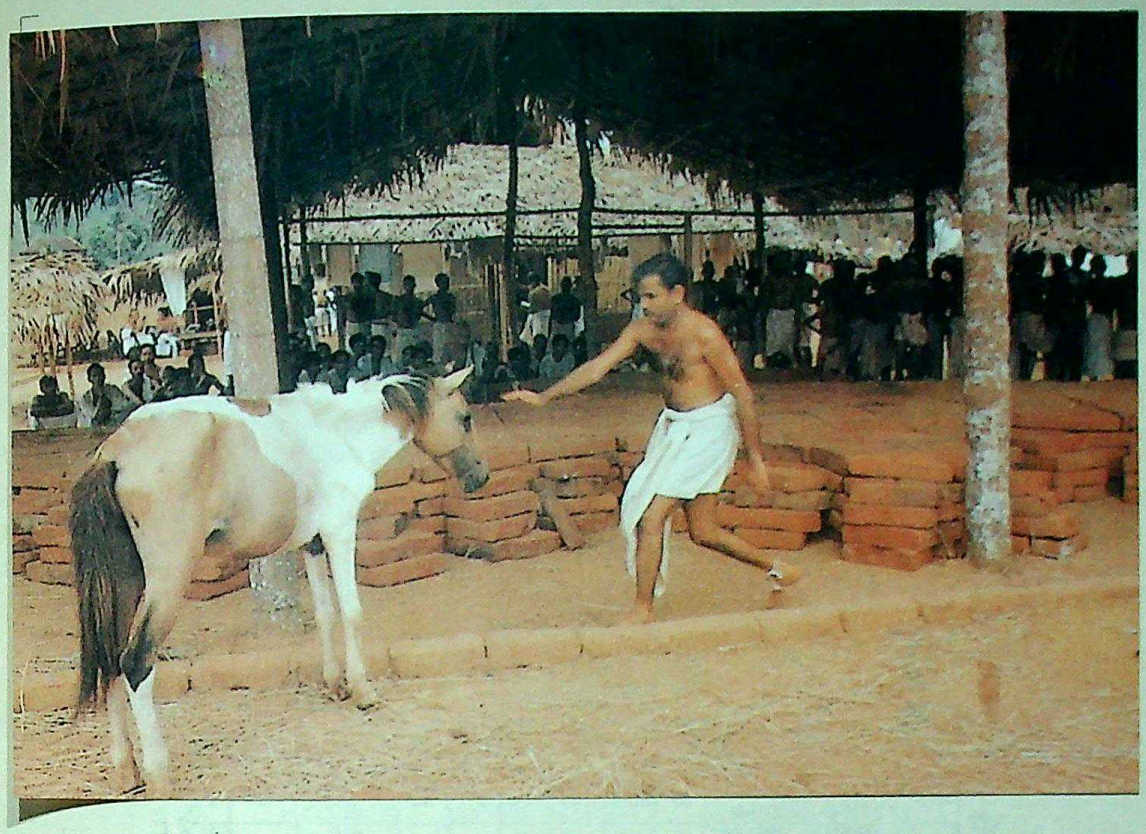

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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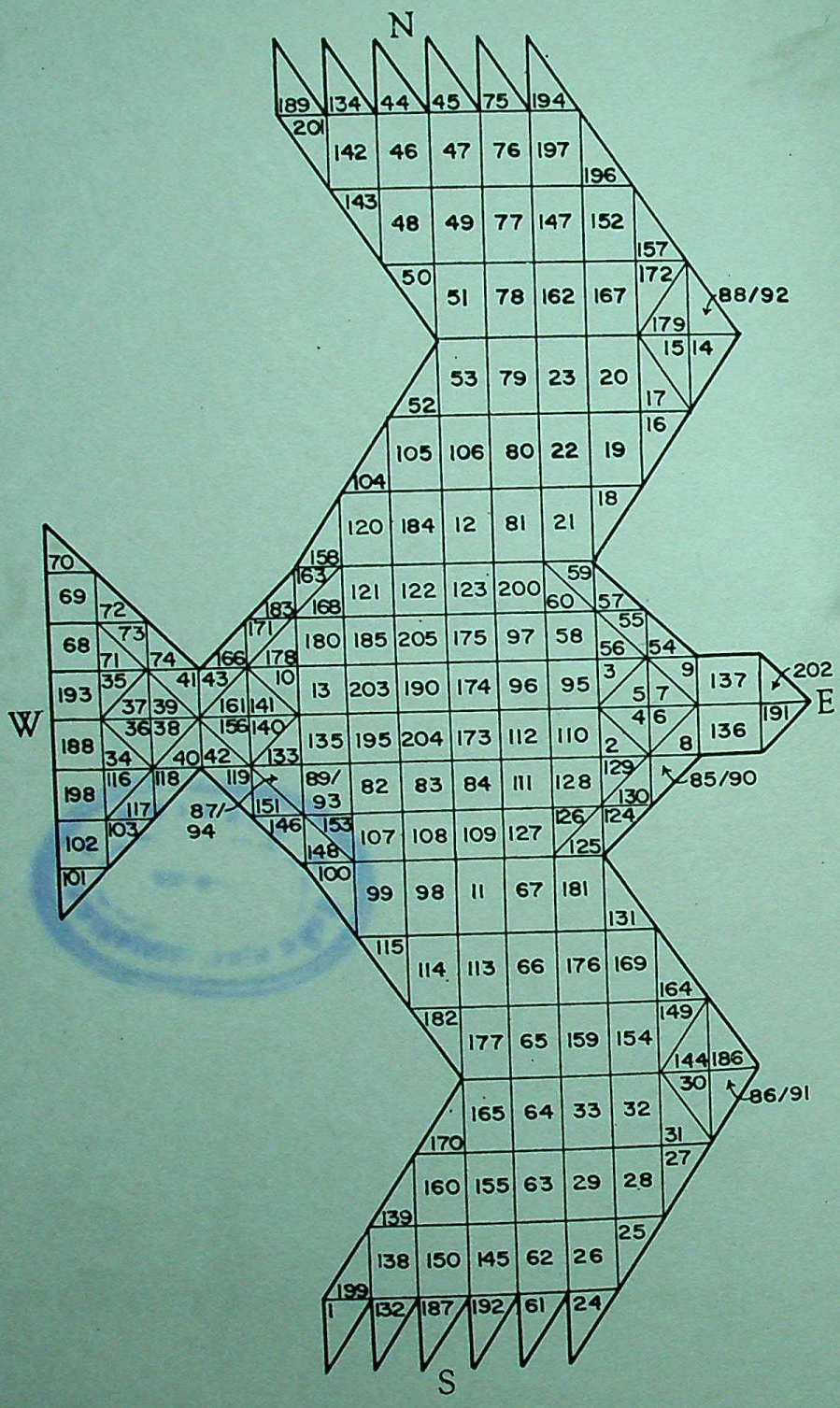

Figure 39—Order of Bricks in the Fifth Layer

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NAMES OF BRICKS IN THE FIFTH LAYER

Number	Name of Bricks	Number of Bricks
1	Vibhakti, "Share"	1
2–3	Skandhya, "Shoulder"	7
9–13	Asapatna, "Unrivaled"	5
14–53	Virāj, "Sovereign"	40
54–84	Stomabhāga, "Chant Sharing"	31
85–89*	Nākasat, "Sitting in the Sky"	5
90–94*	Coḍa, "Protuberance"	5
95–123	Chandas, "Meter"	29
124–130	Kṛttikā, "Pleiads"	7
131–135	Vṛṣṭisanī, "Rain Bringing"	5
136–143	Āditya	8
144–148	Ghṛta, "Clarified Butter"	5
149–153	Yaśodā, "Glory Giver"	5
154–158	Bhūyaskṛt, "Augmenting"	5
159–163	Apsuṣad, "Sitting in Waters"	5
164–168	Draviṇodā, "Wealth Giver"	5
169–175†	Āyuṣya, "Life Giver"	7
176–180	Ṛtuṇāma, "Season's Name" [118 pebbles: see Table 13]	5
181–185	Ṣaṣṭhī citi, "Sixth Layer"	5
186–190	Mukham, "Face"	5
191–195	Aṅgam, "Limb"	5
196	Prājāpatya, "For Prajāpati"	1
197	Ṛṣabha, "Bull"	1
198–202	Lokampṛṇa, "Space Filler"	5
203	Maṇḍala, "Circle"	1
204	Retaḥsic, "Seed Discharging"	1
205	Vikarṇi, "Without Ears"	1
		200

* The Nākasat and Coḍa are twenty half-bricks equal to ten whole bricks.
† 175 is called Pañcajanya

TABLE 12

Let Prajāpati place you, who are full of light,	प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु
on the ridge of the sky,	दिवः पृष्ठे ज्योतिष्मतीं
for every expiration and inspiration.	विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
Support all light.	विश्वं ज्योतिर्यच्छ

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The supreme lord is your master! (TS 4.4.6.1 c)

परमेष्ठी तेऽधिपतिः ॥

For prosperity of wealth,
for preeminence among your fellows,
I join you in bonds of fellowship with me! (TS 4.4.5.1a[8]; cf. 424, 454, 463, 466)

रय्यै पोषाय
सजातानां मध्यमस्थेयाय
मया त्वा सयुजा युजा युनज्मि ॥

You are the air; you to the air! (TS 4.4.6.2h)

अन्तरिक्षमस्यन्तरिक्षाय त्वा ।

Then five Unrivaled (asapatna) bricks, nos. 9–13, are consecrated with:

a. Agni, drive away our enemies who are born,
and also those who are unborn, you all-knower.
Shine among us with kindness and without anger.
In your protection may I be threefold protected and victorious.

अग्ने जातान् प्र णुदा नः सपत्नान्
प्रत्यजाताञ्जातवेदो नुदस्व ।
अस्मे दीदिहि सुमना अहेडन्
तव स्याꣳ शर्मन् त्रिवरूथ उद्भित् ॥

b. Agni, drive away with force our enemies who are born,
and also those who are unborn, you all-knower.
Favor us with kindness,
may we enjoy your protection; drive away our enemies.

सहसा जातान् प्र णुदा नः सपत्नान्
प्रत्यजाताञ्जातवेदो नुदस्व ।
अधि नो ब्रूहि सुमनस्यमानो
वयꣳ स्याम प्र णुदा नः सपत्नान् ॥

c. You are the forty-four-fold chant, radiance, wealth.

चतुश्चत्वारिꣳशः स्तोमो वर्चो द्रविणम् ।

d. You are the sixteenfold chant, force, wealth.

षोडशः स्तोम ओजो द्रविणम् ।

e. You are the mud of earth, called Apsas! (TS 4.3.12.1a-e)

पृथिव्याः पुरीषमस्यप्सो नाम ।

Then forty Sovereign (virāj) bricks, nos. 14–53, are consecrated with:

You are the course meter; the space meter;
the health-bringing meter; the overpowering meter;
the covering meter; the mind meter;
the expanse meter; the river meter;
the sea meter; the water meter;
the uniting meter; the separating meter;
the bṛhat meter; the rathantara meter;
the collecting meter; the parting meter;
the voices meter; the radiant meter;
the saṣṭubh meter; the anuṣṭubh meter;
the kakubh meter; the trikakubh meter;
the poetic meter; the water meter;
the padapaṅkti meter, the akṣarapaṅkti meter;
the viṣṭārapaṅkti meter; the razor-with-strop meter;
the enveloping meter; the side meter;
the course meter; the space meter;
the strength meter; the maker-of-strength meter;

एवꣳछन्दः । वरिवꣳछन्दः ।
शꣳभूꣳछन्दः । परिभूꣳछन्दः ।
आच्छच्छन्दः । मनꣳछन्दः ।
व्यचꣳछन्दः । सिन्धुꣳछन्दः ।
समुद्रं छन्दः । सलिलं छन्दः ।
संयच्छन्दः । वियच्छन्दः ।
बृहच्छन्दः । रथन्तरं छन्दः ।
निकायꣳछन्दः । विवधꣳछन्दः ।
गिरꣳछन्दः । भ्रजꣳछन्दः ।
सꣳष्टुप् छन्दः । अनुष्टुप् छन्दः ।
कुकुच्छन्दः । त्रिकुकुच्छन्दः ।
काव्यं छन्दः । अकुपं छन्दः ।
पदपंक्तिꣳछन्दः । अक्षरपंक्तिꣳछन्दः ।
विष्टारपंक्तिꣳछन्दः । क्षुरो भृज्वान् छन्दः
प्रच्छच्छन्दः । पक्षꣳछन्दः ।
एवꣳछन्दः । वरिवꣳछन्दः ।
वयꣳछन्दः । वयस्कृच्छन्दः ।

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the expansive meter; the conflict meter;
the covering meter; the difficult-of-access meter;
the slow meter; the aṅkāṅka meter.
(TS 4.3.12.2–3f)

विशालं छन्दः । विष्पर्धाछन्दः ।
छदिश्छन्दः । दुरोहणं छन्दः ।
तन्द्रं छन्दः । अङ्काङ्कं छन्दः ।

During the consecration of the Sovereign bricks, the Udgātā chants:

indro viśvasya rājati / ho yi ḷā
("Indra rules over the universe")
(GG 47.10.1; no source in the Ṛgveda)

indro ho yi vāyiśvā / sya rājati ho vā / ho yi ḷā /
(GG 47.10.2)

pibā somam indra māndatū tvā yante suṣāva hariyā śvā drīḥ / sotūrbyāhūbhīyāṃ suyātā au ho vā ē nārvā /
(GG 44.8.1, based upon RV 7.22.1)

hāvu pibā somām indra māndatū tvā datū tvā yante suṣāva haryā śvā drī śvā drīḥ / sotūrbyāhūbhyāṃ suyatās suyato nārvā au ho vā / ī //
(GG 44.8.2, based upon the same ṛk).

The 31 Chant-Sharing (*stomabhāga*) bricks, nos. 54–84, are consecrated with:

रश्मिरसि क्षयाय त्वा
क्षयं जिन्व ।
प्रेतिरसि धर्माय त्वा
धर्मं जिन्व ।
अन्वितिरसि दिवे त्वा
दिवं जिन्व ।
सन्धिरस्यन्तरिक्षाय त्वा-
ऽन्तरिक्षं जिन्व ।
प्रतिधिरसि पृथिव्यै त्वा
पृथिवीं जिन्व ।
विष्टम्भोऽसि वृष्ट्यै त्वा
वृष्टिं जिन्व ।
प्रवाऽस्यह्ने त्वा-
ऽहर्जिन्व ॥
अनुवाऽसि रात्रियै त्वा
रात्रिं जिन्व ।
उशिगसि वसुभ्यस्त्वा
वसूञ्जिन्व ।
प्रकेतोऽसि रुद्रेभ्यस्त्वा
रुद्राञ्जिन्व ।
सुदीतिरस्यादित्येभ्यस्त्वा-
ऽऽदित्याञ्जिन्व ।

a. You are the reign, you for rule,
animate the rule!
You are progress, you for dharma,
animate dharma!
You are accompaniment, you for sky,
animate the sky!
You are union, you for air,
animate the air!
You restraint, you for earth,
animate the earth!
You are support, you for rain,
animate the rain!
You are forward breeze, you for day,
animate the day!

b. You are return breeze, you for night,
animate the night!
You clever, you for the Vasus,
animate the Vasus!
You are intelligent, you for the Rudras,
animate the Rudras!
You are brilliant, you for the Ādityas,
animate the Ādityas!

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You are strength, you for the ancestors, animate the ancestors!	ओजोऽसि पितृभ्यस्त्वा पितॄञ्जिन्व ।
You are the thread, you for offspring, animate offspring!	तन्तुरसि प्रजाभ्यस्त्वा प्रजा जिन्व ।
You are victorious in battle, you for cattle, animate cattle!	पृतनाषाडसि पशुभ्यस्त्वा पशूञ्जिन्व ।
c. You are wealthy, you for plants, animate plants!	रेवदस्योषधीभ्यस्त्वौ- षधीर्जिन्व ।
You are victorious with ready stones, you for Indra, animate Indra!	अभिजिदसि युक्तग्रावेन्द्राय त्वेन्द्रं जिन्व ।
You are the master, you for expiration, animate expiration!	अधिपतिरसि प्राणाय त्वा प्राणं जिन्व ;
You are the restrainer, you for inspiration, animate inspiration!	यन्ताऽस्यपानाय त्वा- ऽपानं जिन्व ।
You are the creeper, you for eye, animate eye!	सꣳसर्पोऽसि चक्षुषे त्वा चक्षुर्जिन्व ।
You are strengthening, you for ear, animate ear!	वयोधा असि श्रोत्राय त्वा श्रोत्रं जिन्व । त्रिवृदसि ।
You are threefold.	
d. You go forward, you go together, you go round;	प्रवृदसि । संवृदसि । विवृदसि । सꣳरोहोऽसि । नीरोहोऽसि ।
you climb, you descend, you go ahead, you go behind.	प्ररोहोऽसि । अनुरोहोऽसि ।
e. You are rich, you are beautiful, you are prosperous!	वसुकोऽसि । वर्षश्रिरसि । वस्यष्टिरसि ।

(TS 4.4.1)

The next ten bricks are half as thick as all the others. They have already been put in place, like all the other bricks, and are covered with a piece of unwashed cloth. Since the lower bricks have to be consecrated first, the cloth and upper brick are removed each time before the lower brick is consecrated. The five lower bricks, Sitting in the Sky (nākasat), nos. 85–89, are consecrated with:

(85) a. You are queen, the eastern quarter. The Vasu deities are your masters. Agni stops missiles from you. May the threefold chant support you on earth, May the Ājya hymn establish you in firmness, the Rathantara song be your support.	राज्ञ्यसि प्राची दिग् वसवस्ते देवा अधिपतयो- ऽग्निर्हेतीनां प्रतिधर्ता त्रिवृत् त्वा स्तोमः पृथिव्याꣳ श्रयत्वा- ज्यमुक्थमव्यथयत् स्तभ्नातु रथन्तरꣳ साम प्रतिष्ठित्यै

(TS 4.4.2.1a)

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immediately followed by:

f. For the air may the seers, firstborn among the gods,
extend you according to the measure and breadth of the sky,
as well as this one who is disposer and master here.
Let all of them together establish you and the Patron
on the ridge of heaven's vault, in the world of light.

अन्तरिक्षायर्षयस्त्वा
प्रथमजा देवेषु
दिवो मात्रया वरिणा प्रथन्तु
विधर्ता चायमधिपतिश्च
ते त्वा सर्वे संविदाना
नाकस्य पृष्ठे सुवर्गे लोके
यजमानं च सादयन्तु ॥

(f)

(86) b. You are sovereign, the southern quarter.
The Rudra deities are your masters;
Indra stops missiles from you.
May the fifteenfold chant support you on earth,
may the *praūga* hymn establish you in firmness,
the bṛhat song be your support.

विराडसि दक्षिणा दिग्
रुद्रास्ते देवा अधिपतय
इन्द्रो हेतीनां प्रतिधर्ता
पञ्चदशस्त्वा स्तोमः पृथिव्याꣳ श्रयतु
प्रउगमुक्थमव्यथयत्
स्तभ्नातु बृहत् साम प्रतिष्ठित्यै

(b)

followed by (f)

(87) c. You are the sovereign, the western quarter.
The Āditya deities are your masters;
Soma stops missiles from you.
May the seventeenfold chant support you on earth,
the *marutvatīya* hymn establish you in firmness,
the *vairūpa* song be your support.

सम्राडसि प्रतीची दि-
गादित्यास्ते देवा अधिपतयः
सोमो हेतीनां प्रतिधर्ता
सप्तदशस्त्वा स्तोमः पृथिव्याꣳ श्रयतु
मरुत्वतीयमुक्थमव्यथयत्
स्तभ्नातु वैरूपꣳ साम प्रतिष्ठित्यै

(c)

followed by (f)

(88) d. You are the self-ruling, the northern quarter.
The All-gods are your masters;
Varuṇa stops missiles from you.
May the twenty-one-fold chant support you on earth,
the *niṣkevalya uktha* establish you in firmness,
the *vairāja* song be your support.

स्वराडस्युदीची दिग्
विश्वे ते देवा अधिपतयो
वरुणो हेतीनां प्रतिधर्ते-
कविꣳशस्त्वा स्तोमः पृथिव्याꣳ श्रयतु
निष्कैवल्यमुक्थमव्यथयत्
स्तभ्नातु वैराजꣳ साम प्रतिष्ठित्यै

(d)

followed by (f)

(89) e. You are the lady paramount, the great quarter.
The Marut deities are your masters;

अधिपत्न्यसि बृहती दिङ्-
मरुतस्ते देवा अधिपतयो

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Bṛhaspati stops missiles from you.
May the twenty-seven-fold and the thirty-three-fold chants support you on earth;
the *vaiśvadeva* and the *āgnimāruta* hymns establish you in firmness,
the *sākvara* and *raivata* songs be your support.
(e)
followed by (f).

बृहस्पतिर्हेतीनां प्रतिधर्ता
त्रिणवत्रयस्त्रिꣳशौ त्वा स्तोमौ
पृथिव्याꣳ श्रयतां
वैश्वदेवाग्निमारुते उक्थे अव्यथयन्ती
स्तभ्नीताꣳ शाक्वररैवते
सामनी प्रतिष्ठित्यै

The next five, Protuberance (coḍa) bricks, nos. 90–94, of half thickness, are placed on top of the preceding five, as follows:

90 91 94 92 93
85 86 87 88 89

They are covered with a piece of cloth and consecrated:

(90) a. This one in front has tawny hair and the sun's rays.
The leaders of his host and bands are Rathagṛtsa and Rathaujas,
and Puñjikasthalā and Kṛtasthalā are his nymphs,
his missile is wizards, his weapon the Rakṣases.
(TS 4.4.3.1a)

अयं पुरो हरिकेशः सूर्यरश्मि-
स्तस्य रथगृत्सश्च रथौजाश्च
सेनानिग्रामण्यौ
पुञ्जिकस्थला च कृतस्थला चाप्सरसौ
यातुधानाः हेतिः
रक्षाꣳसि प्रहेतिः

followed by:

f. Homage to them; may they be gracious to us.
Him whom we hate and who hates us I place in your jaws.
(f)

तेभ्यो नमस्ते नो मृडयन्तु
ते यं द्विष्मो यश्च नो द्वेष्टि
तं वो जम्भे दधामि ॥

(91) b. This one on the right is all-worker.
The leaders of his host and bands are Rathasvana and Rathecitra,
and Menakā and Sahajanyā are his nymphs.
his missile is biting beasts, his weapon death of men.
(b)
followed by (f).

अयं दक्षिणा विश्वकर्मा
तस्य रथस्वनश्च रथेचित्रश्च
सेनानिग्रामण्यौ
मेनका च सहजन्या चाप्सरसौ
दुङ्क्षणवः पशवो हेतिः
पौरुषेयो वधः प्रहेतिः

(92) d. This one on the left is collecting riches.
The leaders of his host and bands are Senajit Suṣeṇa,
and Viśvācī and Ghṛtācī are his nymphs,
his missile is the waters, his weapon wind.
(d *sic*!)
followed by (f).

अयमुत्तरात् संयद्वसु-
स्तस्य सेनजिच्च सुषेणश्च
सेनानिग्रामण्यौ
विश्वाची च घृताची चाप्सरसा-
वापो हेतिः
वातः प्रहेतिः

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(93) e. This one above is bringing riches.
The leaders of his host and bands Tārkṣya and Ariṣṭanemi,
and Urvaśī and Pūrvacitti are his nymphs,
his missile is lightning, his weapon thunder.
(e)
followed by (f).

अयमुपर्यर्वाग्वसु-
स्तस्य तार्क्ष्यश्चारिष्टनेमिश्च
सेनानेग्रामण्या-
वुर्वशी च पूर्वचित्तिश्चाप्सरसौ
विद्युद्धेति-
रंवस्फूर्जन् प्रहेतिः

(94) c. This one behind is all-extending.
The leaders of his host and bands are Ratheprota and Asamaratha,
and Pramlocantī and Anumlocantī are his nymphs,
his missile is the serpents, his weapon tigers.
(c)
followed by (f).

अयं पश्चाद्विश्वव्यचा-
स्तस्य रथप्रोतश्चासमरथश्च
सेनानिग्रामण्यौ
प्रम्लोचन्ती चानुम्लोचन्ती चाप्सरसौ
सर्पा हेति-
र्व्याघ्राः प्रहेतिः

Each time one of the Protuberance bricks is consecrated, Cherumukku Vaidikan pours a little water from a kiṇḍi jar into the yajamāna's hand. This is followed by the consecration of 29 Meter (*chandas*) bricks, nos. 95–123, as follows:

gāyatrī (nos. 95–97, in the east):

a. Agni is the head and peak of heaven,
this one is lord of the earth.
He animates the seeds of the waters.
b. Agni, from the lotus
Atharvan kindled you,
From the head of every priest.
c. This Agni is lord of booty
A thousandfold, a hundredfold;
The sage is the head of riches

अग्निर्मूर्धा दिवः ककुत्
पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् ।
अपाꣳ रेताꣳसि जिन्वति ॥
त्वामग्ने पुष्करादध्य-
थर्वा निरमन्थत ।
मूर्ध्नो विश्वस्य वाघतः ॥
अयमग्निः सहस्रिणो
वाजस्य शतिनस्पतिः ।
मूर्धा कवी रयीणाम् ॥

triṣṭubh (nos. 98–100, in the south):

d. You are leader of the rite and the firmament,
where you resort with your friendly steeds.
You place your head in the sky, gaining light,
you make your tongue convey the oblations, Agni.
e. Agni awakened by men's kindling stick
meets Dawn that approaches like a cow.
Like young birds stretching towards the branch,
his rays rise towards the vault of heaven.
f. For the worthy sage we have raised
our voice of praise, to the strong bull.
Gaviṣṭhira has paid homage to Agni,
like the broad golden disk in heaven.

भुवो यज्ञस्य रजसश्च नेता
यत्रा नियुद्भिः सचसे शिवाभिः ।
दिवि मूर्धानं दधिषे सुवर्षां
जिह्वामग्ने चकृषे हव्यवाहम् ॥
अबोध्यग्निः समिधा जनानां
प्रति धेनुमिवाऽऽयतीमुषासम् ।
यह्वा इव प्र वयामुज्जिहानाः
प्र भानवः सिस्रते नाकमच्छ ॥
अवोचाम कवये मेध्याय
वचो वन्दारु वृषभाय वृष्णे ।
गविष्ठिरो नमसा स्तोममग्नौ
दिवीव रुक्ममुर्व्यञ्चमश्रेत ॥

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jagatī (nos. 101–103, in the west):

जनस्य गोपा अजनिष्ट जागृवि-
रग्निः सुदक्षः सुवि॒ताय॒ नव्य॑से ।
घृतप्रतीको बृहता दिवि॒स्पृशा
द्युमद्वि भाति भर॒तेभ्यः शुचिः ॥

त्वामग्ने अङ्गिरसो॒ गुहा॑ हि॒त-
मन्वविन्दञ्छिश्रियाणं वने॑वने ।
स जा॑यसे म॒थ्यमा॑नः सहो॑ महत्
त्वामा॑हुः सह॑सस्पु॒त्रम॑ङ्गिरः ॥

य॒ज्ञस्य॑ के॒तुं प्र॑थ॒मं पु॒रोहि॑त-
मग्निं नर॑स्त्रिषध॒स्थे समि॑न्धते ।
इन्द्रे॑ण दे॒वैः स॒रथ॑ꣳ स ब॒र्हिषि
सीद॒न्नि होता॑ यजथाय सुक्रतुः ॥

anuṣṭubh (nos. 104–106, in the north):

त्वां चि॑त्रश्रवस्तम
हव॑न्ते वि॒क्षु ज॒न्तवः॑ ।
शो॒चिष्के॑शं पुरुप्रि॒या-
ग्ने॑ ह॒व्याय॒ वोळ्ह॑वे ॥

सखा॑यः सं वः स॒म्यञ्च॑-
मिष॒ꣳ स्तोमं॑ चाग्नये ।
वर्षि॑ष्ठाय क्षिती॒ना-
मू॒र्जो नप्त्रे॑ सह॒स्वते ॥

सꣳस॒मिद्यु॑वसे वृष॒न्न-
ग्ने॒ विश्वा॒न्यर्य॒ आ ।
इ॒डस्प॒दे स॑मिध्यसे
स नो॒ वसू॒न्या भ॑र ॥

ग॒ना वो॑ अ॒ग्निं नम॑सो॒-
र्जो नपा॑तमा हुवे ।
प्रि॒यं चेति॑ष्ठमर॒तिꣳ स्व॑ध्व॒रं
विश्व॑स्य दू॒तम॒मृत॑म् ॥

स योज॑ते अरु॒षो वि॒श्वभो॑जसा॒
स दु॑द्रव॒त् स्वा॑हुतः ।
सु॒ब्रह्मा॑ य॒ज्ञः सु॒शमी॒ वसू॑नां
दे॒वꣳ रा॒धो॑ जना॑नाम् ।

उद॒स्य शो॒चिर॑स्था-
द्बृ॒हद्भा॑नस्य मी॒ढुषः॑ ।
उद्धू॒मासो॑ अरु॒षासो॑ दिवि॒स्पृशः॑
समग्निमि॑न्धते नरः॑ ॥

bṛhatī (nos. 107–109, in the center):

n. With this homage I invite
Agni, son of strength,
dear and efficient ritualist,
everyone's immortal messenger!

o. Let him harness his red horses
giving all the goods; let him run
when libations are properly poured.
This ritual with its brahman and rites
belongs to the Vasus. The divine reward
is for men!

p. His flame went up
when the libation was poured;
a pillar of ruddy smoke touches heaven;
people kindle Agni together.

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The Fifth Layer

uṣṇih (nos. 110–112, in the center):

q. Agni who owns the prices: cows,
youthful son of strength,
give us wide fame, Jātavedas!
r. Kindled, bright, sage Agni,
worthy to be invoked with chant,
shine riches for us
with your many faces!
s. Agni, king of night,
and again when dawn appears,
you with your sharp teeth
burn the demons!

अग्ने वाजस्य गोमत
ईशानः सहसो यहो
अस्मे धेहि जातवेदो महि श्रवः ॥
स इधानो वसुष्कवि-
रग्निरीडेन्यो गिरा ।
रेवदस्मभ्यं पुर्वणीक दीदिहि ॥
क्षपो राजन्नुत त्मना-
ऽग्ने वस्तोरुतोषसः ।
स तिग्मजम्भ
रक्षसो दह प्रति ॥

paṅkti (nos. 113–115, in the south):

t. May we kindle you, Agni,
radiant unaging god,
so that this admirable kindling stick
may light up the sky.
Bring food to the chanters!
u. For you, Agni, lord of light,
the offering is offered with verse,
wonderworker of the tribe,
oblation bearer.
Bring food to the chanters!
v. Luminous one, mix in your mouth
two ladles full of butter,
and fill them to the brim for us.
For our hymns, lord of strength,
bring food to the chanters!

आ ते अग्न इधीमहि
द्युमन्तं देवाजरम् ।
यद्ध स्या ते पनीयसी समिद्
दीदयति द्यवि
इषꣳ स्तोतृभ्य आ भर ॥
आ ते अग्न ऋचा हविः
शुक्रस्य ज्योतिषस्पते ।
सुश्चन्द्र दस्म विश्पते
हव्यवाट् तुभ्यꣳ हूयत
इषꣳ स्तोतृभ्य आ भर ॥
उभे सुश्चन्द्र सर्पिषो
दर्वी श्रीणीष आसनि ।
उतो न उत पूपृया
उक्थेषु शवसस्पत
इषꣳ स्तोतृभ्य आ भर ॥

akṣarapaṅkti (nos. 116–119, in the west):

w. Today, Agni, may we prepare you an offering,
with our praises and invocations,
like a horse, like an auspicious resolve
that touches the heart.
x. For you have become, Agni,
leader of resolve that is auspicious,
skillful and true,
leader of exalted order.
y. Singing today with these songs
we wish to honor you, Agni.
Your might thunders
like that of the sky.
z. Because of our songs,
turn to our side.

अग्ने तमद्याश्वं न स्तोमैः
क्रतुं न भद्रꣳ हृदिस्पृशम् ।
ऋध्यामा त ओहैः ॥
अधा ह्यग्ने क्रतो-
र्भद्रस्य दक्षस्य साधोः ।
रथीऋतस्य बृहतो बभूथ ॥
आभिष्टे अद्य गीर्भि-
र्गृणन्तोऽग्ने दाशेम ।
प्र ते दिवो न स्तनयन्ति शुष्माः ॥
एभिर्नो अर्कैर्भवा

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Like sunlight, Agni,
be kind with all your faces!

नो अर्वाङ् सुवर्न ज्योतिः ।
अग्ने विश्वेभिः सुमना अनीकैः ॥

aticchandas (no. 120, in the north):[1]

aa. I regard Agni as hotā, generous donor,
son of strength, all-knower,
like an inspired sage.
bb. The god accomplished at rites,
his lofty body rising to the gods,
who follows the radiance of bright-flaming butter,
of the fat that has been poured out.

अग्निꣳ होतारं मन्ये दास्वन्तं
वसोः सूनुꣳ सहसो जातवेदसम् ।
विप्रं न जातवेदसम् ॥
य ऊर्ध्वय स्वध्वरो
देवो देवाच्यां कृपा ।
घृतस्य विभ्राष्टिमनु शुक्रशोचिष
आजुह्वानस्य सर्पिषः ॥

dvipadā (nos. 121–123, at the center):

cc. Agni, be our intimate friend,
friendly protector who offers defense.
dd. Burning and shining, we ask you for favor,
now for our friends.
ee. Good Agni is of bright fame.
Come, most brilliant, and grant wishes.
(TS 4.4.4)

अग्ने त्वं नो अन्तमः ।
उत त्राता शिवो भव वरूथ्यः ॥
तं त्वा शोचिष्ठ दीदिवः ।
सुम्नायू नूनमीमहे सखिभ्यः ॥
वसुरग्निर्वसुश्रवाः ।
अच्छा नक्षि द्युमत्तमो रयिं दाः ॥

The seven Pleiads (kṛttikā) bricks, nos. 124–130, are consecrated with:

Your name is Ambā—with Prajāpati,
with every recitation,
I place you!
(TS 4.4.5.1b)

अम्बा नामासि
प्रजापतिना त्वा
विश्वाभिर्धीभिरुप दधामि ॥

followed by six more mantras produced by replacing "Ambā" in the above by what must have been the earliest names of the Pleiads: Dulā, Nitatni, Abhrayantī, Meghayantī, Varṣayantī, and Cupuṇīkā, respectively.

The five Rain Bringers (vṛṣṭisanī), nos. 131–135, are consecrated with:

You win the east wind,
you win rain,
you win lightning,
you win thunder,
you win rain!
(TS 4.4.6.1d)

पुरोवातसनिरसि ।
अभ्रसनिरसि ।
विद्युत्सनिरसि ।
स्तनयित्नुसनिरसि ।
वृष्टिसनिरसि ।

As in the second layer (page 455), each of these Rain-Bringing bricks is lifted out of the layer where it had already been placed and carried by two

[1] According to Keith, the division in Weber's text into aa and bb is unnecessary (this mantra being RV 1.127.1); thus the 29 bricks are consecrated by 29, not 30, mantras.

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helpers clockwise around the altar, the adhvaryu touching it, before it is consecrated. PLATE 77

The eight Āditya bricks, representing the sun and other celestial deities, nos. 136–143, are consecrated with:

You for the ocean,	सलिलाय त्वा ।
you for water,	सर्णीकाय त्वा ।
you for liquid,	सर्तीकाय त्वा ।
you for impulse,	केताय त्वा ।
you for the wise,	प्रचेतसे त्वा ।
you for the radiant,	विवस्वते त्वा ।
you for the sky light,	दिवस्त्वा ज्योतिषे ।
you for the Ādityas!	आदित्येभ्यस्त्वा ।

(TS 4.4.6.2i)

On each of the five Clarified-Butter (ghṛta) bricks, nos. 144–148, some clarified butter is put, and they are consecrated with:

You for the verse,	ऋचे त्वा ।
you for radiance,	रुचे त्वा ।
you for shine,	द्युते त्वा ।
you for blaze,	भासे त्वा ।
you for light!	ज्योतिषे त्वा ।

(TS 4.4.6.2k)

Like the Rain-Bringing bricks, these Butter bricks too are carried around the altar before they are consecrated.

The five Glory-Giver (*yaśodā*) bricks, nos. 149–153, are consecrated with:

You, giving glory, I place in glory.	यशोदां त्वा यशसि सादयामि
With this seer, this sacred power, this god,	तेनर्षिणा तेन ब्रह्मणा तया देवतया-
in the fashion of Aṅgiras, sit firm!	ऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥

(TS 4.4.6.2*l*)

and four more mantras arising from this by replacing "glory" by "brilliance," "milk," "radiance," and "wealth," respectively.

The five Augmenting (*bhūyaskṛt*) bricks, nos. 154–158, are consecrated:

You are augmenting,	भूयस्कृदसि ।
you make space,	वरिवस्कृदसि ।
you are eastern,	प्राच्यसि ।
you are the zenith,	ऊर्ध्वोऽसि ।
you are air sitter, sit in the air!	अन्तरिक्षसदस्यन्तरिक्षे सीद ॥

(TS 4.4.7.1a)

Five Sitting-in-Waters (*apsuṣad*) bricks, nos. 159–163, with:

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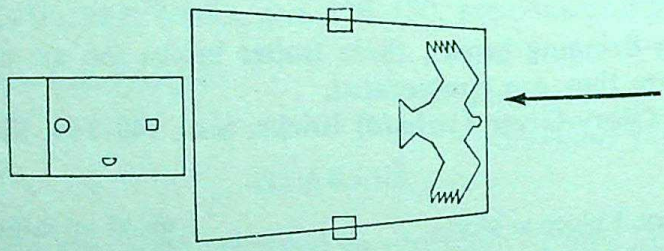
PLATE 77

A Rain-Bringing Brick

As in the second layer, there are five Rain-Bringing (vṛṣṭisani) bricks in the fifth layer. One of these is square (pañcami: no. 135), one a small triangle (pañcamyardha: no. 133), and three are large triangles (adhyardhārdha: nos. 131, 132, and 134). All Rain-Bringing bricks receive special treatment: they are lifted out of the layer where they had already been placed, and are carried clockwise round the altar by helpers before they are put back and consecrated. The adhvaryu carries them ritually by touching them while they are being transported. The plate shows one of the large triangular Rain Bringing bricks being carried round the altar.



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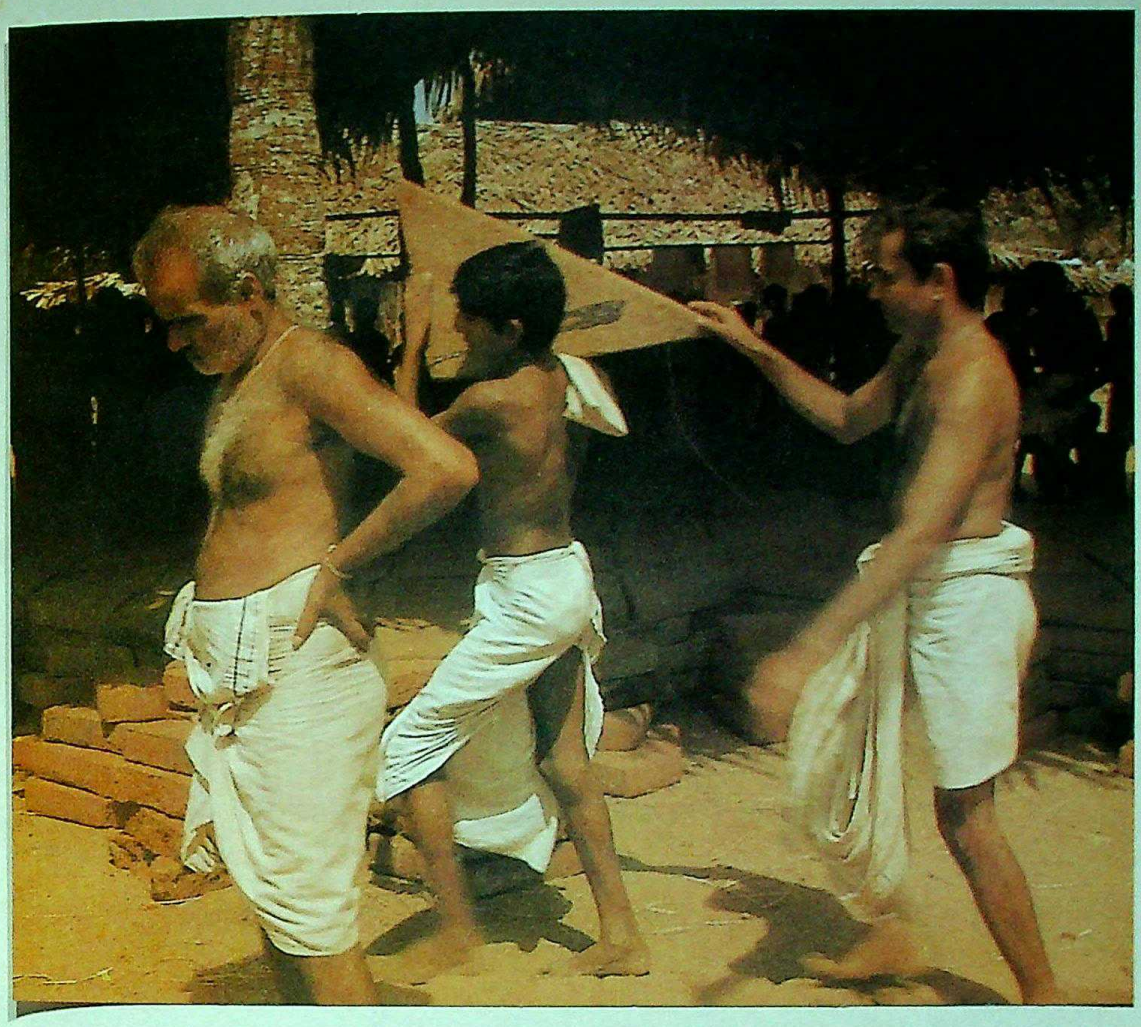

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You are sitting on the waters,	अप्सुषदसि ।
you are sitting on the griffon,	श्येनसदसि ।
you are sitting on the vulture,	गृध्रसदसि ।
you are sitting on the eagle,	सुपर्णसदसि ।
you are sitting on the vault!	नाकसदसि ।
(TS 4.4.7.1b)	

Five Wealth Givers (*draviṇodā*), nos. 164–168, with:

In wealth of earth I place you,	पृथिव्यास्त्वा द्रविणे सादयामि ।
in wealth of air I place you,	अन्तरिक्षस्य त्वा द्रविणे सादयामि ।
in wealth of sky I place you,	दिवस्त्वा द्रविणे सादयामि ।
in wealth of quarters I place you,	दिशां त्वा द्रविणे सादयामि ।
wealth giver I place you in wealth!	द्रविणोदां त्वा द्रविणे सादयामि ॥
(TS 4.4.7.1c)	

Seven Life Givers (*āyuṣya*), nos. 169–175, with:

d. Protect my exhalation,	प्राणं मे पाहि ।
protect my inhalation,	अपानं मे पाहि ।
protect my cross breathing,	व्यानं मे पाहि ।
protect my life,	आयुर्मे पाहि ।
protect all my life,	विश्वायुर्मे पाहि ।
protect the whole of my life!	सर्वायुर्मे पाहि ॥
e. Agni, your highest name, your heart,	अग्ने यत् ते परः हृन्नाम
come, let us grasp each other,	तावेहि सꣳ रभावहै
be among the five races, Agni!	पाञ्चजन्येष्वप्येध्यग्ने ।
(TS 4.4.7.2d-e)	

Brick no. 175, consecrated with the mantra *e*, is also called the Five Races (*pāñcajanya*). When about to recite its mantra, the adhvaryu looks at the udgātā, who intones his Chant of the Five Races:

bhrāja vu vo vā (3 x) *agnir mūrddhā divaḥ kākut/ patiḥ pṛthivyā āyām/ apāṃ retāṃsi jāyinvātāyi/ bhrājā vu vo vā* (2 x) *bhrājā vu vo bā/ ē viśvasya jagato jyotiḥ //*

(AG 5.3, partly based upon JA 3.7; cf. RV 8.44.16a; cf. Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya AG 3.127)[1]

Without waiting for the udgātā to complete his chants, the adhvaryu conti-

[1] This chant, also called *agner vratam* "Agni's will," occurs five more times in the Agnicayana: it is one of the ten chants sung around the completed altar (Episode 18); it is sung when the pratiprasthātā sprinkles curds mixed with honey over the altar (Episode 19); it is sung when Agni is transported to the altar (agnipraṇayana: Episode 20); and again when Agni and Soma are transported (agnīṣomapraṇayana: Episode 24).

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nues with the consecration of the five Season's-Name (*ṛtunāma*) bricks, nos. 176–180:

यावा श्चयांवाः ।
एवा ऊमाः सब्दः ।

You are the Yāvas, the Ayāvas,
the courses, the helpers, Sabda!

(TS 4.4.7.2f)

Two pebbles, dipped in clarified butter, are placed in the center and consecrated with:

सगंरः सुमेकः ।

(You are) ocean, the firm one!

(Remainder of f)

The five bricks and the two pebbles are each consecrated with With That God and Pouring Milk.

The two pebbles must have been introduced, because there are more mantras than bricks.[1] This process continues: adhvaryu and yajamāna begin to consecrate 118 black pebbles that are placed between the bricks, like cement. These pebbles are called *śarkara* in Sanskrit and *koḷipparan*, "chicken-fish," in Malayalam (see Episode 10). Later, four naturally perforated pebbles will be added. While these pebbles are consecrated by the adhvaryu together with the yajamāna, the udgātā sings his Pebble Songs:

yo no hā bu / idām idaṃ purā hā bu / pra vā pra vasya yā hā yi / ninā ninā̄ya tam u vo hā bu / stūṣā yi sakhāya yā hā yi / dramūtāyāyi / ō yi ḷā /

(GG 45.2.1)

yo nā idam idāṃ purā / yo na idam idāṃ pūrā / pra vasya ā ninā̄ya tām ū va stūṣā yi / (2 × from *ninā̄ya*)

sakhāyā ā yindram ūtā / yā yi //

(GG 45.2.2, both based upon RV 8.21.9)

While these chants continue, the 118 pebbles are consecrated, like bricks, each with a mantra and in groups, followed by the required number of recitations of With That God and Pouring Milk. The positions of the pebbles, between the bricks, is indicated in Figure 40, and will be specified in Table 14 and in the following text. The naturally perforated pebbles are marked by small circles in Figure 40. Their names and number are provided in Table 13. The pebbles will be consecutively numbered 1* – 118*.

[1] According to Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 10.45:44.12 (Volume II, page 571) there are seven Season's-Name bricks.

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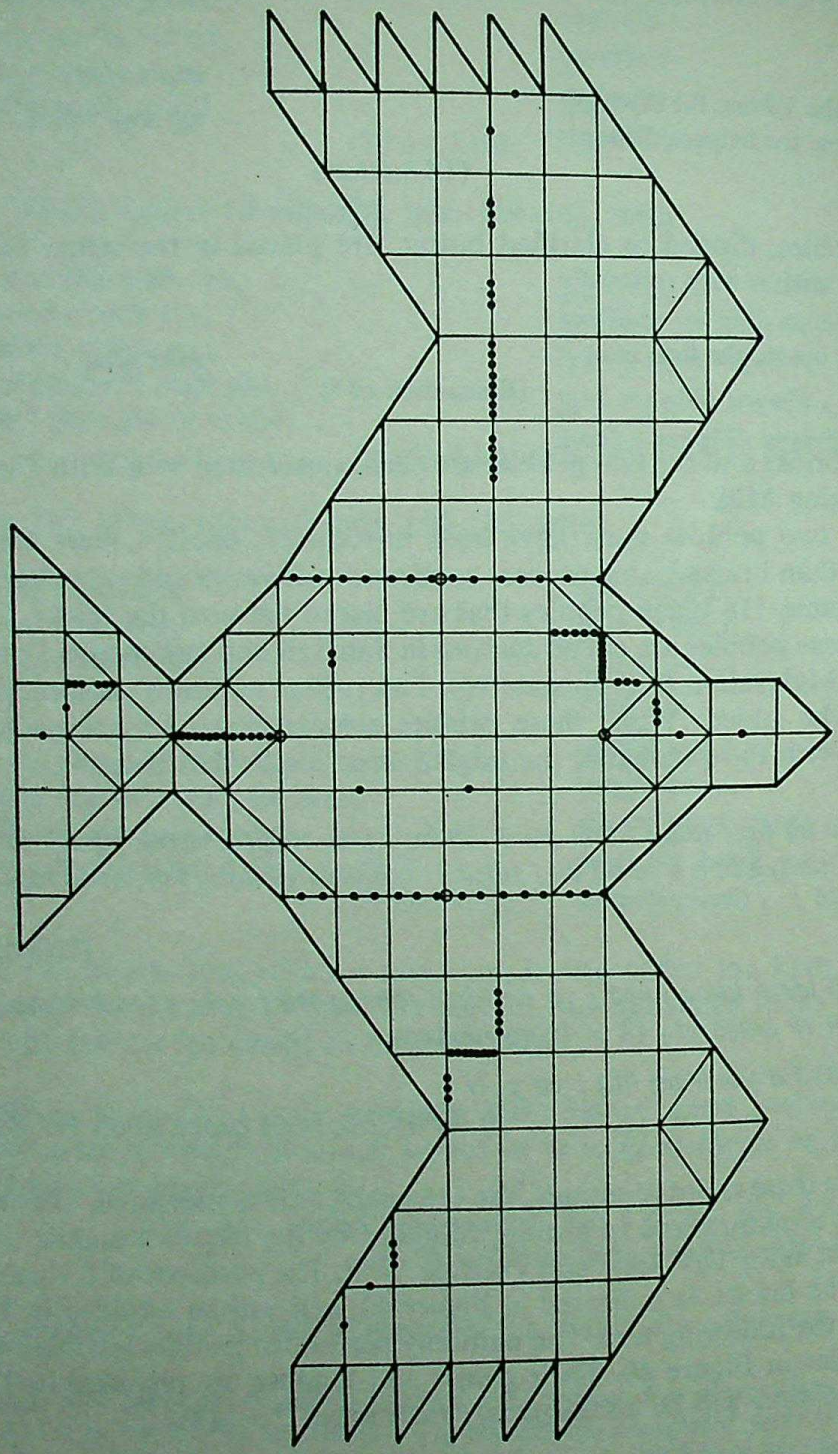

Figure 40—Position of Pebbles in the Fifth Layer (Compare Figure 39)

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The Fifth Layer

NAMES OF PEBBLES IN THE FIFTH LAYER

Number	Name of Pebbles	Number of Pebbles
1*–22*	Indratanū, "Indra's Body"	22
23*–55*	Yajñatanū, "Ritual's Body"	33
56*–67*	Jyotiṣmatī, "Luminous"	12
68*–79*	Bhūta, "Being"	12
80*–84*	Ajyāni, "Being Uninjured"	5
85*–88*	Rāṣṭrabhṛt, "Holding the Realm"	4
89*	Paurṇamāsī, "Full Moon"	1
90*–103*	Nakṣatra, "Lunar Mansion"	14
104*	Amāvāsī, "New Moon"	1
105*–117*	Nakṣatra, "Lunar Mansion"	13
118*	Paurṇamāsī, "Full Moon"	1
		118

TABLE 13

Like the bricks, the pebbles fall into groups, each consisting of four or five sets: one set of pebbles is placed in the eastern part of the bird (the head and shoulders), one set in the southern wing, one set in the western part (the tail and back), one set in the northern wing, and sometimes one or two pebbles in the middle. The position of the pebbles is not completely determined, but they must occur in the interstices between certain bricks. Table 14 provides the names of the group, the number of pebbles in each set of the group, and the numbers of the bricks, between which they are placed. Within each set, the pebble farthest from the center is generally placed first, and each subsequent pebble is closer to the center. Figure 40 complements Table 14. Of the remaining thirty pebbles, the first paurṇamāsī pebble is placed at the meeting point between bricks nos. 124/125/131/181. The nakṣatra pebbles nos. 90*–103* are placed from east to west along the east-west line joining the body and the southern wing (i.e., the line that goes west from the point where the first paurṇamāsī was placed). The amāvāsī pebble is placed at the meeting point of bricks nos. 43/161/156/42/40/38/39/41 (i.e., the center of the junction with the tail). The nakṣatra pebbles nos. 105*–117* are placed from west to east along the west-east line joining the body and the northern wing. This line ends at the meeting point of bricks nos. 18/57/59/21, where the second paurṇamāsī pebble is placed.

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POSITION OF PEBBLES BETWEEN BRICKS

GROUP	EAST	SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	CENTER
Indratanū	5	5	5	5	2
Bricks	nos. 58/60	66/113	141/140	80/106	180/185
Yajñatanū	8	8	8	8	1
Bricks	nos. 56/58	113/117	156/161	79/ 53	195/ 82
Jyotiṣmatī	3	3	3	3	
Bricks	nos. 3/56	177/182	35/71[1]	51/78	
Bhūta	3	3	3	3	
Bricks	nos. 5/7	139/160	35/71[2]	49/77	
Ajyāni	1	1	1	1	1
Bricks	nos. 6/7	138/193	35/193	47/76	173/84
Rāṣṭrabhṛt	1	1	1	1	
Bricks	nos. 136/137	138/199	188/193	75/76	

[1] Eastern end.
[2] Western end.

TABLE 14

And now the mantras. The twenty-two Indra's-Body pebbles, nos. 1*–22*, are consecrated with:

Through Agni you conquer all;	अग्निना विश्वापाट् ।
through the sun you are self-ruling;	सूर्येण स्वराट् ।
through order, lord of strength;	क्रत्वा शचीपतिः ।
through the bull, creator;	ऋषभेण त्वष्टा ।
through ritual, bountiful;	यज्ञेन मघवान् ।
through sacrificial fee, celestial;	दक्षिणया सुवर्गः ।
through rage, slaying enemies;	मन्युना वृत्रहा ।
through friendship, supporting the body;	सौहार्देन तनूधाः ।
through food, wealth;	अन्नेन गयः ।
through earth, gain;	पृथिव्याऽसनोत् ।
with verses, eater of food;	ऋग्भरन्नादः ।
by shouting vauṣaṭ, increase;	वषट्कारेणर्धः ।
by song, protecting the body;	साम्ना तनूपाः ।
by holy power, drinking Soma;	विराजा ज्योतिष्मान् ।
with cows, supporting ritual;	ब्रह्मणा सोमपाः ।
	गोभिर्यज्ञं दाधार ।

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with military power, men;	क्षत्रेण मनुष्यान् ।
with horse and chariot, holding the thunderbolt;	अश्वेन च रथेन च वज्री ।
with seasons you are master;	ऋतुभिः प्रभुः ।
through the year, enclosing;	संवत्सरेण परिभूः ।
through penance, unassailable;	तपसाऽनाधृष्टः ।
together with bodies, the sun!	सूर्यः सन् तनूभिः ।
(TS 4.4.8)	

The thirty-three Ritual's Body pebbles, nos. 23*–55*, are consecrated with: PLATE 78

Prajāpati, with mind come to Soma;	प्रजापतिर्मनसाऽन्धोऽच्छैतः ।
the creator in the consecration;	धाता दीक्षायाम् ।
Savitṛ in the bearing;	सविता भृत्याम् ।
Pūṣan in the Soma cow;	पूषा सोमक्रयण्याम् ।
Varuṇa when tied (in a cloth);	वरुण उपनद्धः ।
Asura when being bought;	असुरः क्रीयमाणः ।
Mitra when purchased;	मित्रः क्रीतः ।
Śipiviṣṭa when put in place;[1]	शिपिविष्ट आसादितः ।
enticing men when pulled forward;[2]	नरंधिषः प्रोह्यमाणः ।
master when arrived;	अधिपतिरागतः ।
Prajāpati when transported;	प्रजापतेः प्रणीयमानः ।
Agni at agnīdh's altar;	अग्निराग्नीध्रे ।
Bṛhaspati when moved from it;	बृहस्पतिराग्नीध्रात् प्रणीयमानः
Indra in the havirdhāna Hall;	इन्द्रो हविर्धाने ।
Aditi when put down;	अदितिरासादितः ।
Viṣṇu when taken down;	विष्णुरुपावह्रियमाणः ।
Atharvan when sprinkled;	अथर्वोपोत्तः ।
death when pressed;	यमोऽभिषुतः ।
drinking unpurified with cleansed;	अपूतपा आधूयमानः ।
wind when purifying;	वायुः पूयमानः ।
Mitra when mixed with milk;	मित्रः क्षीरश्रीः ।
Manthins when mixed with grains;	मन्थी संकुश्रीः ।
All-gods when taken out;	वैश्वदेव उन्नीतः ।
Rudra when offered;	रुद्र आहुतः ।
wind when covered;	वायुरावृत्तः ।
contemplating men when revealed;	नृचक्षाः प्रतिख्यातः ।
food when it comes;	भक्ष आगतः ।
famed of the ancestors;	पितृणां नाराशꣳसः ।
life when taken;	असुरात्तः ।
river Indus at the final bath;	सिन्धुरवभृथमवप्रयन् ।
ocean when gone;	समुद्रोऽवगतः ।
water when dipped;	सलिलः प्रप्लुतः ।
heaven when brought to completion!	सुवरुदचं गतः ।
(TS 4.4.9)	

[1] On the yajamāna's thighs.
[2] In the Soma cart.

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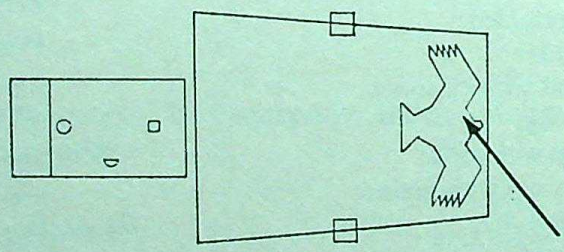
PLATE 78A-B

Consecration of Pebbles

On the fifth layer, one hundred and eighteen pebbles (called śarkara) are placed in the interstices between the bricks. They are consecrated by yajamāna and adhvaryu with three mantras each, just like the bricks. At the same time the udgātā chants his Pebble Songs. On the plate, some of the Ritual's Body (yajñatanū) pebbles are being consecrated. As can be seen from the white dots, most of the surrounding bricks have already been fully consecrated, though others (e.g., nos. 184 and 200) have not. This is as it should be, for all pebbles are inserted between the consecration of bricks nos. 180 and 181. Comparison of the plate with Figure 40 shows that some pebbles have been misplaced.



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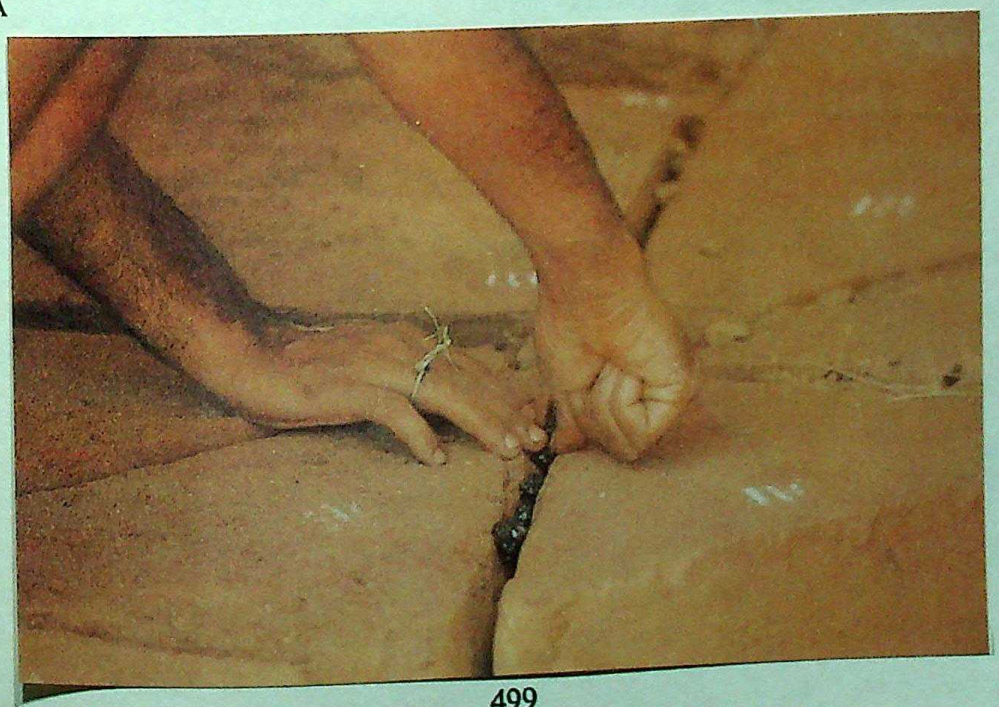
A



B

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Part II The 1975 Performance

The twelve Luminous pebbles, nos. 56*–67*, are consecrated with:

I place you, luminous;	ज्योतिष्मतीं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who makes light;	ज्योतिष्कृतं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who finds light;	ज्योतिर्विदं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who shines;	भास्वतीं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who burns;	ज्वलन्तीं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who flashes;	मल्मलाभवन्तीं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who flames;	दीप्यमानां त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who is blazing;	रोचमानां त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who is immortal;	अजस्रां त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who has great light;	बृहज्ज्योतिषं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who awakens;	बोधयन्तीं त्वा सादयामि ।
I place you who is awake!	जाग्रतीं त्वा सादयामि ।
(TS 1.4.34)	

The twelve Being pebbles, nos. 68*–79*, are consecrated with:

To earth—svāhā;	पृथिव्यै स्वाहा ।
to air—svāhā;	अन्तरिक्षाय स्वाहा ।
to sky—svāhā;	दिवे स्वाहा ।
to sun—svāhā;	सूर्याय स्वाहा ।
to moon—svāhā;	चन्द्रमसे स्वाहा ।
to lunar mansions—svāhā;	नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ।
to water—svāhā;	अद्भ्यः स्वाहा ।
to plants—svāhā;	ओषधीभ्यः स्वाहा ।
to trees—svāhā;	वनस्पतिभ्यः स्वाहा ।
to moving and unmoving creatures—svāhā;	चराचरेभ्यः स्वाहा ।
to swimming creatures—svāhā;	परिप्लवेभ्यः स्वाहा ।
to creeping creatures—svāhā!	सरीसृपेभ्यः स्वाहा ।
(TS 1.8.13.3i)	

The five Being Uninjured pebbles, nos. 80*–84*, are consecrated with:

d. To him with a hundred weapons, a hundred powers, a hundred aids, who conquers hostility, overcoming a hundred autumns Indra shall lead us over all obstacles!	शतायुधाय शतवीर्याय शतोतयेऽभिमातिषाहे । शतं यो नः शरदो अजीता- निन्द्रो नेषदति दुरितानि विश्वा ॥
e. The four paths going to the gods, stretching between earth and sky, may all gods lead us here to that which is uninjured (*ajyāni*), unconquered!	ये चत्वारः पथयो देवयानां अन्तरा द्यावापृथिवी वियन्ति । तेषां यो अज्यानिमजीतिमावहात् तस्मै नो देवाः परि दत्तेह सर्वे ॥
f. Summer, winter, spring for us, autumn, rains be good for us; may we enjoy favor and protection	ग्रीष्मो हेमन्त उत नो वसन्तः शरद्वर्षाः सुविदत्रं नो अस्तु । तेषामृतूनाꣳ शतशारदानां

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of these seasons through a hundred autumns!
निवात एषामभये स्याम ॥

g. To the Idu year, the full year,
the year pay great respect;
worthy of ritual, with benevolence,
may they protect us from failure and death.
इदुवत्सरायं परिवत्सरायं
संवत्सरायं कृणुता बृहन्नमः ।
तेषां वयꣳ सुमतौ यज्ञियानां
ज्योग्जीता अहतः स्याम ॥

h. Better than the best have the gods collected,
with your help may we gain access to you;
miraculous drop, enter us;
be good to our children and offspring!
(TS 5.7.2.3d–4h)
भद्रान्नः श्रेयः समनैष्ट देवा-
स्तवर्याऽवसेन समशीमहि त्वा ।
स नो मयोभूः पितो आ विशस्व
शं तोकाय तनुवे स्योनः ॥

The four Holdings of the Realm, nos. 85*–88*, are consecrated with:

Glorious Agni lead him to glory,
bring fame here that belongs to Indra;
let him be head, chief, resplendent,
most famous among his equals!
अग्ने यशस्विन् यशसेममर्पये-
न्द्रावतीमपचितीमिहाऽऽ वह ।
अयं मूर्धा परमेष्ठी सुवर्चाः
समानानामुत्तमश्लोको अस्तु ॥

Seers who found celestial light,
seeing happily, underwent penance and consecration;
power, force, and strength were born,
may the gods together accord that to us!
भद्रं पश्यन्त उप सेदुरग्रे
तपो दीक्षामृषयः सुवर्विदः ।
ततः क्षत्रं बलमोजश्च जातं
तदस्मै देवा अभि सं नमन्तु ॥

Creator, disposer, highest witness,
Prajāpati, supreme being, sovereign;
my chants, meters, rules are calling,
to secure him supremacy!
धाता विधाता परमोत संदृक्
प्रजापतिः परमेष्ठी विराजा ।
स्तोमाश्छन्दाꣳसि निविदो म आहु-
रेतस्मै राष्ट्रमभि सं नमाम ॥

Turn to me, come to me,
let him be your ruler, your master;
you depend on his discrimination,
from now on all of you follow him!
(TS 5.7.4.3e)
अभ्यावर्तध्वमुप मेत मा क-
मयꣳ शास्ताऽधिपतिर्वो अस्तु ।
अस्य विज्ञानमनु सꣳरभध्व-
मितं पश्चादनु जीवाथ सर्वे ॥

The First Full Moon pebble, no. 89*, is consecrated with:

Full behind and full in front,
In the middle full moon is victorious;
May the gods, dwelling together in her,
rejoice here in the highest vault of heaven!
(TS 3.5.1.1a)
पूर्णा पश्चादुत पूर्णा पुरस्ता-
दुन्मध्यतः पौर्णमासी जिगाय ।
तस्यां देवा अधि संवसन्त
उत्तमे नाकं इह मादयन्ताम् ॥

immediately followed by With That God and Pouring Milk. The Lunar Mansions, nos. 90*–103*, are consecrated with fourteen mantras, each mantra followed by:

You are rays of Agni,
अग्ने रुचः स्थ

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of Prajāpati,	प्रजापतेः
of the creator,	धातुः
of Soma;	सोमस्य
You for verse,	ऋचे त्वा
you for radiance,	रुचे त्वा
you for shine,	द्युते त्वा
you for blaze,	भासे त्वा
you for light!	ज्योतिषे त्वा।

(TS 4.4.10.1a, second half)

The fourteen mantras are:

Kṛttikā lunar mansion, Agni deity;	कृत्तिका नक्षत्रमग्निर्देवता
Rohiṇī lunar mansion, Prajāpati deity;	रोहिणी नक्षत्रं प्रजापतिर्देवता
Mṛgaśīrṣa lunar mansion, Soma deity;	मृगशीर्षं नक्षत्रꣳ सोमो देवता
Ārdrā lunar mansion, Rudra deity;	आर्द्रा नक्षत्रꣳ रुद्रो देवता
Punarvasus lunar mansion, Aditi deity;	पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता
Tiṣya lunar mansion, Bṛhaspati deity;	तिष्यो नक्षत्रं बृहस्पतिर्देवता
Āśreṣās lunar mansion, snakes deity;	आश्रेषा नक्षत्रꣳ सर्पा देवता
Maghās lunar mansion, ancestors deity;	मघा नक्षत्रं पितरो देवता
Phalgunīs lunar mansion, Aryamān deity;	फल्गुनी नक्षत्रमर्यमा देवता
Phalgunīs lunar mansion, Bhaga deity;	फल्गुनी नक्षत्रं भगो देवता
Hasta lunar mansion, Savitṛ deity;	हस्तो नक्षत्रꣳ सविता देवता
Citrā lunar mansion, Indra deity;	चित्रा नक्षत्रमिन्द्रो देवता
Svātī lunar mansion, Vāyu deity;	स्वाती नक्षत्रं वायुर्देवता
Viśākhās lunar mansion, Indra-Agni deity!	विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता

(TS 4.4.10.1a and b, first half)

The New Moon pebble, no. 104*, is consecrated with:

The share that the gods, dwelling together,	यत् ते देवा अदधुर्भागधेय-
have magnanimously given you, new moon,	मर्मावास्ये संवसन्तो महित्वा।
with that fill our ritual, bountiful one	सा नो यज्ञं पिपृहि विश्ववारे
Grant us a wealth of heroes, you fortunate one!	रयिं नो धेहि सुभगे सुवीरम्॥

(TS 3.5.1.1b)

The remaining thirteen Lunar Mansions, nos. 105*–117*, are consecrated with:

Anūrādhā lunar mansion, Mitra deity;	अनूराधा नक्षत्रं मित्रो देवता
Rohiṇī lunar mansion, Indra deity;	रोहिणी नक्षत्रमिन्द्रो देवता
Vicṛts lunar mansion, ancestors deity;	विचृतौ नक्षत्रं पितरो देवता
Aṣāḍhās lunar mansion, water deity;	अषाढा नक्षत्रमापो देवता
Aṣāḍhās lunar mansion, All-gods deity;	अषाढा नक्षत्रं विश्वे देवा देवता
Śroṇā lunar mansion, Visnu deity;	श्रोणा नक्षत्रं विष्णुर्देवता
Śraviṣṭhā lunar mansion, Vasus deity;	श्राविष्ठा नक्षत्रं वसवो देवता

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Śatabhiṣaj lunar mansion, Indra deity;	śatabhiṣaṅ nakṣatramindro devatā
Proṣṭhapadās lunar mansion, one-foot-goat deity;	proṣṭhapadā nakṣatramaja ekapāddevatā
Proṣṭhapadās lunar mansion, serpent-of-the-deep deity;	proṣṭhapadā nakṣatramahirbudhniyo devatā
Revatī lunar mansion, Pūṣan deity;	revatī nakṣatraṃ pūṣā devatā
Aśvayujs lunar mansion, Aśvins deity;	aśvayujau nakṣatramaśvinau devatā
Apabharaṇīs lunar mansion, death deity!	apabharaṇīrnakṣatraṃ yamo devatā
(TS 4.4.10.1b, second half)	

Again, each of these mantras is followed by TS 4.4.10.1a[2]. Finally, the Second-Full Moon pebble, no. 118*, is consecrated with TS 3.5.1.1a, like the first, and With That God and Pouring Milk are recited for 90*–118*.

The operation with the pebbles is now over, and adhvaryu and yajamāna resume the consecration of bricks. Since the next group of bricks is called Sixth layer, the ceremonies customarily performed between layers take place. The adhvaryu touches the dark horse and spreads loose earth over the layer (excluding twenty-five bricks that remain to be consecrated), reciting TS 1.5.11.1 d, followed by With That God and Pouring Milk. Then the five Sixth-Layer (*saṣṭhī citi*) bricks, nos. 181–185, are consecrated with:

	saṃyacca pracetāścā-
h. You are uniter and foreteller of Agni, Soma, and Sūrya.	gneḥ somasya sūryasya
i. You are terrible, fearful of ancestors, death, and Indra.	ugrā ca bhīmā ca pitṝṇāṃ yamasyendrasya
k. You are the firm quarter, earth of god Savitṛ, Maruts, and Varuṇa.	dhruvā ca pṛthivī ca devasya saviturmarutāṃ varuṇasya
l. You are support and foundation of Mitra-Varuṇa, Mitra, and Dhātṛ.	dhartrī ca dharitrī ca mitrāvaruṇayormitrasya dhātuḥ
m. You are eastern and western of Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas!	prācī ca pratīcī ca vasūnāṃ rudrāṇāmādityānāṃ
(TS 4.4.11.2h-m)	

Each of these mantras is followed by:

They are your masters, homage to them,	te te'dhipatayaste bhyo nama-
May they be kind to us!	ste no mṛḍayantu
He whom we hate and who hates us,	te yaṃ dviṣmo yaśca no dveṣṭi
I place him in your jaws!	taṃ vo jambhe dadhāmi ॥
(TS 4.4.11.3n)	

The Mouth, Limb, Prajāpati, Bull, and Space-Filler bricks are all consecrated in the usual manner. The Space Fillers, nos. 198–202, are consecrated in the eastern direction, as on the first and third layers, the first and last fixed while the udgātā sings his Space-Filler chants.

Next come the ceremonies with the naturally perforated pebbles, indicated by small circles in Figure 40. The adhvaryu sweeps the altar with

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palāśa leaves, takes four svayamātṛṇṇā pebbles, mounts the altar, and puts one pebble in each of the interstices between bricks at the center of the four sides of the square body (ātmā) of the bird. The first pebble is put where bricks nos. 3/4/5/2/110/95 meet, as he chants:

You for exhalation, you for sight;	प्राणाय त्वा चक्षुषे त्वा
with that god	तया देवतया-
in the manner of Aṅgiras	ऽङ्गिरस्वद्
sit firm!	ध्रुवा सीद ॥

(TS 5.5.5.4)

The second is put at the meeting point of 11/98/108/109 with the mantra that is obtained from the former by substituting "diffused breath" for "exhalation." The third is put at the meeting point of 13/135/133/140/141/10 by substituting "inhalation," and the fourth at 12/123/122/184 by substituting "language."

The remaining rites resemble the well-known pattern (see pages 418, 461). The adhvaryu gets one of the svayamātṛṇṇā pebbles, with five holes in it. He goes round the altar with the pebble, makes the white horse sniff at it, and returns avoiding the dark horse and followed by yajamāna and
PLATE 79 avidvān, the Ignorant Brahmin. The three sit down at the center of the altar, touch the pebble, and recite:

Heaven! (suvaḥ)	सुवः
I place you in the seat of the living,	आयोस्त्वा सदने सादयाम्य-
in the shadow of the helper;	वंतश्छायायां
homage to the ocean,	नमः समुद्राय
homage to the clearness of the ocean!	नमः समुद्रस्य चक्षसे ॥
Let the Highest One (*parameṣṭin*) seat you	परमेष्ठी त्वा सादयतु दिवः पृष्ठे
on the ridge of heaven;	व्यचस्वतीं प्रथस्वतीं
you who are wide and extending	विभूमतीं प्रभूमतीं परिभूमतीं
strong, lordly, masterful.	दिवं यच्छ दिवं दृꣳह
Hold fast heaven, make firm heaven, don't harm the sky:	दिवं मा हिꣳसीः
for every breath, for every inhalation,	विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय
for every diffused breath, for every exhalation,	व्यानायोदानाय प्रतिष्ठायै चरित्राय
for support, for motion.	सूर्यस्त्वाऽभि पातु मह्या
May Sūrya protect you with great success,	स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा शन्तमेन
a safe cover.	तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवा सीद ॥
With that god, in the fashion of Aṅgiras,	
sit firm!	

(TS 4.4.3.3g-h)

At the same time, the udgātā chants his song, which is composed on suvaḥ, "heaven":

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The Fifth Layer

suvoṃ / suva ho yi suva ho yi suva hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //
(AG 25.23; see Table 15, page 533)

The adhvaryu breathes in. The Ignorant Priest gives him a golden coin, and the yajamāna gives the Ignorant Priest his sacrificial fee. The adhvaryu makes an oblation into the eastern hole of the pebble, reciting TS 5.5.4.3 (as before: pages 419, 462), after which adhvaryu and yajamāna recite:

I have mounted heaven,
we have attained light!
(TS 5.6.8.1a[3])

दिवमाऽक्रमिषꣳ
सुवरगन्म ।

They put a piece of gold on the western hole of the pebble and recite:

You are sky, give me sky,
restrain heaven, protect me from heaven!
(TS 5.7.6.2c[3])

सुवरसि सुवर्मे यच्छ
दिवं यच्छ दिवो मा पाहि ॥

The adhvaryu then completes the consecration of the bricks. The Circle (maṇḍala) brick, no. 203, placed above the Circle bricks in the first and third layers, is consecrated with:

You are heaven, unconquered,
penetrated by immortality.
The Ādityas are your guardians.
Sūrya is placed in this,
to which I resort.
May it be my protection and refuge!
(TS 4.4.5.2e)

द्यौरपराजिता-
ऽमृतेन दिष्टा-
ऽऽदित्यास्ते गोप्तारः
सूर्यो वियत्तोऽस्यां
तामहं प्र पद्ये
सा मे शर्म च वर्म चास्तु ॥

At the same time the udgātā chants his Circle song. The Seed-Discharging (retaḥsic) brick, no. 204, above the others, is consecrated with:

May sky, seed discharging,
give me seed;
may my seed procreate!
(BŚS 10.46: 46.19–47.1)

द्यौ रेतःसिक्
सा मे रेतो दधातु
सा मे रेतः प्रजनयतु ॥

Finally the brick Without Ears (*vikarṇī*), no. 205, which has a picture in white paste of a woman without ears on it, is consecrated with: PLATE 75B

He neighs like an eager horse in the prairie,
come out of its enclosure.
The wind blows behind his flames,
your trail (Agni) becomes black.
(TS 4.4.3.3i)

प्रोथदश्वो न यवसे अविष्यन्
यदा महः संवरणाद् व्यस्थात् ।
आदस्य वातो अनु वाति शोचि-
रधं स्म ते व्रजनं कृष्णमस्ति ॥

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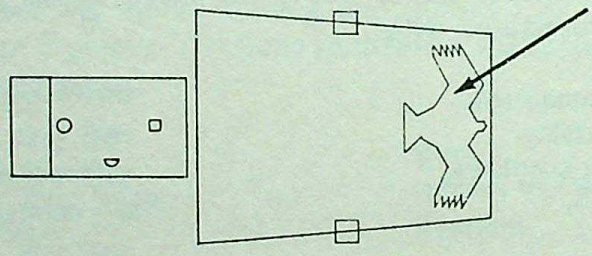
PLATE 79

The Ignorant Brahmin on the Fifth Layer

As on the first layer (Plates 11, 67) and on the third, the Ignorant Brahmin assists yajamāna and adhvaryu with the consecration of a naturally perforated pebble. The pebble on the fifth layer has five holes in it. The accompanying recitation is addressed to heaven (suvaḥ) and the Highest One (parameṣṭin), and invokes the protection of the sun (sūrya). The udgātā chant, which is sung at the same time, is also composed on the word suvaḥ.



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The next rites are routine. The adhvaryu recites TS 5.5.4.4 and TS 4.4.4.6 t. They descend from the altar with TS 5.5.9.2g and 4.6.1.4q. The adhvaryu recites TS 5.7.9.1 a and 5.7.8.1a, and spreads loose soil over the twenty-five bricks. This is followed by TS 1.5.11.1 d, With That God and Pouring Milk.

Then the adhvaryu takes 1000 specks of gold dust and puts 200 each into five peacock feathers. Five times water is poured into his hands, each time with gold from one feather added to it. He sprinkles the water five times over the altar, crosswise in the four directions and at the center, reciting:

You are the measure of a thousand,	सहस्रस्य प्रमा असि।
you are the image of a thousand,	सहस्रस्य प्रतिमा असि।
you are the size of a thousand,	सहस्रस्य विमा असि।
you are the replica of a thousand,	सहस्रस्योन्मा असि।
you are a thousand, you for a thousand!	साहस्रोऽसि सहस्राय त्वा।

(TS 4.4.11.3o)

PLATE 80 Finally, the yajamāna, standing at the northern hip, facing the altar and prompted by a helper, wishes that the bricks be turned into cows:

Agni, may these bricks be cows for me,	इमा मे अग्न इष्टका धेनवः सन्त्वे-
one, and a hunded, and a thousand,	का च शतं च सहस्रं चा-
and a hundred thousand, and a million,	युतं च नियुतं च
and ten million, and a hundred million,	प्रयुतं चार्बुदं च
and a thousand million, and ten thousand million,	न्यर्बुदं च समुद्रश्च
and a hundred-thousand million,	मध्यं चान्तश्च परार्धश्च
and ten hundred-thousand million,	इमा मे अग्न इष्टका धेनवः सन्तु
and a hundred hundred-thousand million.	पङ्क्तिः सहस्रमयुतमक्षीयमाणा
Agni, may these bricks be cows for me,	ऋतस्थाः स्थर्तावृधो
sixty, a thousand, ten thousand, imperishable.	घृतश्चुतो मधुश्चुत
You are standing on order, increasing order,	ऊर्जस्वतीः स्वधाविनी-
dripping butter, dripping honey,	स्ता मे अग्न इष्टका धेनवः सन्तु
full of strength, full of power.	विराजो नाम कामदुघा
Agni may these bricks be cows for me,	अमुत्रामुष्मिँल्लोके ॥
glorious, giving milk of desire	
beyond in the other world!	

(TS 4.4.11.4 p)

There follow saṃcita oblations for Agni and Varuṇa with TS 5.5.9.1e (substituting "desirable" for "ocean": cf. pages 445, 459, 464, 473) and TS 2.1.11.6w. While the adhvaryu makes the oblation into the center of the altar, he sits himself outside the bird, immediately west of the tail. The sruva ladle is tied to a long bamboo pole, supported by two bamboo poles from the sides. It is believed that if the adhvaryu steps on the altar, he will die. The completed altar is now ferocious (*krūra*), vibrating with power, and dreadful (*ghora*). Its powers have to be channeled and it has to be pacified and made to be at peace (śānta).

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Eigth Day: April 20, 1975

EPISODE 18

Rudra, Flow of Milk, and Other Ceremonies on the Fifth Layer
(*Śatarudrīya; Kṣīradhārā*)

THE PACIFICATION OF the new bird altar begins with an offering to Rudra, an angry deity closely associated with Agni, sometimes regarded as a terrible form of Agni himself. As elsewhere in the Vedas, Rudra is addressed as *śiva* "gracious," a euphemism that contributed to the origin of the Hindu god Śiva. The offering, a continuous libation of goat's milk, takes place not at the center, which is center of power, or in the east or south, also preferred directions, but at the western brick of the northern wing on brick no. 189, which must on all accounts be deemed one of the most innocent among the bricks. The adhvaryu does not climb on the altar. He stands on a pile of bricks, first to the south of the brick facing north, then to its west facing east, and finally to its north facing south. Only two bricks can be so easily approached from different sides.

The adhvaryu will recite the entire fifth prapāṭhaka of the fourth kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, subdivided into three portions. The libation will be poured through an *arka* leaf (Malayalam: *erukinṭe ila*), which he holds in his folded hands, first at the height of his face, then at the height of his navel, and finally at the height of his ankles. A large vessel with milk stands near by, and two clay kiṇḍi jars are kept at hand. The pratiprasthātā pours milk from the kiṇḍi into the arka leaf in the hands of the adhvaryu, and a helper keeps another kiṇḍi full of milk ready, so that the libation is uninterrupted.

At the outset, the adhvaryu calls the pratiprasthātā:

Bring and pour (i.e., milk)! आहरानय

(BŚS 10.48:48.11)

The pratiprasthātā comes with the milk, begins to pour, and the adhvaryu begins the libation, standing south of brick no. 189, facing north, holding the arka leaf at the height of his face. He recites: PLATE 81A

4.5.1 a. Homage to your anger, Rudra,
to your arrow homage, too,
homage to your bow,
and homage to your arms.
b. With your most gracious (śiva) arrow,
and gracious bow,
with your gracious missile,
be gentle to us, Rudra.
c. Your body, Rudra, which is gracious,
not terrifying, with auspicious look,

नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यव
उतो त इषवे नमः।
नमस्ते अस्तु धन्वने
बाहुभ्यामुत ते नमः ५
या त इषुः शिवतमा
शिवं बभूव ते धनुः।
शिवा शरव्या या तव
तया नो रुद्र मृडय ॥
या ते रुद्र शिवा तनू-
रघोराऽपापकाशिनी।

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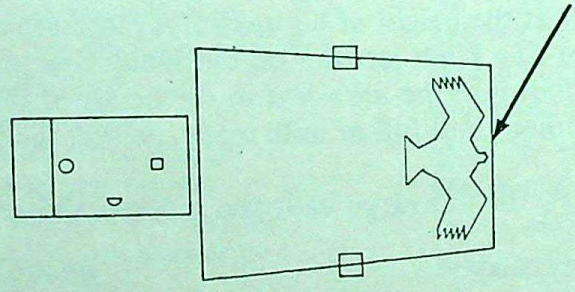
PLATE 80

The Yajamāna Turns the Bricks into Cows

"Agni, may these bricks be cows for me,
glorious, giving milk of desire
beyond in the other world!"

(TS 4.4.11.4p)

The bricks of the altar are called iṣṭakā, which may mean that they are wish-bricks or wish-stones. When his altar is completed, the yajamāna faces it from the west and wishes that the bricks be turned into cows.



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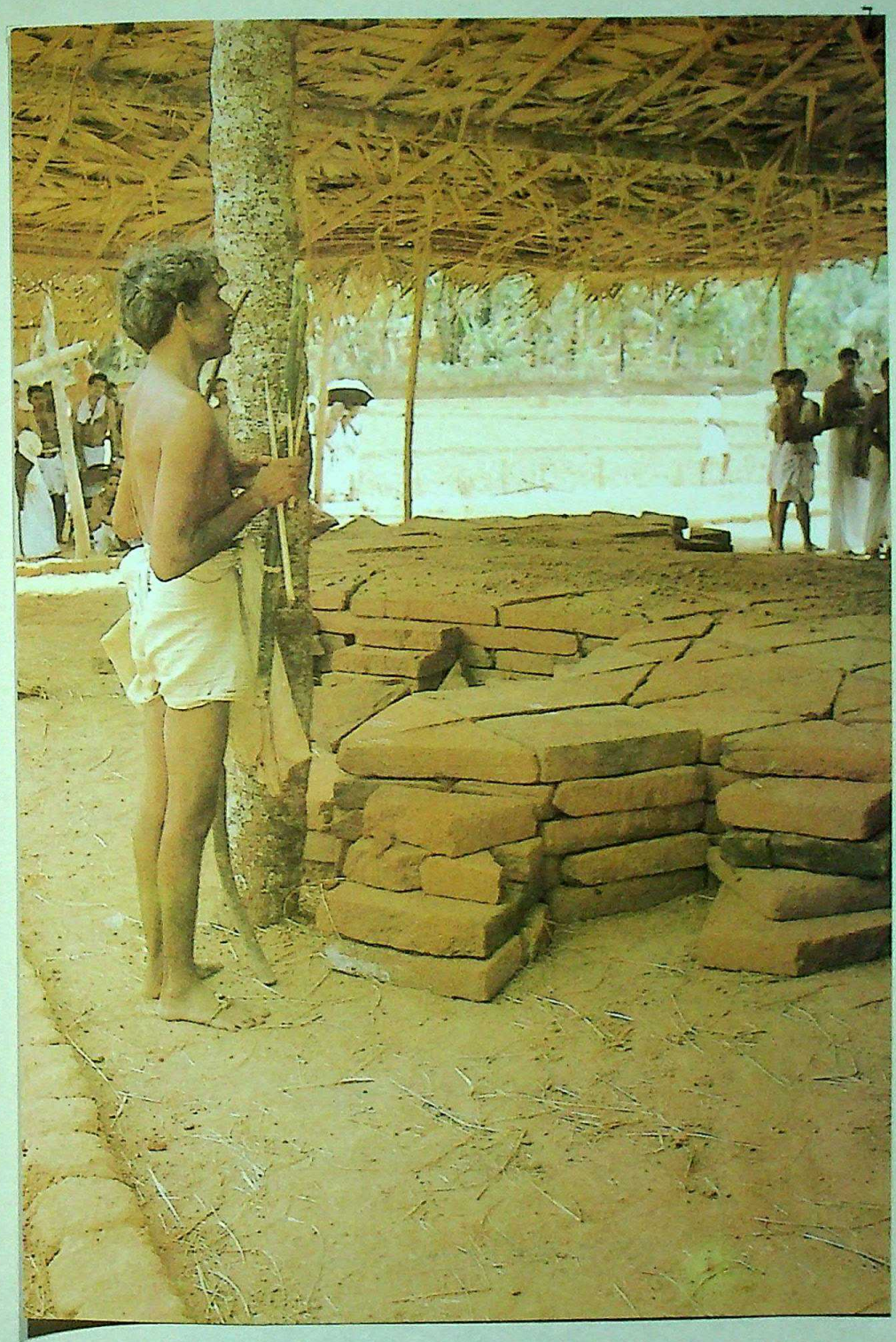

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PLATE 81A

Rudra

"Homage to your anger, Rudra,
To your arrow, homage, too.
Homage to your bow,
and homage to your arms.
With your most gracious arrow
and gracious bow,
with your gracious missile,
be gentle to us, Rudra."

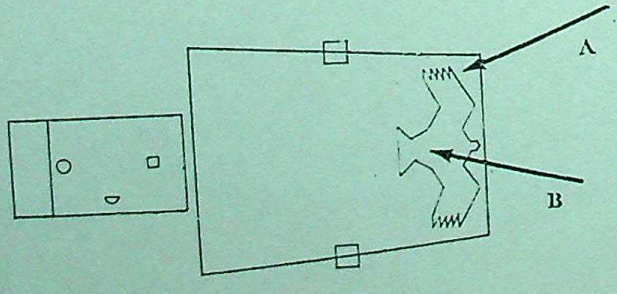
(TS 4.5.1.1a-b)

When the altar is completed and strengthened with oblations, it vibrates with power that has to be channeled and pacified. This pacification begins with a continuous oblation of milk for Rudra, an angry deity closely associated with Agni. The offering is poured not at the center, but over a distant brick, no. 189. During the first round, the adhvaryu stands on a pile of bricks due south of no. 189. The libation is poured by the pratiprasthātā through an arka leaf that the adhvaryu holds in his folded hands at the height of his mouth, facing north. Throughout the oblation the adhvaryu addresses Rudra with a long recitation. The udgātā stands on the left.

PLATE 81B

Flow of Milk

During the Rudra ceremony, the udgātā chants 57 sāmans called "Flow of Milk" (kṣīradhārā). He sits against the northern pole of the door immediately to the west of the tail, facing east.



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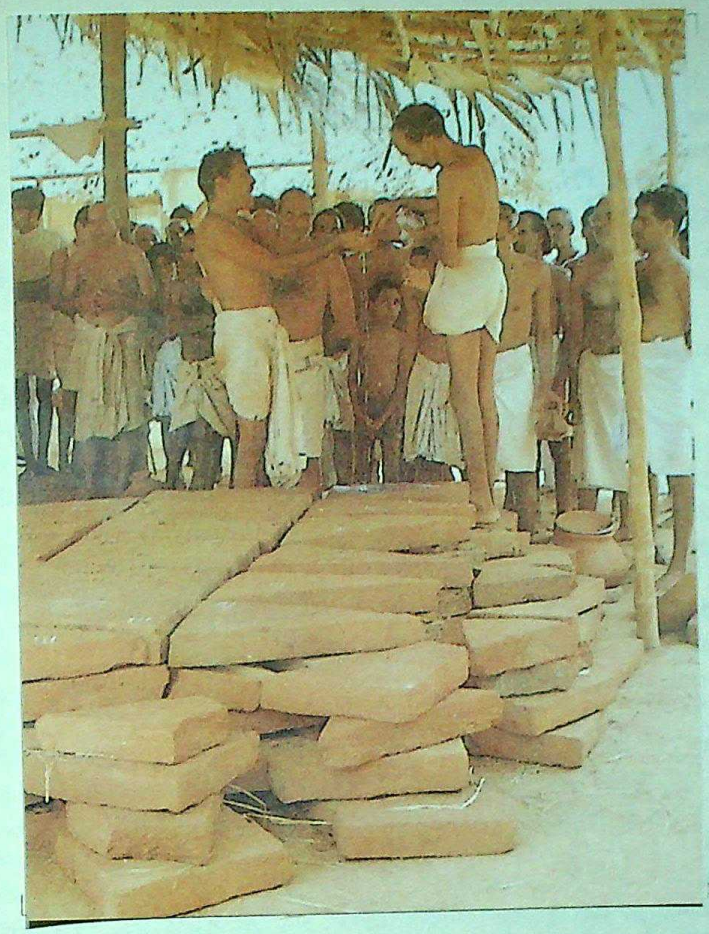

A

B

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with that body, most potent to heal,
haunter of mountains, look on us.

d. Haunter of mountains, the arrow you carry
in your hand to shoot,
make it gracious, guardian of mountains;
do not harm the world of men.

e. With gracious utterance
we address you, mountain dweller,
that all our people
be free from sickness and in good spirit.

f. The advocate has spoken in advocacy,
the first divine physician,
confounding all snakes
and all sorceries.

g. The dusky, the ruddy,
the brown, the auspicious,
and the Rudras who in thousands
lie around the directions of this earth,
we deprecate their anger.

h. He who creeps away,
blue-necked and ruddy,
has been seen by the cowherds,
the bearers of water
and all creatures;
may he, seen, be gentle to us.

i. Homage to the blue-necked,
thousand-eyed one, the bountiful;
and to those that are his warriors
I have paid homage.

k. Unfasten from he two notches
of your bow the bowstring,
and cast down
the arrows in your hand.

l. Unstringing your bow,
you of a thousand eyes and a hundred quivers,
destroying the points of your arrows,
be gentle and gracious to us.

m. Unstrung is the bow of him of the braided hair
and arrowless his quiver;
his arrows have departed,
empty is his quiver.

n. O most bountiful one, the missile
in your hand, your bow,
Guard us with it on all sides
free from sickness.

तया नस्तनुवा शंतमया
गिरिशन्ताभि चाकशीहि ॥
यामिषुं गिरिशन्त
हस्ते बिभर्ष्यस्तवे ।
शिवां गिरित्र तां कुरु
मा हिꣳसीः पुरुषं जगत् ॥
शिवेन वचसा त्वा
गिरिशाच्छा वदामसि ।
यथा नः सर्वमिज्जगं-
दयक्ष्मꣳ सुमना असत् ॥
अध्यवोचदधिवक्ता
प्रथमो दैव्यो भिषक् ।
अहीꣳश्च सर्वान् जम्भय-
न्त्सर्वाश्च यातुधान्यः ॥
असौ यस्ताम्रो अरुण
उत बभ्रुः सुमङ्गलः ।
ये चेमाꣳ रुद्रा अभितो दिक्षु
श्रिताः सहस्रशोऽवैषाꣳ हेड ईमहे ॥
असौ योऽवसर्पति
नीलग्रीवो विलोहितः ।
उतैनं गोपा अदृश-
न्नदृशन्नुदहार्यः ।
उतैनं विश्वा भूतानि
स दृष्टो मृडयाति नः ॥
नमो अस्तु नीलग्रीवाय
सहस्राक्षाय मीढुषे ।
अथो ये अस्य सत्वानोऽहं
तेभ्योऽकरं नमः ॥
प्र मुञ्च धन्वनस्त्व-
मुभयोरार्त्निज्यो र्ज्याम् ।
याश्च ते हस्त इषवः
परा ता भगवो वप ॥
अवतत्य धनुस्त्वꣳ
सहस्राक्ष शतेषुधे ।
निशीर्य शल्यानां मुखा
शिवो नः सुमना भव ॥
विज्यं धनुः कपर्दिनो
विशल्यो बाणवाꣳ उत ।
अनेशन्नस्येषव
आभुरस्य निषङ्गथिः ॥
या ते हेतिर्मीढुष्टम
हस्ते बभूव ते धनुः ।
तयाऽस्मान् विश्वतस्त्व-
मयक्ष्मया परिब्भुज ॥

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o. Homage to your weapon,
unstrung, terrifying;
and homage to your two hands,
to your bow.

नमस्ते अस्त्वायुधा-
यानातताय धृष्णवे।
उभाभ्यामुत ते नमो
बाहुभ्यां तव धन्वने॥

p. May the missile from your bow
avoid us on every side,
and put far from us
this quiver that is yours.

परि ते धन्वनो हेति-
रस्मान् वृणक्तु विश्वतः।
अथो य इषुधिस्तवा-
रे अस्मन्नि धेहि तम्॥

4.5.2 a. Homage to the golden-armed leader of hosts,
and to the lord of the directions homage!

नमो हिरण्यबाहवे सेनान्ये
दिशां च पतये नमः।

b. Homage to the trees with green tresses,
to the lord of cattle homage!

नमो वृक्षेभ्यो हरिकेशेभ्यः
पशूनां पतये नमः।

c. Homage to the one who is yellowish red like fresh grass,
to the radiant, to the lord of paths homage!

नमः सस्पिञ्जराय त्विषीमते
पथीनां पतये नमः॥

d. Homage to the brown one, to the piercer,
to the lord of food homage!

नमो बभ्लुशाय विव्याधिने-
ऽन्नानां पतये नमः।

e. Homage to the green-haired, wearer of the cord,
to the lord of prosperity homage!

नमो हरिकेशायोपवीतिने
पुष्टानां पतये नमः।

f. Homage to the dart of Bhava,
to the lord of the moving world homage!

नमो भवस्य हेत्यै
जगतां पतये नमः।

g. Homage to Rudra, with bent bow,
to the lord of fields homage!

नमो रुद्रायाऽऽततायिने
क्षेत्राणां पतये नमः।

h. Homage to the minstrel, the invincible,
to the lord of the woods homage!

नमः सूतायाहन्त्याय
वनानां पतये नमः।

i. Homage to the ruddy one, the ruler,
to the lord of woods homage!

नमो रोहिताय स्थपतये
वृक्षाणां पतये नमः।

k. Homage to the minister, the trader,
to the lord of thickets homage!

नमो मन्त्रिणे वाणिजाय
कक्षाणां पतये नमः।

l. Homage to the extender of the world, to the offspring of the victor,
to the lord of plants homage!

नमो भुवन्तये वारिवस्कृतायौ-
षधीनां पतये नमः।

m. Homage to the loud calling, the screaming,
to the lord of footmen homage!

नम उच्चैर्घोषायाऽऽक्रन्दयते
पत्तीनां पतये नमः।

n. Homage to the wholly covered, to the running,
to the lord of warriors homage!

नमः कृत्स्नवीताय धावते
सत्वनां पतये नमः॥

4.5.3 a. Homage to the strong, the piercing,
to the lord of assailers homage!

नमः सहमानाय निव्याधिने
आव्याधिनीनां पतये नमः।

b. Homage to the leader, the holder of the quiver,
to the lord of thieves homage!

नमः कक्कुभाय निषङ्गिणे
स्तेनानां पतये नमः।

c. Homage to the holder of the quiver, to the owner of the quiver,
to the lord of robbers homage!

नमो निषङ्गिणे इषुधिमते
तस्कराणां पतये नमः।

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d. Homage to the cheater, the swindler,
to the lord of burglars homage!
e. Homage to the glider, to the wanderer,
to the lord of the forests homage!
f. Homage to the bolt-armed destroyers,
to the lord of pilferers homage!
g. Homage to the sword-bearers, the night wanderers,
to the lord of pick pockets homage!
h. Homage to the turbaned mountain wanderers,
to the lord of bandits homage!
i. Homage to you, bearers of arrows,
and to you, bowmen, homage!
k. Homage to you that string (the bow),
and to you that place on (the arrow) homage!
l. Homage to you that bend (the bow),
and to you that let go (the arrow) homage!
m. Homage to you that hurl,
and to you that pierce homage!
n. Homage to you that art seated,
and to you that lie homage!
o. Homage to you that sleep,
and to you that wake homage!
p. Homage to you that stand,
and to you that run homage!
q. Homage to you assemblies,
and to you, lords of assemblies, homage!
r. Homage to you horses,
and to you, lords of horses, homage!

4.5.4 a. Homage to you that wound,
and to you that pierce homage!
b. Homage to you that are in bands,
and to you that are destructive homage!
c. Homage to you sharpeners,
and to you, lords of sharpeners, homage!
d. Homage to you hosts,
and to you, lords of hosts, homage!
e. Homage to you troops,
and to you, lords of troops, homage!
f. Homage to you of misshapen form,
and to you of all forms homage!
g. Homage to you that are great,
and to you that are small homage!
h. Homage to you that have chariots,
and to you that are chariotless homage!

नमो॒ वञ्च॑ते परि॒वञ्च॑ते
स्तायू॒नां पत॑ये॒ नमः॑।
नमो॑ निचे॒रवे॑ परिच॒राया-
र॑ण्यानां॒ पत॑ये॒ नमः॑।
नमः॑ सृका॒विभ्यो॒ जिघां॒सद्भ्यो॒
मुष्ण॒तां पत॑ये॒ नमः॑।
नमो॑ऽसि॒मद्भ्यो॒ नक्तं॑ चरद्भ्यः
प्रकृ॒न्तानां॑ पत॑ये॒ नमः॑।
नम॑ उष्णी॒षिणे॑ गिरिच॒राय॑
कुलु॒ञ्चानां॑ पत॑ये॒ नमः॑।
नम॒ इषु॑मद्भ्यो
धन्वा॒विभ्य॑श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नम॑ आतन्वा॒नेभ्यः॑
प्रति॒दधा॑नेभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नम॑ आय॒च्छद्भ्यो॑ विसृ॒जद्भ्य॑श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमो॑ऽस्य॒द्भ्यो॑ विध्य॒द्भ्य॑श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नम॒ आसी॑नेभ्यः॒ शया॑नेभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमः॑ स्व॒पद्भ्यो॑ जाग्र॒द्भ्य॑श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नम॒स्ति॒ष्ठद्भ्यो॑ धाव॒द्भ्य॑श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमः॑ स॒भाभ्यः॑ स॒भाप॑तिभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमो॒ अश्वे॑भ्यो-
ऽश्वप॑तिभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑॥
नम॑ आव्या॒धिनी॑भ्यो
वि॒विध्य॑न्तीभ्य॒श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नम॒ उग॑णाभ्य-
स्तृꣳह॒तीभ्य॑श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमो॑ गृ॒त्सेभ्यो॑
गृ॒त्सप॑तिभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमो॒ व्रा॒तेभ्यो॑
व्रा॒तप॑तिभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमो॑ ग॒णेभ्यो॑
ग॒णप॑तिभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमो॒ विरू॑पेभ्यो
वि॒श्वरू॑पेभ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑
नमो॑ म॒हद्भ्यः॑ क्षु॒ल्लके॑भ्यश्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।
नमो॑ र॒थिभ्यो॑ऽर॒थेभ्य॑श्च॒ वो॒ नमः॑।

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i. Homage to you chariots,
and to you, lords of chariots, homage!
नमो॒ रथे॑भ्यो॒
रथ॑पतिभ्यश्च वो॒ नमः॑।

k. Homage to you hosts,
and to you, lords of hosts, homage!
नमः॒ सेना॑भ्यः
सेना॑निभ्यश्च वो॒ नमः॑।

l. Homage to you, doorkeepers—svāhā!
नमः॑ क्ष॒त्तृभ्यः॒ स्वाहा॑।

At this point the yajamāna, sitting at his usual spot south of the altar, renounces to Rudra. The adhvaryu stands on another pile of bricks, west of brick no. 189, holds the arka leaf at the height of his navel, continues the libation facing east, and continues his recitation: PLATE 82

l. And to you, charioteers, homage!
सं॒ग्र॒ही॒तृभ्य॑श्च वो॒ नमः॑।

m. Homage to you, carpenters,
And to you, makers of chariots, homage!
नम॒स्त॒क्षभ्यो॒
रथ॑कारेभ्यश्च वो॒ नमः॑।

n. Homage to you, potters,
and to you, smiths, homage!
नमः॒ कु॒लाले॑भ्यः
क॒र्मारे॑भ्यश्च वो॒ नमः॑।

o. Homage to you, Puñjiṣṭas,
and to you, Niṣādas, homage!
नमः॑ पु॒ञ्जि॒ष्टेभ्यो॒
निषा॑देभ्यश्च वो॒ नमः॑।

p. Homage to you, makers of arrows,
and to you, makers of bows, homage!
नमः॑ इषु॒कृद्भ्यो॑
धन्व॒कृद्भ्य॑श्च वो॒ नमः॑।

q. Homage to you, hunters,
and to you, dog leaders, homage!
नमो॑ मृग॒युभ्यः॑
श्वनि॑भ्यश्च वो॒ नमः॑।

r. Homage to you dogs,
and to you, lords of dogs, homage!
नमः॒ श्वभ्यः॒ श्वप॑तिभ्यश्च वो॒ नमः॑।

4.5.5 a. Homage to Bhava and to Rudra.
नमो॑ भ॒वाय॑ च रु॒द्राय॑ च।

b. Homage to Śarva and to the lord of cattle.
नमः॑ श॒र्वाय॑ च पशु॒पत॑ये च।

c. Homage to the blue-necked one, and to the white-throated.
नमो॒ नील॑ग्रीवाय च शिति॒कण्ठा॑य च।

d. Homage to the wearer of braids, and to him of shaven hair.
नमः॑ कप॒र्दिने॑ च॒
व्यु॑प्तकेशाय च।

e. Homage to him to a thousand eyes, and to him of a hundred bows.
नमः॑ सहस्रा॒क्षाय॑ च
श॒तध॑न्वने च।

f. Homage to him who haunts the mountains, and to Śipiviṣṭa.
नमो॑ गिरि॒शाय॑ च
शिपि॒वि॑ष्टाय च।

g. Homage to the most bountiful, and to the bearer of the arrow.
नमो॑ मी॒ढु॒ष्टमा॑य॒ चेषु॑मते च।

h. Homage to the short, and to the dwarf.
नमो॑ ह्र॒स्वाय॑ च वामना॑य च।

i. Homage to the great, and to the stronger.
नमो॑ बृ॒हते॒ च॒ वर्षी॑यसे च।

k. Homage to him who has waxed, and to the waxing.
नमो॑ वृ॒द्धाय॑ च सं॒वृध्व॑ने च।

l. Homage to the chief, and to the first.
नमो॒ अग्रि॑याय च प्रथ॒माय॑ च।

m. Homage to the swift, and to the active.
नम॑ आ॒शवे॑ चाजि॒राय॑ च।

n. Homage to the rapid, and to the hasty.
नम॒ः शीघ्रि॑याय च॒ शीभ्या॑य च।

o. Homage to him of the wave, and to the roaring.
नम॑ ऊ॒र्म्याय॑ चावस्व॒न्याय॑ च।

p. Homage to him of the stream, and to him of the island.
नमः॑ स्रोत॒स्याय॑ च॒ द्वीप्या॑य च।

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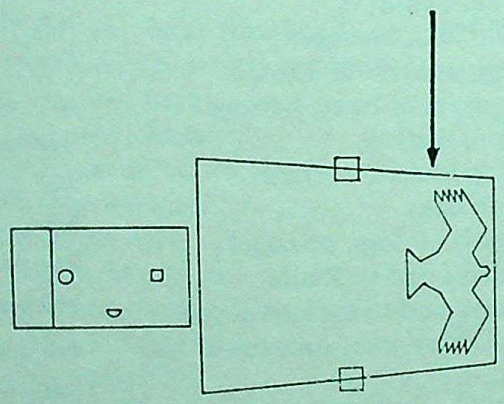
PLATE 82

Rudra: Second Round

During the second round of Rudra, the adhvaryu faces east and holds the arka leaf through which the libation is poured at the height of his navel.



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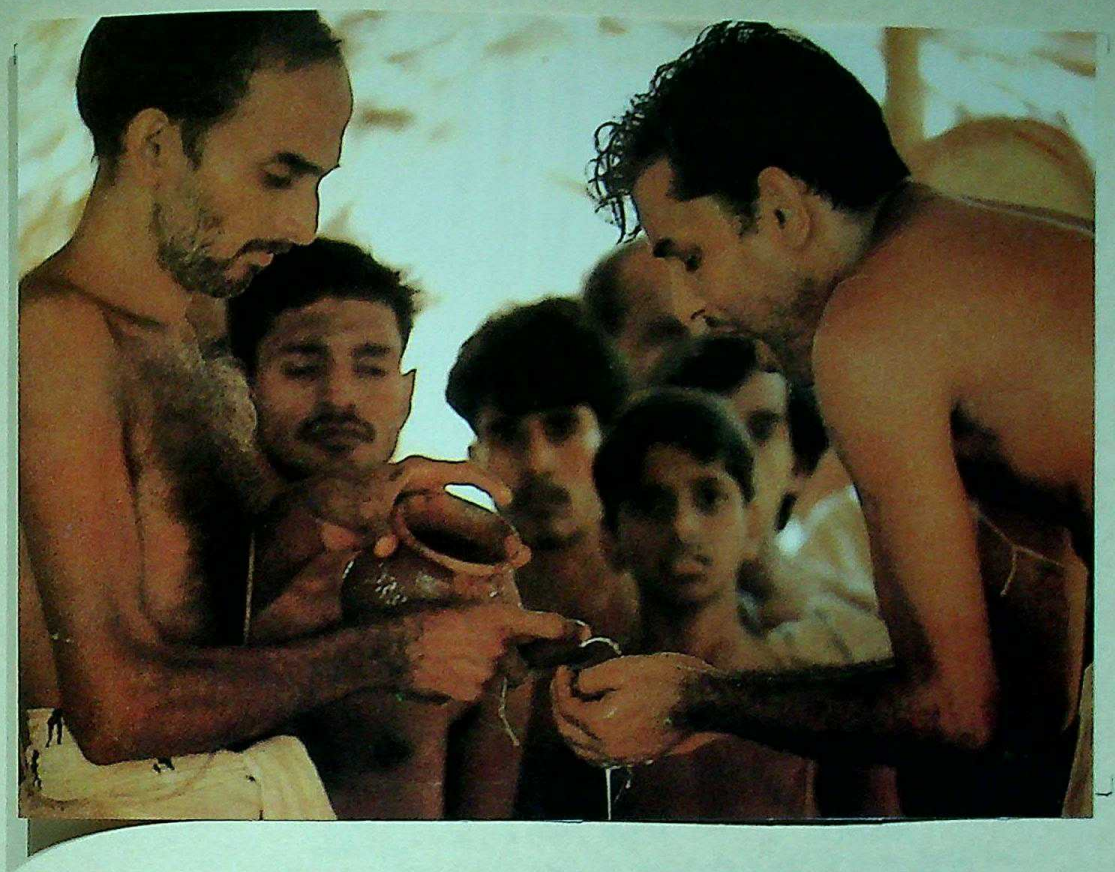

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4.5.6 a. Homage to the oldest, and to the youngest. — नमो ज्येष्ठाय च कनिष्ठाय च।

b. Homage to the first born, and to the later born. — नमः पूर्वजाय चापरजाय च।

c. Homage to the midmost, and to the immature. — नमो मध्यमाय चापगल्भाय च।

d. Homage to the hindmost, and to him in the depth. — नमो जघन्याय च बुध्नियाय च।

e. Homage to Sobhya, and to him of the amulet. — नमः सोभ्याय च प्रतिसर्याय च।

f. Homage to him who swells with death, and to him at peace. — नमो याम्याय च क्षेम्याय च।

g. Homage to him of the ploughed field, and to him of the threshing floor. — नमः उर्वर्याय च खल्याय च।

h. Homage to him of fame, and to him at his end. — नमः श्लोक्याय चावसान्याय च।

i. Homage to him of the wood, and to him of the thicket. — नमो वन्याय च कक्ष्याय च।

k. Homage to sound, and to echo. — नमः श्रवाय च प्रतिश्रवाय च।

l. Homage to him of the swift host, and to him with the fast car. — नमः आशुषेणाय चाऽऽशुरथाय च।

m. Homage to the hero, and the destroyer. — नमः शूराय चावभिन्दते च।

n. Homage to the armored, and to the corsleted. — नमो वर्मिणे च वरूथिने च।

o. Homage to the mailed, and to the cuirassed. — नमो विल्मिने च कवचिने च।

p. Homage to the famous, and to him of a famous host. — नमः श्रुताय च श्रुतसेनाय च॥

4.5.7 a. Homage to him of the drum, and to him of the drumstick. — नमो दुन्दुभ्याय चाऽऽहनन्याय च।

b. Homage to the bold, and to the cautious. — नमो धृष्णवे च प्रमृशाय च।

c. Homage to the messenger, and to the servant. — नमो दूताय च प्रहिताय च।

d. Homage to the quiver bearer, and to the owner of the quiver. — नमो निषङ्गिणे चेषुधिमते च।

e. Homage to him of the sharp arrow, and to him of the weapon. — नमस्तीक्ष्णेषवे चाऽऽयुधिने च।

f. Homage to him of the good weapon, and to him of the good bow. — नमः स्वायुधाय च सुधन्वने च।

g. Homage to him of the stream, and to him of the way. — नमः स्रुत्याय च पथ्याय च।

h. Homage to him of the hole, and to him of the pool. — नमः काट्याय च नीप्याय च।

i. Homage to him of the ditch, and to him of the lake. — नमः सूद्याय च सरस्याय च।

k. Homage to him of the stream, and to him of the tank. — नमो नाद्याय च वैशन्ताय च।

l. Homage to him of the cistern, and to him of the well. — नमः कूप्याय चावट्याय च।

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m. Homage to him of the rain—svāhā! नमो॒ वर्ष्या॑य स्वाहा॑ ॥

Again, the yajamāna renounces to Rudra. The adhvaryu stands on a pile of bricks north of brick no. 189, faces south, holds the arka leaf at the height of his knees, and continues the libation reciting:

m. And to him not of the rain. चावर्ष्या॑य च।
n. Homage to him of the cloud, and to him of the lightning. नमो॑ मे॒घ्या॑य च विद्यु॒त्या॑य च।
o. Homage to him of the cloudy sky, and to him of the heat. नमः॑ ई॒ध्रिया॑य चा
ऽऽत॒प्या॑य च।
p. Homage to him of the wind, and to him of the storm. नमो॒ वात्या॑य च॒ रे॒ष्मिया॑य च।
q. Homage to him of the dwelling, and to him who guards the dwelling. नमो॑ वास्त॒व्या॑य च वास्तु॒पाय॑ च ॥
4.5.8 a. Homage to Soma, and to Rudra. नमः॒ सोमा॑य च रु॒द्राय॑ च।
b. Homage to the dusky one, and to the ruddy one. नमस्ता॒म्राय॑ चारु॒णाय॑ च।
c. Homage to the giver of welfare, and to the lord of cattle. नमः॑ शङ्गा॑य च पशु॒पत॑ये च।
d. Homage to the dread, and to the terrible. नमः॑ उ॒ग्राय॑ च भी॒माय॑ च।
e. Homage to him who slays in front, and to him who slays from a distance. नमो॑ अग्रेव॒धाय॑ च दूरेव॒धाय॑ च।
f. Homage to the slayer, and to the special slayer. नमो॑ ह॒न्त्रे च॒ हनी॑यसे च।
g. Homage to the trees with green tresses. नमो॑ वृ॒क्षेभ्यो॒ हरि॑केशेभ्यः।
h. Homage to the deliverer. नमस्ता॒राय॑।
i. Homage to the source of health, and to the source of delight. नमः॑ शम्भ॒वे॑ च मयो॒भवे॑ च।
k. Homage to the maker of health, and to the maker of delight. नमः॑ शङ्क॒राय॑ च मयस्क॒राय॑ च।
l. Homage to the auspicious, and to the more auspicious. नमः॑ शि॒वाय॑ च शि॒वत॑राय च।
m. Homage to him of the ford, and to him of the bank. नमस्ती॒र्थ्या॑य च॒ कू॒ल्या॑य च।
n. Homage to him beyond, and to him on this side. नमः॑ पा॒र्या॑य चावा॒र्या॑य च।
o. Homage to him who crosses over, and to him who crosses back. नमः॑ प्रतर॒णाय॑ चोत्तर॒णाय॑ च।
p. Homage to him of the crossing, and to him of the ocean. नमः॑ आता॒र्या॑य चाऽऽला॒द्या॑य च।
q. Homage to him in the tender grass, and to him of the foam. नमः॒ शष्प्या॑य च॒ फेन्या॑य च।
r. Homage to him in the sand, and to him of the stream. नमः॑ सिक॒त्या॑य च प्रवा॒ह्या॑य च ॥
4.5.9 a. Homage to him in the cleft, and to him in the distance. नमः॑ इरि॒ण्या॑य च प्रप॒थ्या॑य च।

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b. Homage to him dwelling in the stony and to him in habitable places. नमः किꣳशिलाय च क्षयणाय च।

c. Homage to him of braided hair, and to him of plain hair. नमः कपर्दिने च पुलस्तये च।

d. Homage to him who dwells in the cowshed, and to him of the house. नमो गोष्ठ्याय च गृह्याय च।

e. Homage to him of the bed, and to him of the dwelling. नमस्तल्प्याय च गेह्याय च।

f. Homage to him of the hole, and to him of the abyss. नमः काट्याय च गह्वरेष्ठाय च।

g. Homage to him of the lake, and to him of the whirlpool. नमो हृदय्याय च निवेष्प्याय च।

h. Homage to him of the dust, and to him of the mist. नमः पाꣳसव्याय च रजस्याय च।

i. Homage to him of the dry, and to him of the green. नमः शुष्क्याय च हरित्याय च।

k. Homage to him of the copse, and to him of the grass. नमो लोप्याय चोलप्याय च।

l. Homage to him in the earth, and to him in the gully. नमः ऊर्व्याय च सूर्म्याय च।

m. Homage to him of the leaf, and to him of the leaf-fall. नमः पर्ण्याय च पर्णशद्याय च।

n. Homage to him who growls, and to him who smites away. नमोऽपगुरमाणाय चाभिघ्नते च।

o. Homage to him who drags, and to him who repels. नमः आक्खिदते च प्रक्खिदते च।

p. Homage to you, sparkling hearts of the gods. नमो वः किरिकेभ्यो देवानाꣳ हृदयेभ्यः।

q.–r. Homage to the destroyed. Homage to the intelligent. नमो विक्षीणकेभ्यः। नमो विचिन्वत्केभ्यः।

s.–t. Homage to the unconquerable. Homage to the destroyers. नमः आनिर्हतेभ्यः। नमः आमीवत्केभ्यः॥

4.5.10 a. Chaser, lord of the Soma plants,
waster, red and blue,
frighten not nor injure
any of these people, of these cattle;
be not one of these injured. द्रापे अन्धसस्पते दरिद्रन्नीललोहित। एषां पुरुषाणामेषां पशूनां मा भेर्मोऽरो मो एषां किं चनाऽऽममत्॥

b. That auspicious form of yours, Rudra,
auspicious and ever healing,
auspicious and healing form of Rudra,
with that show mercy on us for life. या ते रुद्र शिवा तनूः शिवा विश्वाहभेषजी। शिवा रुद्रस्य भेषजी। तया नो मृड जीवसे॥

c. This prayer we offer up to the impetuous Rudra,
with plaited hair, destroyer of men,
that health be for our two- and four-footed beings, इमाꣳ रुद्राय तवसे कपर्दिने क्षयद्वीराय प्र भरामहे मतिम्। यथा नः शमसद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे

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and all in this village be prosperous and free from ill.

विश्वं पुष्टं ग्रामे अस्मिन्ननातुरम् ॥

d. Be merciful to us, Rudra, and give us delight;
with honor let us worship you, destroyer of men;
the health and wealth that father Manu won by ritual,
may we attain that, Rudra, under your leadership.

मृडा नो रुद्रोत नो मयस्कृधि
क्षयद्वीराय नमसा विधेम ते ।
यच्छं च योश्च मनुरायजे पिता
तदश्याम तव रुद्र प्रणीतौ ॥

e. Don't slay our great, or our small,
our waxing or what has waxed,
our father or mother;
injure not, Rudra, our dear bodies.

मा नो महान्तमुत मा नो अर्भकं
मा न उक्षन्तमुत मा न उक्षितम् ।
मा नो वधीः पितरं मोत मातरं
प्रिया मा नस्तनुवो रुद्र रीरिषः ॥
मा नस्तोके तनये मा न आयुषि
मा नो गोषु मा नो अश्वेषु रीरिषः ।
वीरान् मा नो रुद्र भामितो वधीर्-
हविष्मन्तो नमसा विधेम ते ॥

f. Harm us not in our children, our descendants, our life;
Harm us not in our cattle, in our horses;
destroy not in anger our heroes, Rudra;
with oblations let us serve you with honor.

g. Far from you, slayer of cows, and slayer of men,
destroyer of heroes, be on our side;
guard us and give us aid
and grant us protection in abundance.

आरात् ते गोघ्न उत पूरुषघ्ने
क्षयद्वीराय सुम्नमस्मे ते अस्तु ।
रक्षा च नो अधि च देव ब्रूह्यधा
च नः शर्म यच्छ द्विबर्हाः ॥

h. Praise the famous youth, mounted on the chariot seat,
dread and destructive like a fierce wild beast;
being praised, Rudra, be merciful to the singer;
let your missiles destroy others than us.

स्तुहि श्रुतं गर्तसदं युवानं
मृगं न भीममुपहत्नुमुग्रम् ।
मृडा जरित्रे रुद्र स्तवानो
अन्यं ते अस्मन्नि वपन्तु सेनाः ॥

i. May the missile of Rudra spare us,
may the anger of the brilliant evil worker (pass);
unstring for the generous donors strong bows;
bounteous one, be merciful to our children and descendants.

परि णो रुद्रस्य हेतिर्वृणक्तु
परि त्वेषस्य दुर्मतिरघायोः ।
अव स्थिरा मघवद्भ्यस्तनुष्व
मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मृडय ॥

k. Most bounteous, most auspicious,
be auspicious and favorably inclined to us;
placing down your weapon on the highest tree,
clad in your skin, come,
and approach us bearing the spear.

मीढुष्टम शिवतम
शिवो नः सुमना भव ।
परमे वृक्ष आयुधं निधाय
कृत्तिं वसान आ चर
पिनाकं बिभ्रदा गहि ॥

l. Blood-red scatterer,
homage to you, adorable one;

विकिरिद विलोहित
नमस्ते अस्तु भगवः ।

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may your thousand missiles
destroy others than us.

m. A thousandfold in thousands
are the missiles in your arms;
adorable one, turn away
the points of those you rule.

4.5.11 a. The Rudras that are over the earth
in thousands by thousands,
we unstring their bows
at a thousand leagues.

b. The Bhavas in this great ocean,
the atmosphere,
we unstring . . .[1]

c. The Śarvas of black necks, and white throats,
who wander below on the earth
we unstring . . .

d. The Rudras who abide in the sky,
of black necks and white throats,
we unstring . . .

e. Those who of black necks and ruddy,
grass green, are in the trees,
we unstring . . .

f. The masters of creatures,
without top-knot, with braided hair,
we unstring . . .

g. Those that assault men in their food
and in their cups as they drink,
we unstring . . .

h. Those that guard the paths,
bearing food, warriors,
we unstring . . .

i. Those that resort to fords,
with spears and quivers,
we unstring . . .

k. The Rudras that, so many and yet more,
occupy the quarters, their bows we unstring,
we unstring their bows
at a thousand leagues—svāhā!

यास्ते सहस्रꣳ हेतयो-
ऽन्यमस्मन्नि वपन्तु ताः ॥
सहस्राणि सहस्रधा
बाहुवोस्तव हेतयः ।
तासामीशानो भगवः
पराचीना मुखा कृधि ॥
सहस्राणि सहस्रशो
ये रुद्रा अधि भूम्याम् ।
तेषाꣳ सहस्रयोजने-
ऽव धन्वानि तन्मसि ॥
अस्मिन् महत्यर्णवे-
ऽन्तरिक्षे भवा अधि ।...
नीलग्रीवाः शितिकण्ठाः
शर्वा अधः क्षमाचराः ।...
नीलग्रीवाः शितिकण्ठा
दिवꣳ रुद्रा उपश्रिताः ।...
ये वृक्षेषु सस्पिञ्जरा
नीलग्रीवा विलोहिताः ।...
ये भूतानामधिपतयो
विशिखासः कपर्दिनः ।...
ये अन्नेषु विविध्यन्ति
पात्रेषु पिबतो जनान् ।...
ये पथां पथिरक्षय
ऐलबृदा युव्युधः ।...
ये तीर्थानि प्रचरन्ति
सृकावन्तो निषङ्गिणः ।...
य एतावन्तश्च भूयाꣳसश्च
दिशो रुद्रा वितस्थिरे ।
तेषाꣳ सहस्रयोजने-
ऽव धन्वानि तन्मसि स्वाहा ॥

The yajamāna renounces to Rudra. The adhvaryu, facing west, holds the arka leaf at the height of his ankle, and recites together with the yajamāna:

1. Homage to the Rudras on earth,
whose arrows are food;
ten eastwards, ten to the south,
ten to the west, ten to the north,

नमो रुद्रेभ्यो ये पृथिव्यां
येषामन्नमिषवस्तेभ्यो
दश प्राचीर्दश दक्षिणा
दश प्रतीचीर्दशोदीची-

[1] Verses all end like 4.5.11 a.

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ten upwards;	दशोर्ध्वां-
homage to them,	स्तेभ्यो नम-
may they be merciful to us.	स्ते नो मृडयन्तु
Him whom we hate and who hates us,	ते यं द्विष्मो यश्च नो द्वेष्टि
I place him in your jaws—svāhā!	तं वो जम्भे दधामि स्वाहा ॥

The yajamāna renounces to Rudra. Then he recites, together with the adhvaryu, two similar mantras, replacing "on earth" and "food" in the above mantra, respectively, by "in the air" and "wind" in the second mantra, and by "in the sky" and "rain" in the third mantra. At each svāhā! the yajamāna renounces to Rudra. At the second mantra the adhvaryu holds the arka leaf at the height of his navel, and at the third at the height of his neck. This completes the oblation.

During this ceremony the udgātā sings his chants, which last even longer and continue after the Rudra recitation has been completed. Standing, later sitting, at his usual place, against the northern pole of the door immediately to the west of the tail, facing east, he chants 57 sāmans, together called Flow of Milk (*kṣīra-dhārā*): PLATE 81B

I. *hā hā vu vā / ōjas tad asya titviṣe / hā hā vu vā / ubhe yat samavartayāt / hā hā vu vā / indraś carmeva rodāsī //*
(GG 19.8.1, based upon RV 8.6.5)

II. *indro viśvasya rājati / ho yi ḷā //*
(GG 47.10.1; no ṛk)

III. *indro ho yi vā yi śvā / sya rājati ho vā / ho yi ḷā //*
(GG 47.10.2; no ṛk)

IV. *svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayā pavasva soma dhārayā indrāya pā / tavā ū tavā ū tavā vu vā au ho vā / sūtāḥ //*
(GG 49.2.7, based upon RV 9.1.1)

V. *induḥ paviṣṭa cetanaḥ priyaḥ kavīnāṃ matīs sṛjād aśvāṃ / ō vā ō vā / rāthā au ho vā / īva //*
(GG 50.5.3, based upon RV 9.64.10)

VI. *huve vācāṃ / vācaṃ vācaṃ huve vāk / śṛṇotu śṛṇotu vāg vāk / samaitu samaitu vāg vāk / ramatāṃ ramatāṃ ramātā au ho vā / ī hā ī hā ī ha //*
(AG 1.1; no ṛk)

VII. *huvā yi vācāṃ / vācaṃ huvā yi / vāk / śṛṇotu śṛṇotu vāg vāk / samaitu samaitu vāg vāk/ ramatāṃ ramatu vā au ho vā / mā yi mā yi mā yi //*
(AG 1.2; no ṛk)

VIII. *hā bu hā bu hā bū ēvā hy evā au ho vā / ē bhātāya / hā bu hā bu hā bu ēvā hy evā au ho vā / ē rūpāya / hā bu (etc.) / ē āyuṣe / hā bu*

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(etc.) / ē jyotiṣe //

(AG 1.4; no ṛk)

IX. *au ho vā* (3 x) / *aganma jyotir* (2 x) *aganma jyotiḥ / au ho vā* (3x) / *amṛtā abhūmā* (3 x) / *au ho vā* (3 x) / *pṛthivyā antarikṣam āruhāmā* (3x) / *au ho vā* (3 x) / *antarikṣād divam āruhāma* (3 x) / *au ho vā* (3 x) / *avidāma devān* (3 x) / *au ho vā* (3 x) / *sam u devair aganmahi* (3 x) / *au ho vā* (3 x) / *svargalokā abhūmā* (3 x) / *au ho vā* (4 x) / *ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 1.5; no ṛk)

X. *somās* (5 x) *somāḥ / yatra cakṣus tadā bhāra / yatra śrotran tadā bhāra / yatra rūpan tadā bhāra / yatra āyus tadā bhāra / yatra varcas tadā bhāra / yatra tejas tadā bhāra / yatra jyotis tadā bhāra / somās* (4 x) *somā rājan ho hā au ho vā / iḷ iḷā //*

(AG 1.6; no ṛk)

XI. *hā bu* (3 x) *somo vāyā bu* (3 x)/ *vāyo rājān* (3 x) / *rājan vāyā bu* (3 x) / *bhūya mātā yavā yavā yi / pūya mātā yavā yava yi / indro vāyus sama svarān / hā bu* (3 x) *somo vāyā bu* (3 x) / *vāyo rājān* (3 x) / *rājan vāyā bu* (3 x) / *au ho vā hā vu vā / ē vāyunā viśvāḥ prajā adyapāvathaḥ/*

(AG 2.4; no ṛk; "all beings are cleansed by the wind")

XII. *hā bu* (3 x) *ū* (3 x) *hū gnu* (3 x) *i yā hā vi yā hā vi yā hā bu / hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / iḷ iḷā //*

(AG 6.4; no ṛk)

XIII. *itā iti* (3 x) *itī ti ti mātṛṃścarati vatsakā* (3 x) *ā yi tā au ho vā / ē ity e ity e ity //*

(AG 8.1; no ṛk; "the little calf runs after its mother")

XIV. *svayaṃ skunvā yi* (5 x) *svayaṃ skunvā au ho vā / ē skunva ē skunva ē skunvā yi //*

(AG 8.2; no ṛk)

XV. *adhipatāyi mitrapatāyi kṣatrapatāyi suvaḥpatāyi / manyunā vṛtrahā sūryeṇa svarāḍ yajñena / maghavā dakṣiṇāsya priyā tanuranne nāgayaḥ / pṛthivyāsṛṇīkassamityaparameṣṭhī rājñāviśandādhāra / vṛṣabhatvaṣṭāvṛtreṇaśacīpatirvaṣaś kāreṇārddhabhāk / somena soma-pā agninā viśvaṃ bhūtam abhyabhapo vāyunā visvāḥ prajā abhyapāva-thaḥ / yedevādevādiviṣadasthatebhyovodevādevebhyonamaḥ / yedevādevā antarikṣasadasthatebhyovodevādevebhyonamaḥ / ye-devādevāḥ pṛthivisadaṣthatebhyovodevādevebhyonamaḥ / yedevādevā apsuṣadasthatebhyovodevādevebhyonamaḥ / yedevāde vādikṣusa-dasthatebhyovodevādevebhyonamaḥ / yedevādevābhūtasadasthate-bhyovodevādevebhyonamaḥ / avajyāmivadhanvanovitemanyunnayā-masi / mṛḷatānna ihā asmabhyam iḷā bhāya idaṃ viśvaṃ bhūtayyuyo ā vu vā / nāmāḥ //*

(AG 10.1; no ṛk)

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XVI. *adhipatāyi mitrapatāyi kṣatrapatāyi suvaḥpatāyi / namoniṣaṃgibhyaścopavītibhyaśca / nama uttatībhyaścottanvānebhyaśca / namasyatbhyaśca pratidadhānebhyaśca / namaḥ pravidyatbhyaśca pravyādhībhyaśca / namo dhāvatbhyaścābhidhāvatbhyaśca / namc ghnatbhyaśca jighāṃsatbhyaśca / namaśritebhyaśca śrāyiyebhyaśca / avajyāmivadhanvanovitemanyunnayāmasi / mṛḷatānna ihā asmabhyam iḷā bhāya idaṃ viśvaṃ bhūtayyuyo ā vu vā / nāmāḥ //*
(AG 10.2; no ṛk)

XVII. *adhipatāyi mitrapatāyi kṣatrapatāyi suvaḥpatāyi / namonnāyanamonnāpataya ē kākṣāyavapannādāya / namasthirāyasthiradhanvāneca / namas tryaṃbakāyacakapardineca / namas tiṣṭhatecopatiṣṭhateca / namas sayyatecaviyateca / namas saṃvṛtecavivṛteca / namaḥ pathecavipāthāyaca / avajyāmi . . .* (the rest of the sāman is the same) //
(AG 10.3; no ṛk)[1]

XVIII. *hā bu* (3 x) *aham annam* (3 x) *aham annādo* (3 x) *ahaṃ vidhārayo* (2 x) *ahaṃ vidhārayaḥ / hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco hiraṇyasya / yad vā varco gavām uta / satyasya brahmaṇo varcaḥ / tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *aham annam* (3 x) *. . . vidhārayaḥ* (*as beginning*) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē aham annam aham annādo ahaṃ vidhārayaḥ* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*
(AG 11.1, based upon JA 107.34)

XIX. *hā bu* (3 x) *ahaṃ saho* (2 x) *ahaṃ sahaḥ / ahaṃ sāsahir* (3 x) *ahaṃ sāsahāno* (2 x) *ahaṃ sāsahānaḥ / hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *aham saho* (2 x) *. . . sāsahānaḥ* (as beginning) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē ahaṃ saho ahaṃ sāsahir ahaṃ sāsahānaḥ* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*
(AG 11.2, based upon JA 107.34)

XX. *hā bu* (3 x) *ahaṃ varco* (2 x) *ahaṃ varcaḥ / hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *ahaṃ varco* (2 x) *ahaṃ varcaḥ / hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē ahaṃ varca* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*
(AG 11.3, based upon JA 107.34)

XXI. *hā bu* (3 x) *ahan tejo* (2 x) *ahan tejaḥ / hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *ahan tejo* (2 x) *ahan tejaḥ / hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē ahan teja* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*
(AG 11.4, based upon JA 107.34)

XXII. *hā bu* (3 x) *manojait* (3 x) *hṛdayamajait* (3 x) *indrojait* (3 x) *ahamajaiṣam* (3 x) */ hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā*

[1] AG 10.1–3 are even stranger than most of the others. Like the others, they have counterparts in the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda, which are different and equally strange.

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yi / hā bu (3 x) *manojait* (3 x) *hṛdayamajait* (3 x) *indrojait* (3 x) / *hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē manojaiddhṛdayamajaidindrojaidahamajaiṣaṃ* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 11.5, based upon JA 107.34)

XXIII. *hā bu* (3 x) *dišaṇduhe* (3 x) *dišauduhe* (3 x) *dišoduhe* (3 x) *sarvāduhe* (3 x) / *hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *. . . sarvāduhe* (3 x) / *hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē dišanduhe dišauduhe dišoduhe sarvāduhā* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 11.6, based upon JA 107.34)

XXIV. *hā bu* (3 x) *vāyo vāyo vayāh vayo vayo vayo vayo vayo vayaḥ / hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *vāyo . . . vayaḥ / hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē vayo vayo vaya* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 11.7, based upon JA 107.34)

XXV. *hā bu* (3 x) *rūpaṃ* (8 x) *rūpam / hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *rūpaṃ* (8 x) *rūpam / hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē rūpaṃ rūpaṃ rūpam* (3 x) *ē ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 11.8, based upon JA 107. 34)

XXVI. *hi hi yā au* (3 x) *udapaptam* (3 x) *ūrddhonabhāṃ syakṛṣi* (3 x) *vyadyaukṣam* (3 x) *atatanam* (3 x) / *hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hi hi yā au* (3 x) *. . . atatanam* (3 x) / *hā bu hā bu ha vu vā / ē udapaptam ūrddhonabhāṃ syakṛṣi vyadyaukṣam atatanam* (3 x) *ē pinvasvā yi //*

(AG 11.9, based upon JA 107.34)

XXVII. *ha bu* (3 x) *prathe* (3 x) *pratyaṣṭhāṃ* (3 x) / *hā bu* (3 x) *yad varco . . . tenamāsaṃ sṛjāmasā yi / hā bu* (3 x) *prathe* (3 x) *pratyaṣṭhāṃ* (3 x) *hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē prathe prathe pratyaṣṭhāṃ* (3 x) *e ahaṃ suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 11.10, based upon JA 107.34)[1]

XXVIII. *hā bu* (3 x) *ho* (3 x) *ō ho* (3 x) *ve ho* (3 x) / *prajā bhūtam ajījane iḷ iḷā //*

(AG 12.3; no rk)

XXIX. *hā bu* (3 x) *i ḷā* (3 x) *suvas suvas suvar jyotir jyotir jyotā au ho vā / ē iḷā suvar jyotiḥ //*

[1] Except for AG 11.9 and some irregularities, originally probably unintentional, the ten chants AG 11.1–10 exhibit a structure that may be expressed as: $A^nB^aC^a$ (n = 1, . . . , 10), where B represents the underlying mantra from JA 107.34. Furthermore, if A is represented as:

hā bu (3 x) a_1 (3 x) . . . a_i (3 x),

then C is of the form:

hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / e a_1 . . . a_i (3 x) *e suvar jyotiḥ.*

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Flow of Milk

(AG 12.4; no ṛk)

XXX. *hā bu* (3 x) *imā* (3 x) *prajāḥ* (3 x) *prajāpate hō yi* (2 x) *prajāpate hā vu vā / e hṛdayam* (3 x) *ā vu vā / prajā rūpam ajījane iḷ iḷā //*

(AG 12.5; no ṛk)

XXXI. *udyaṃ ḷokān arocayo ho imāṃ ḷokān arocayo hō yi / divaṃ sūryam arocayo hō yi viśvaṃ bhūtam arocayo hō hā au hō vā / ghārmo rocīt //*

(AG 12.6; no ṛk)

XXXII. *hā bu hā bu hā vā yi hī ā yi hī ā yi hī yo yo yo i yā hā vi yā hā vi yā hā bu sahas tan na indra daddhyojaḥ / a yō vā ū vā yō* (3 x) */ īse hyā syā mahato virāpśa yi / a yo vā ū vā yo* (3 x) */ kratun nanṛmṇaṃ sthaviraṅ ca vājāṃ / a yo vā ū vā yo* (3 x) */ vṛtreṣu śatrūn suhanā kṛdhā yi naḥ / a yo vā ū vā yo* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vā yi hī ā yi hī ā yi hī yo yo yo i yā hā vi yā hā vi yā hā vu vā / ē vratame suvar e śakunaḥ //*

(AG 12.10 based upon JA 107.37)

XXXIII. *hā bu* (3 x) *vo ha ha* (3 x) *ai hī* (3 x) *ai hī hā vu vā* (3 x) *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / prajātokam ajījane hās īhā / hā bu* (3 x) *vo ha ha* (3 x) *ai hī* (3 x) *ai hī hā vu vā* (3 x) *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ āyur* (3 x) *agnir asmi janmanā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā bu hā vu hā vu vā* (3 x) (*as before*) */ iha prajām iha rayiṃ rarāṇo hās īhā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ āyur āyur āyur jātavedā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā / hā vu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / rāyaspoṣāya sukṛtāyabhūyase hās īhā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ āyur āyur āyur ghṛtāme cakṣur amṛtaṃ ma āsannā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) *hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / aganvāmamidaṃ bṛhaddhās īhā / hā bu* (3 x) . . *hā ha bā* (3 x) */ āyur āyur āyus tridhātvarko rajaso vimānā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / idaṃ vāmam idaṃ bṛhaddhās īhā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ āyur āyur āyur ajasraṅ jyotā yi rā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā/ hā bu* (3 x) . . .*hā hā b* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / carācārāyabṛhata idaṃ vāmam idaṃ bṛhad dhās īhā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ āyur āyur āyur havir asmi sarvamā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā au ho ho vā i yā / hā bu* (3 x) . . . *hā hā bu* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ē yaśokrāt bhūtam atatanāt prajā usamacūkupat / paśubhyohās īhā* (2 x) *//*

(AG 12.11, based upon JA 107.8; cf. RV 3.26.7)

XXXIV. *pātiḥ pātīr divayā / pātiḥ pātīr antarikṣasya / pātiḥ pātiḥ pārthivasya / pātiḥ pātīr apāmokṣadhīnāṃ / pātīḥ pātīr viśvasya bhūtasya / pātiḥ pātīḥ pātā au ho vā / ē patir diva ē patir antarikṣasya / ē patiḥ pātīḥ pārthivāsya / ē patir apāmokṣadhīnām e patir viśvasya bhūtāsya*

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/ ē suvar jyotiḥ //

(AG 15.10; no ṛk)

XXXV. *hā bu* (3 x) *ēnyābu* (3 x) *ēnyā hā bu* (2 x) *ēnyā hā vu vā / ī //*

(AG 19.3; no ṛk)

XXXVI. *hā bu* (3 x) *ā ho ni* (3 x) *ā ho ni yā* (3 x) *au ho vā / ī //*

(AG 19.4; no ṛk)

XXXVII. *hā bu* (3 x) *hā ha ha ha ha hā bu* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ī //*

(AG 19.5; no ṛk)

XXXVIII. *hā bu* (3 x) *i hā ha ha ha ha hā bu* (3 x) */ hā bu hā bu hā vu vā / ī //*

(AG 19.6; no ṛk)

XXXIX. *santvā bhūtānyairayan ho yi* (3 x) */ santvā bhūtamairayaddhoyi* (3 x) */ santvā bhavyamairāyaddhoyi* (3 x) */ santvā bhaviṣyadairayaddhoyi* (3 x) */ vāṅmanaḥ prāṇaḥ prāṇaḥ prāṇopānovyānāś cākṣūś cākṣūś cākṣuḥ śrotraṃ ṣrotraṃ śrotraṃ śraddhā śraddhā śraddhā śrīr āyur āmṛtaṃ śarmā varmā bhūtiḥpratiṣṭhā / higī higi* (3 x) *higi higi higi gā higi* (3 x) */ ū vī uvi* (3 a) *u vī yu vī yu vī hā u vī* (3 x) */ higi i ti* (3 x) *itītīti hā iti* (3 x) */ asī asi* (3 x) *asi yasyasi hā yasi* (3 x) *arūruco divaṃ pṛthivīm asya sihāyasi* (3 x) */ patir asyapām oṣadhīnāmo yi patāyir asi* (3 x) */ cāyitran devānām ud agādanīkaṃ vā yiśveṣān devānāṃ samid ajasrañ jyotir ātatandivi ho yi vā yiśveṣān devānāṃ samid ajasrañ jyotir ātatandivi ho yi vā yiśveṣān devānāṃ samid ajasrañ jyotir ātatandivi ho āyuryann āyuryann āyuryan / āvā ava ava* (3 x) *cakṣur mitrasya varuṇasyāgneḥ / sṛp t pra sṛpī aihī* (3 x) */ asto ṣatasvabhāna vā aihī / viprānaviṣṭhayāmatā aihī / antardeveṣu rocatā aihī / grāvāṇo barhiṣi priyām aihī / indrasya rantyaṃ bṛhād aihī indrāsya rāntiyāṃ bṛhāt indrasya rantyaṃ bṛhād aihī / āprā dyāvā pṛthivī antarikṣaṃ suvas saṃsārpa saṃsarpās suvas saṃsārpa saṃsarpās suvas saṃsārpa saṃsarpāḥ / janāvanaṃ suvās suvaḥ janāvanāṃ suvās suvaḥ janāvanaṃ suvās suvāḥ / sūrya ātmā jagatās tasthuṣāś ca / āyaṃ gauḥ pṛśñirakramīd aihī / asadan mātaraṃ purā aihī / pitarañ ca prayan suvā aihī / antaś carati rocanā aihī / asya prāṇādapānatā aihī / vyakhyan mahiṣodivām aihī / triṃśaddhā mavirājatā aihī / vāk pataṃgāyadhīyatā aihī / prativastorahadyubhā aihī / pravāyati pravāyāti pravāyāti pravāyāti pravāyatā au ho vā / ē devādivā-jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.15: Āditya sāman, based upon JA 107.35.52,53,54; cf. RV 1.115.1)

XL. *hā bu* (3 x) *bhrājā* (3 x) *āyur āyur āyur udutyañjā udutayñjā udutyañjā / citran devānām udagād ānīkāṃ / hā bu* (3 x) *bhrājā* (3 x) *āyur āyur āyus tavedasan tavedasan tavedasaṃ / cakṣur mitrasya varuṇa-*

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syāgnāyiḥ / hā bu (3 x) *bhrājā* (3 x) *āyur* (3 x) *devaṃ vahā devaṃ vahā devaṃ vahā / āprā dyāvā pṛthivī antarikṣāṃ / hā bu* (3 x) *bhrājā* (3 x) *āyur āyur āyus tiketavas tiketavas tiketavaḥ / sūrya ātmā jagataś tasthuṣāś ca / hā bu* (3 x) *bhrājā* (3 x) *āyur* (3 x) *dṛśe viśvā* (3 x) */ sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuṣāś ca / hā bu* (3 x) *bhrājā* (3 x) *āyur* (3 x) *ya sūryayya sūryayya sūriyā au ho vā / hā bu* (3 x) *bhrājā* (3 x) *āyur* (2 x) *āya au ho vā / indur iḷā satyan dyaur bhūtaṃ pṛthivī sahasteja āpa uṣā diśo jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.20, based upon JA 107.35; cf. RV 1.115.1)

XLI. *bhūroṃ / bhūr ho yi bhūr ho yi bhūr hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.21; no ṛk)

XLII. *bhuvoṃ / bhuva ho yi bhuva ho yi bhuva hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.22; no ṛk)

XLIII. *suvoṃ / suva ho yi suva ho yi suva hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.23; no ṛk)

XLIV. *satyoṃ / satya ho yi satya ho yi satya hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.24; no ṛk)

XLV. *puruṣoṃ / puruṣa ho yi puruṣa ho yi puruṣa hā ā vu vā / ē suva· jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.25; no ṛk)

XLVI. *gauroṃ / gaur ho yi gaur ho yi gaur hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.26; no ṛk)

XLVII. *ḷokoṃ / ḷoka ho yi ḷoka ho yi ḷoka hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.27; no ṛk)

XLVIII. *agner hṛdayoṃ / agner hṛdaya ho agner hṛdaya ho agner hṛdaya hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.28; no ṛk)

XLIX. *dyauroṃ / dyaur ho yi dyaur ho yi dyaur hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.29; no ṛk)

L. *antarikṣoṃ / antarikṣa ho antarikṣa ho antarikṣa hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.30; no ṛk)

LI. *pṛthivyoṃ / pṛthivī ho yi pṛthivī ho yi pṛthivī hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //*

(AG 25.31; no ṛk)

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LII. *agnoṃ / agna ho agna ho agna hā ā vu vā / ē jyotiḥ //*
(AG 25.32; no ṛk)

LIII. *vāyoṃ / vāya ho yi vāya ho yi vāya hā ā vu vā / ē rājā //*
(AG 25.33; no ṛk)

LIV. *sūryoṃ / sūrya ho yi sūrya ho yi sūrya hā ā vu vā / ē bhrājā //*
(AG 25.34; no ṛk)

LV. *candroṃ / candra ho yi candra ho yi candra hā ā vu vā / ē ā bhrājā //*
(AG 25.35; no ṛk)

LVI. *nākoṃ / nāka ho yi nāka ho yi nāka hā ā vu vā / ē pṛṣṭhaṃ //*
(AG 25.36; no ṛk)

LVII. *śukroṃ / śukra ho yi śukra ho yi śukra hā ā vu vā / ē bhrāḷā bhrājā //*
(AG 25.37; no ṛk)

As we have seen earlier, the brief songs composed on single words from the end of the Moon Chants (candrasāmāni) of AG 25.21–37 occur throughout the Agnicayana. Of the seventeen Flow of Milk chants XLI-LVII, five occur only here, while the remaining twelve are also found elsewhere. The last six, LII-LVII, are also among the Space Filler chants (pages 443–444). Table 15 provides a survey of the chants, the words they are composed on, and their occurrence.

Long before the udgātā has completed his Flow of Milk chants, the adhvaryu's recitation for Rudra is over. At the end of his oblation, the adhvaryu throws the arka leaf away and puts some seeds (called *celanni* in Malayalam) on brick no. 189, reciting:

Rudra in fire,
in waters, in plants,
Rudra that has entered all beings,
to that Rudra homage—svāhā!

यो रुद्रो अग्नौ
यो अप्सु य ओषधीषु
यो रुद्रो विश्वा भुवनाऽऽविवेश
तस्मै रुद्राय नमो अस्तु स्वाहा ॥

(TS 5.5.9.3i)

After renouncing to Rudra, the yajamāna takes a bow and three arrows and goes clockwise round the altar, making five stops with the following recitations:

I. Rudra, may the wind blow for you
after your bow in the east,
I pay homage to you, Rudra
with the year!

यत् ते रुद्र पुरो धनु-
स्तद्वातो अनु वातु ते
तस्मै ते रुद्र संवत्सरेण
नमस्करोमि ।

II. Rudra, may the wind blow for you
after your bow in the south,

यत् ते रुद्र दक्षिणा धनु-
स्तद्वातो अनु वातु ते

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DISTRIBUTION OF SEVENTEEN MOON CHANTS (candrasāmāni)

AG 25	Flow of Milk	Space Filler	Elsewhere
21 bhūrom "earth"	XLI	–	perforated pebble on first layer (Episode 13, page 419)
22 bhuvom "sky"	XLII	–	perforated pebble on third layer (Episode 15, page 461)
23 suvom "heaven"	XLIII	–	perforated pebble on fifth layer (Episode 17, page 505)
24 satyom "truth"	XLIV	–	lotus leaf (Episode 12, page 411)
25 puruṣom "man"	XLV	–	golden man (Episode 12, page 417)
26 gaurom "cow"	XLVI	–	–
27 ḷokom "place"	XLVII	–	–
28 agner hṛdayom "Agni's heart"	XLVIII	–	around altar (Episode 18, page 542)
29 dyaurom "heaven"	XLIX	–	–
30 antarikṣom "sky"	L	–	–
31 pṛthivyom "earth"	LI	–	–
32 agnom "fire"	LII	III	–
33 vāyom "wind"	LIII	IV	–
34 sūryom "sun"	LIV	V	–
35 candrom "moon"	LV	VI	–
36 nākom "vault"	LVI	VII	–
37 śukrom "glow" (or the planet Venus)	LVII	VIII	–

TABLE 15

तस्मै ते रुद्र परिवत्सरेण
नमस्करोमि।
यत् ते रुद्र पश्चाद्धनु-
स्तद्धातो अनु वातु ते
तस्मै ते रुद्रेदावत्सरेण
नमस्करोमि।
यत् ते रुद्रोत्तराद्धनु-
स्तद्धातो अनु वातु ते

I pay homage to you, Rudra,
with the full year!

III. Rudra, may the wind blow for you
after your bow in the west,
I pay homage to you, Rudra,
with the Idā year!

IV. Rudra, may the wind blow for you
after your bow in the north,

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I pay homage to you, Rudra,
with the idu year!
V. Rudra, may the wind blow for you
after your bow above,
I pay homage to you, Rudra,
with the year!

(TS 5.5.7.2–4)

तस्मै ते रुद्रेदुवत्सरेण
नमस्करोमि।
यत् ते रुद्रोपरि धनु-
स्तद्वातो अनु वातु ते
तस्मै ते रुद्र वत्सरेण
नमस्करोमि।

A jar with water is given to the pratiprasthātā, and the adhvaryu addresses him:

With this water jar
go around three times clockwise,
sprinkling with a continuous stream!

(BŚS 10.48:49.13–15)

अनेनोदकुम्भेन
संततया धारया
त्रिः प्रदक्षिणं परिषिञ्चन् परीहि ॥

PLATE 83 The pratiprasthātā does so. At the same time, yajamāna and adhvaryu recite:

Strength resides in stone, in mountain,
in wind, in rain, in the breath of Varuna,
collected from waters, plants, trees.
Maruts! Give us generously
of that food and strength!

(TS 4.6.1.1a)

अश्मन्नूर्ज पर्वते शिश्रियाणां
वाते पर्जन्ये वरुणस्य शुष्मे।
अद्भ्य ओषधीभ्यो वनस्पतिभ्यो-
ऽधि संभृतां तां न इषमूर्जं
धत्त मरुतः सꣳरराणाः ॥

After the pratiprasthātā has put down the jar, the adhvaryu, touching it, says:

Your hunger is in the stone;
let your pain reach the evil-doer,
whom we hate!

(TS 4.6.1.1b)

अश्मꣳस्ते क्षुत्
पाप्मानं ते शुगृच्छतु
यं द्विष्मः।

Then the pratiprasthātā goes three times round the altar counterclockwise, and without pouring water. The adhvaryu ties the representation of a frog, an avakā plant, and some darbha grass to a bamboo pole. With the pole he drags these objects twice in the eastern, southern, western and northern parts of the center, with eight mantras:

c. Agni, we surround you
with ocean wind,
be purifying and auspicious to us!
d. Agni, we surround you
with what is left of winter,
be purifying and auspicious to us!
e. Descend upon earth, upon reeds,
upon the lower waters;

समुद्रस्य त्वाऽवाक्या-
ऽग्ने परि व्ययामसि।
पावको अस्मभ्यꣳ शिवो भव ॥
हिमस्य त्वा जरायुणा-
ऽग्ने परि व्ययामसि।
पावको अस्मभ्यꣳ शिवो भव ॥
उप ज्मन्नुप वेतसे-
ऽवत्तरं नदीष्वा।

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Agni, bile of waters!
f. Frog, come here with these,
make this ritual
beautiful and auspicious!
g. Pure, with wonderful radiance,
he has shone on earth
as with the light of dawn!
h. Moving to battle
with strength as on Etaśa's course,
in heat thirstless and unaging!
i. Agni, purifying, with your light,
god with your charming tongue,
bring the gods here and sacrifice!
k. Agni, shining and purifying,
bring the gods here
to our ritual and oblation!

(TS 4.6.1.1c – 3k)

अग्ने पित्तमपामसि ॥

मण्डूकि ताभिरा गहि सेमं नो यज्ञम् ।
पावकवर्णꣳ शिवं कृधि ॥

पावक आ चितयन्त्या कृपा ।
क्षामन् रुरुच उषसो न भानुना ॥

तूर्वन् न यामन्नेतशस्य नू रण आ यो घृणे ।
न तंतृषाणो अजरः ॥

अग्ने पावक रोचिषा मन्द्रया देव जिह्वया ।
आ देवान वꣳश्चि यक्षि च ॥

स नः पावक दीदिवोऽग्ने देवाꣳ इहाऽऽ वह ।
उप यज्ञꣳ हविश्च नः ॥

Moving around the center of the altar, the adhvaryu makes the snake oblations (*sarpāhuti*) with six mantras across the center. The first mantra is recited by the adhvaryu sitting west of the center:

Favorable by name:
you are the eastern quarter,
Agni is your master,
the black snake your guardian,
homage to master and guardian!
May they be gentle to us!
Him whom we hate and who hates us,
I place within the jaws of you two—svāhā!

(TS 5.5.10.1 a)

समीची नामासि प्राची दिक्
तस्यास्तेऽग्निरधिपतिः
रसितो रक्षिता
यश्चाधिपतिर्यश्च गोप्ता
ताभ्यां नम-
स्तौ नो मृडयतां
तौ यं द्विष्मो यश्च नो द्वेष्टि
तं वां जम्भे दधामि स्वाहा ॥

The yajamāna renounces to Agni/black snake. The next five mantras are similarly structured, but quarter, master, and guardian change, and the yajamāna renounces each time to the combination master/guardian. The adhvaryu sits north, east, south, and two times west of the center, respectively:

QUARTER	MASTER	GUARDIAN
mighty: southern	Indra	scorpion
forward: western	Soma	viper
stable: northern	Varuṇa	striped snake
mistress: great	Bṛhaspati	white snake
powerful: this	Yama	snake with spotted neck

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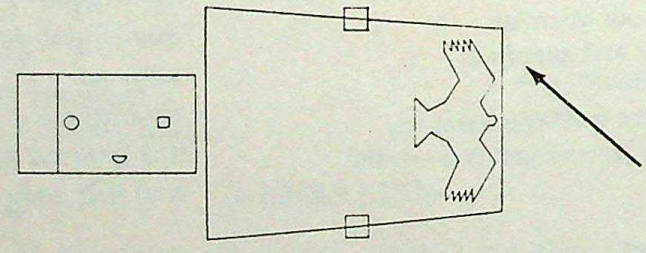
PLATE 83

Pouring Water Around Agni

"Strength resides in stone, in mountain,
in wind, in rain, in the breath of Varuṇa,
collected from waters, plants, trees.
Maruts! Give us generously
of that food and strength!"

(TS 4.6.1.1 a)

While the adhvaryu makes the yajamāna recite this verse, the pratiprasthātā goes three times clockwise round the altar, pouring a continuous stream of water from a jar with a spout and two breasts. The Sūtra text specifies that the circumambulation and pouring should be done by a strong man (balavān: BŚS 10.48:49.13).



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When this is over, the udgātā chants ten sāmans around the altar:

(1) *Gāyatram* at the head of the bird:

agna āyūṃṣi pavasoṃ / ā suvorjam iṣañcā nā āre bādhāsvā dā hṃ bhā au vā // agne pavasva svapoṃ / asme varcas suvīrāyān dādhat poṣāṃ rāyā hṃ bhā au vā // agnir ṛṣiḥ pavamānoṃ / pāñcajanyaḥ purohāyitās tāmīmāhāyi māhā hṃ bhā au vā //

(RG = Ūṣāṇi 1.8, based upon JA 108.29; cf. RV 9.66.19–21)

(2) *Ṛathantaram* at the southern wing:

ōbhitvāś śūra nonumovā / ādugdhā iva dhenava īśānam asya jagatas suvārdṛśāṃ / īśānamayindrā / tāsthūṣā o vā hā vu vā / ās // īśovā / nām indra tasthuṣo na tvāvaṃ anyo divyo na pārthivaḥ / na jāto nā jā / nāyiṣyātā o vā hā vu vā / ās // na jo vā / to na janiṣyate śvāyanto maghavann indra vājinaḥ / gavyantās tvā hā / vāmāhā o vā hā vu vā / ās //

(RG = Ūṣāṇi 1.9, based upon JA 63.1: cf. RV 7.32.22–23)

(3) *Bṛhat* at the northern wing:

au hō yi tvām iddhi havāmahā ē / sātau vājāsyā kārāvaḥ / tūvā au hō vā / vṛtrāyiṣuvāyindrā sā otpātinnāraḥ tuvāṅkāṣṭhā au hō vā / sāvarvātā hō vā hā vu vā / hās // au hō yi tuvāme / kāṣṭāsūvarvātaḥ / sa tvā au hō vā / naścāyitra vājrāhā ō stā dhṛṣṇuyā / maha stavā au hō vā / no adrāyivā hō vā hā vu vā / hās // au hō yi mahā ē / stāvāno adrāyivaḥ / gāmā au hō vā / śuvaṃ rathāyāmā ō yindrā saṅkāyirā / satrā vājā au hō vā / nā jāyigyūṣāyi hō vā hā vu vā / hās //

(RG = Ūṣāṇi 1.10, translated below page 642; based upon JA 74.7, cf. RV 6.46.1–2)

(4) *Ṛtuṣṭhā-yajñāyajñīya* at the tail:

vāsantā innu rantiyaḥ / grīṣma intu rāntiyaḥ / varṣāṇi innu śā hṃ māyi / rādaḥ / hemanta śiśira innū rāntiyābu / vā //

(AG 8.3, based upon JA 107.23)

(5) *Vāravantīya* at the southern shoulder:

aśvan na tvā bu ho hā yi / vārāvāntam / vanndadhyo hā yi / agnā yinnamā au ho vā i ho hā yi / uhuvā diḥ / saṃrājantām addhvārā au ho vā i ho vā yi / ū hū vā ṇām ehiyāhā / hō yi ḷā //

(GG 2.7.3; based upon RV 1.27.1)

(6) *Śyaitam* at the northern shoulder:

abhi pra vas surādhasā au ho vā / ā yindram ārca yathā vidā o hā yi / yo jaritṛbhyo māghāvā purovāsuḥ / sahasreṇāyivā śa hṃ māyi

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kṣātā au ho vā / vāsu /
(GG 25.3.3, translated below page 644; based upon RV 8.49.1)

(7) *Prajāpater hṛdayam* at the southern hip:

hābu hābu hābu imā imā imā prajāḥ prajāḥ prajāḥ prajā pate ho yi prajā pate ho yi prajā pate hāvu vā / ē hṛdayam e hṛdayam e hṛdayā ā vu vā / prajā rupam ajī jane iḷ i ḷā //
(AG 12.5; no ṛk)

(8) *Agner vrata* at the northern hip:

bhrājā vu vo vā bhrājā vu vo vā bhrājā vu vo vā / agnir mūrdhā divaḥ kākut / patiḥ pṛthivyā āyāṃ / apāṃ retāṃsi jāyinvātāyi / bhrājā vu vo vā bhrājā vu vo vā bhrājā vu vo bā / ē viśvasya jagato jyotiḥ//
(AG 5.3, based upon JA 3.7; cf. RV 8.44.16; page 492)

(9) *Agner arka* at the head: PLATE 84

ho ho vā i yā ho ho vā ī yā ho ho vā ī yā / agnir mūrdhā divaḥ kākut / patiḥ pṛthivyā āyāṃ / apāṃ retāṃsi jāyinvātāyi / ho ho vā ī yā ho ho vā ī yā ho ho vā ī yā au ho vā/ ē gnir mūrdhā dūva divāḥ //
(AG 15.5; same ṛk)

(10) *Vāmadevya* on the body:

kāyā naścā yi trāya bhuvat / ūtis sadāvṛdha sakhā au ho hā yi ka yā śa cā yi / ṣṭayau hō hṃ mā / vārtto / hā yi // kāstvā satyo mādānāṃ / māṃhiṣṭhomāt sadantasā au hō hā yi / dhṛḍhācidā / rujau hō hṃ mā / vāso / hā yi // abhiṣunas sākhīnāṃ / avitā jarāyitṛṇām au hō hā yi śatām bhava / siyau ho hṃ mā / tā yo hā yi //
(UG 2.1, based upon JA 63.3; cf. page 643)

The order in which the udgātā went around the bird was not straightforward. After completing his sāmans, the udgātā takes yajamāna and adhvaryu around the bird, but this time going clockwise. At each point he instructs the yajamāna the text of the song, and yajamāna and adhvaryu repeat after him. The idea is that yajamāna and adhvaryu should recite at least the text of the sāmans; the udgātā is therefore not essential. When Nellikat Akkitiripad (a Sāmavedin) was yajamāna, C.V. Krishnan was also adhvaryu; so Nellikat merely instructed hin. When Nellikat's father performed the agnicayana, the adhvaryu himself was a Sāmavedin; hence no instruction was required.

Though the idea is (or was originally) simple, there are complications. There are nine sāmans for the yajamāna, instead of ten. There is one sāman for the yajamāna that the udgātā did not sing. There are therefore two sāmans that the udgātā sang and the yajamāna does not recite. The correspondence between the sāmans of the udgātā and of the yajamāna is as follows:

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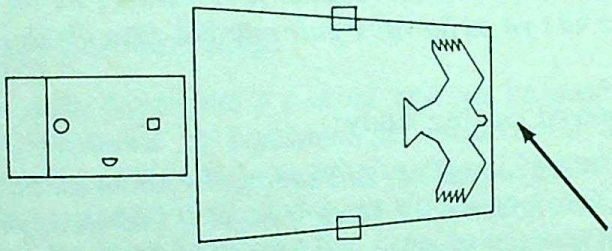
PLATE 84

Chants Around Agni

The udgātā chants ten sāmans around the altar. On the plate, he addresses the head of the bird, which is not seen, though stepping stones in front of it are. His chant is derived from a verse of the Ṛgveda (8.44.16), which extolls Agni as the head and the palate of heaven.



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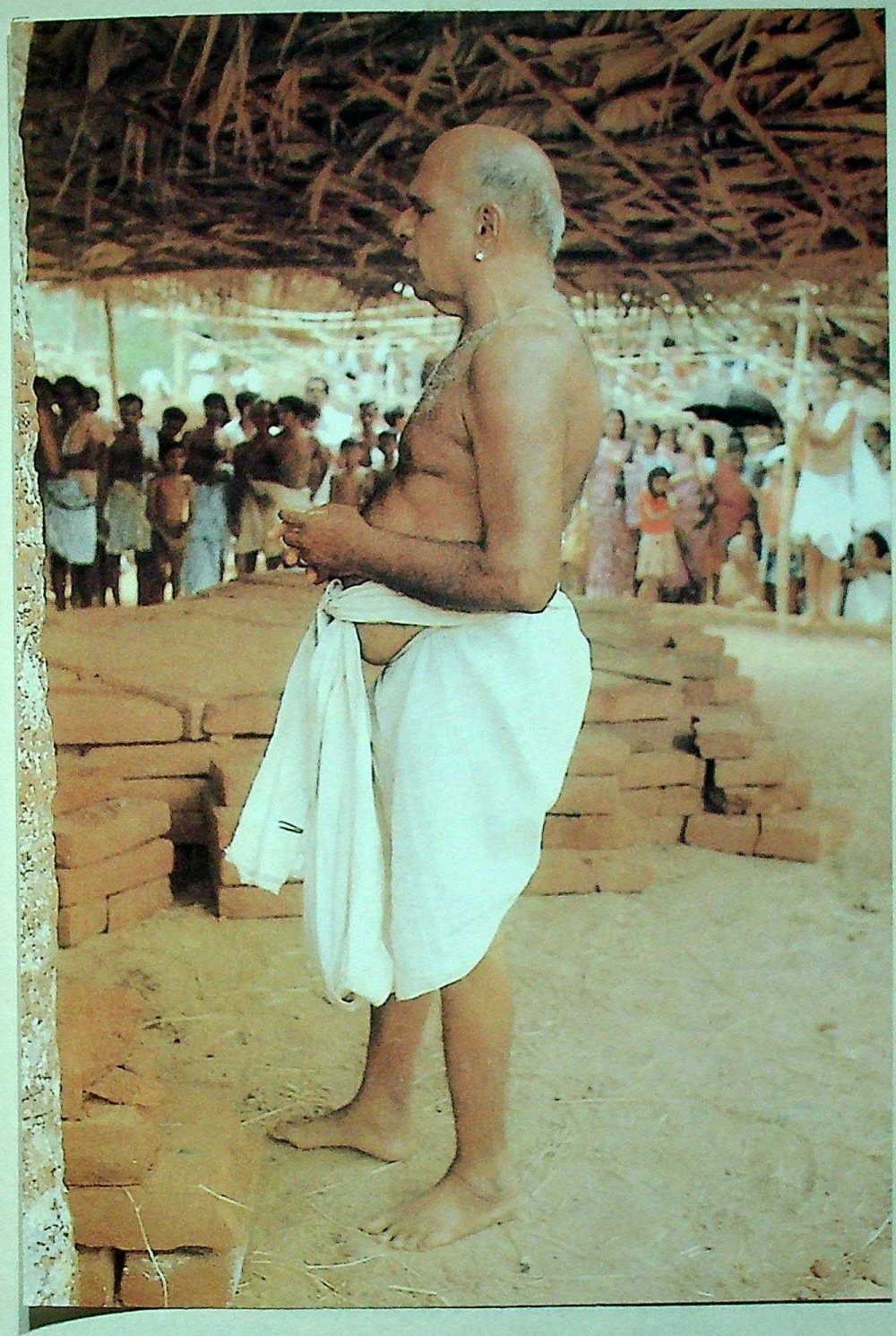

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PART II THE 1975 PERFORMANCE

YAJAMĀNA's Sāmans	UDGĀTĀ's Sāmans
head	(1)
southern shoulder	AG 25.28
southern wing	(2)
southern hip	(5)
tail	(4)
northern hip	(6)
northern wing	(3)
northern shoulder	(7)
body	(10)

The text of the new sāman is:

agner hṛdayoṃ / agner hṛdaya ho agner hṛdaya ho agner hṛdaya hā ā vu vā / ē suvar jyotiḥ //

(AG 25.28)

The adhvaryu addresses the hotā:

Hotā! Praise Agni
with Agni's uktha laud!

होतरग्नेरुक्थेनाग्निमनुशंस ॥

(BŚS 10.49:51.2)

The hotā recites:

Father Mātariśvan, make the dwellings flawless,
flawless dwellings such as the Uśijs have made.
Let Soma, omniscient leader, be leader;
let Bṛhaspati recite the hymns and acclamations!
(TS 5.6.8.6h)

पिता मातरिश्वाऽच्छिद्रा पदा धा
अच्छिद्रा उशिजः पदाऽनु तक्षुः
सोमो विश्वविन्नेता नेषद्-
बृहस्पतिरुक्थामदानि शꣳसिषत् ॥

Yajamāna and adhvaryu recite at the same time:

The ritual offered by Bhṛgus and Vasus
fulfills our wishes;
may I here enjoy wealth
of you thus offered and approached.
(TS 5.6.8.6g)

इष्टो यज्ञो भृगुभि-
राशीर्दा वसुभि-
स्तस्य त इष्टस्य वीतस्य
द्रविणेह भक्षीय ॥

Finally the adhvaryu, prompted by a helper, recites:

You are Agni, common to all men;
you are the year;

अग्निरसि वैश्वानरोऽसि ।
संवत्सरोऽसि

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you are the full year;	परिवत्सरोऽसि ।
you are the idā year, the idu year;	इदावत्सरोऽसीदुवत्सरोऽसि ।
you are the id year, the year;	इद्वत्सरोऽसि वत्सरोऽसि ।
your head is its spring;	तस्य ते वसन्तः शिरः ।
your southern wing, summer;	ग्रीष्मो दक्षिणः पक्षः ।
your tail, the rains;	वर्षाः पुच्छम् ।
your northern wing, autumn;	शरदुत्तरः पक्षः ।
your middle, winter;	हेमन्तो मध्यम् ।
altars, the waxing moons;	पूर्वपक्षाश्चितयः ।
mud, the waning moons;	अपरपक्षाः पुरीषम् ।
bricks are nights and days!	अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः ।
Its months and half-months	तस्य ते मासा-
should be ordered for you;	श्चार्धमासाश्च कल्पन्ताम् ।
its seasons ordered for you;	ऋतवस्ते कल्पन्ताम् ।
the year ordered for you;	संवत्सरस्ते कल्पताम् ।
nights and days ordered for you!	अहोरात्राणि ते कल्पन्ताम्
It comes, proceeds, departs, meets, rises!	एति प्रेति वीति समित्युदिति ।
Let Prajāpati seat you,	प्रजापतिस्त्वा सादयतु ।
With that god,	तया देवतयाऽङ्गिरस्वद् ध्रुवः सीद ॥
In the Aṅgiras manner,	
Sit firm!	
(TA 4.19.1)	

While reciting the last lines, the adhvaryu stands at the northern hip and touches the five layers, from top to bottom (as he will do twice more on the tenth day: see below, pages 599 and 654). He receives his sacrificial fee.

All return to the Old Hall to perform the evening Pravargya, Upasad, and the other ceremonies. The bird-shaped altar of Agni has been completed, strengthened with chants and recitations, and pacified. It is now ready for service. Thus ends the eighth day.

Ninth Day: April 21, 1975

EPISODE 19

Further Ceremonies on the Altar

AFTER THE MORNING Pravargya and Upasad are performed in the Old Hall, and the Subrahmaṇyā chant on the utkara, the adhvaryu goes on the altar and makes five āghāra butter libations diagonally over the naturally perforated pebble at the center, reciting:

To him that sits in man,	नृषदे वट् ।
To him that sits in waters,	अप्सुषदे वट् ।
To him that sits in forests,	वनसदे वट् ।
To him that sits on sacrificial grass,	बर्हिषदे वट् ।
To him that finds heaven!	सुवर्विदे वट् ।
(TS 4.6.1.3n)	

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Then he makes oblations of curds mixed with honey over the center, six times, facing east, south, east, north, and twice east, reciting:

(1) You are missiles by name,
your homes are in the east,
your arrows are Agni.
Water is wind's name,
homage to you, be gentle to us!
Him whom we hate and who hates us
I place in your jaws—svāhā!

हेतयो नाम स्थ
तेषां वः पुरो गूहा
अग्निर्व इषवः
सलिलो वातनामं
तेभ्यो वो नमस्ते नो मृडयत
ते यं द्विष्मो यश्च नो द्वेष्टि
तं वो जम्भे दधामि स्वाहा ॥

after which the yajamāna renounces to the missiles;

(2) You are smearers by name,
your homes are in the south,
your arrows are the ancestors.
Ocean is wind's name, etc.

निलिम्पा नाम स्थ
तेषां वो दक्षिणा गूहाः
पितरो व इषवः
सगरो वातनामं...

after which the yajamāna renounces to the smearers;

(3) You are bolt bearers by name,
your homes are in the west,
your arrows are sleep.
Cleft is wind's name, etc.

वज्रिणो नाम स्थ
तेषां वः पश्चाद् गूहाः
स्वप्नो व इषवो
गह्वरो वातनामं...

Yajamāna renounces to the bolt bearers;

(4) You are stable by name,
your homes are in the north,
your arrows are waters.
Sea is wind's name, etc.

अवस्थावानो नाम स्थ
तेषां व उत्तराद् गूहा
आपो व इषवः
समुद्रो वातनामं...

Yajamāna renounces to the stable;

(5) You are masters by name,
your homes are above,
your arrows are rain.
Helper is wind's name, etc.

अधिपतयो नाम स्थ
तेषां व उपरि गूहा
वर्षं व इषवो-
ऽवस्वान् वातनामं...

Yajamāna renounces to the masters;

(6) You are raw-flesh eaters by name,
your homes are here,
your arrows are food.
Winking is wind's name, etc.

क्रव्या नाम स्थ पार्थिवा-
स्तेषां व इह गूहा
अन्नं व इषवो-
ऽनिमिषो वातनामं...

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Yajamāna renounces to the raw-flesh eaters.
(TS 5.5.10.3c)

The adhvaryu addresses the pratiprasthātā:

Pratiprasthātā! Make this Agni spotted like a tortoise!
प्रतिप्रस्थातरिममग्निं कूर्मग्रीवन्तं कुरु ।
(BŚS 10.50:52.13)

The pratiprasthātā sprinkles curds mixed with honey, with the help of a thick bundle of darbha grass, over the altar in the eastern, southern, western, and northern directions, reciting each time:

o. Gods among gods, reverends among reverends,
who await their yearly share,
who do not eat oblations,
in this ritual enjoy honey and butter!
ये देवा देवानां यज्ञियां यज्ञियानाꣳ
संवत्सरीणमुपं भागमासते ।
अहुतादो हविषो यज्ञे अस्मि-
न्त्स्वयं जुहुध्वं मधुनो घृतस्य ॥

p. Gods who attain godhead above gods,
who lead the way to this brahman,
without whom no place is pure,
are not on the summits of earth or sky!
(TS 4.6.1.4o-p)
ये देवा देवे वधि देवत्वमायन्
ये ब्रह्मणः पुरएतारो अस्य ।
येभ्यो नते पवते धाम किं चन
न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधि स्नुषु ॥

While the pratiprasthātā makes Agni spotted by sprinkling curds mixed with honey, the udgātā chants three sāmans:

I. *agner vratam* "Agni's will": see above pages 338, 373.

II. *o ha yi dadhi grāviṇṇo / akārişam o hā yi / o hā yi jişṇor aśvasya vājinā ō hā yi / surabhi no mukhā kārāt / pra nā ho āyū hoṃşi tā rā yişāt / ō yi ḷā //*
(GG 37.7, cf. RV 4.39.5)

III. *sa pūrvyo maho nā me / venaḥ kratubhāyi rānāje hā hā au ho vā ā yi hī / yasya dvārā mānūḥ pītā hā hā au ho vā ā yi hī / dā yi vā yi şū hā ha au ho vā ā yi hī / dhiya ānājā au ho vā / madhūś cūtaḥ //*
(GG 37.4, cf. RV 8.63.1)

The adhvaryu covers the altar with avakā plants from a basket and addresses a protector:

Protect this fire altar!
इममग्निं गोपय ।
(cf. BŚS 10.51:52.19)

All return to the Old Hall for the last Pravargya and Upasad. Then follows the disposal of the Pravargya implements, which occurs also in the Agniṣṭoma (provided the Pravargya ceremonies have been performed). Slowly

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moving in procession, yajamāna, brahman, adhvaryu, and pratiprasthātā carry the Pravargya implements in a basket and on the mahāvīra stool out of the eastern door of the Old Hall. They are accompanied by the yajamāna's wife, the prastotā, and the agnīdh. There are three stops at which the prastotā sings a sāman (for the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya songs, see Van Buitenen, 1968, 126–129). After the cortege arrives at the Agni altar, the Pravargya basket and stool are placed upon it. The pratiprasthātā goes clockwise around the altar pouring water from a sambharaṇi jug, with chant and recitation. He repeats his round, after which the stool is taken from the altar.

PLATE 85 The Pravargya implements are placed upon the altar in the shape of a man. First the adhvaryu, sitting on the altar, puts on brick no. 12 of the fifth layer some soil left from the Pravargya mound. He smooths and sprinkles it, and puts a piece of antelope skin on the northeastern corner. Then he sprinkles rice flour, grass, and sand three times over the area. With recitations from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka he pours a mixture of curds and honey into the mahāvīra pot and the two spare pots, and adds bundles of veda grass. All the implements are then put down in the shape of a man. Afterwards the adhvaryu sprinkles sand, grass, flour, and the mixture of curds and honey, which is followed by recitations and several chants by the prastotā.

Back in the Old Hall several oblations into the new domestic fire pave the way for the Carrying Forth of Agni (next episode). First comes a butter oblation for Agni Anīkavat, "Agni of Foremost Rank," made by the adhvaryu standing west of the altar, reciting:

r. May Agni with his piercing blaze,
cut down every enemy;
may Agni gain wealth for us!

अग्निस्तिग्मेन शोचिषा
यꣳसद्विश्वं न्यत्रिणम्
अग्निर्नो वꣳसते रयिम् ॥

s. Of foremost rank and gentle
he will perform our ritual for the gods,
skillful in gaining prosperity through ritual.
Undeceived guardian and protector,
Agni, radiate with brilliance and wealth - svāhā!
(TS 4.6.1.5 r-s)

सैनानीकेन सुविदत्रो अस्मे
यष्टा देवाꣳ आयजिष्ठः स्वस्ति ।
अदब्धो गोपा उत नः परस्पा
अग्ने द्युमदुत रेवदिहि स्वाहा ॥

The yajamāna renounces to Agni Anīkavat.

The adhvaryu then makes two oblations of clarified butter for Viśvakarman, "all-maker," architect of the universe. At the first oblation he recites:

a. The seer, taking his place as hotā,
our father, offering all these worlds,
seeking wealth through prayer,
has entered subsequent creatures,
hiding those who came first.[1]

य इमा विश्वा भुवनानि जुह्व-
दृषिर्होता न्यसीदत् पिता नः ।
स आशिषा द्रविणमिच्छमानः
प्रथमच्छदवराꣳ आ विवेश ।

[1] I follow the parallel Ṛgveda 10.81.1, which makes more sense.

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b. Viśvakarman being with strong mind,
creator, disposer, and highest seer,
their offerings rejoice in food
where the One is said to be
beyond the seven seers.

विश्वकर्मा मनसा यद्विहाया
धाता विधाता परमोत संदृक् ।
तेषामिष्टानि समिषा मदन्ति
यत्र सप्तऋषीन् पर एकमाहुः ॥

c. Our father, begetter, disposer,
who begot us from being unto being,
who alone gives names to the gods,
others come to question him.

यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता
यो नः सतो अभ्या सजजान ।
यो देवानां नामधा एक एव
तꣳ संप्रश्नं भुवना यन्त्यन्या ॥

d. By offering to him they gained wealth,
the seers of old like numerous singers
who created worlds lit and unlit
in the expanse of space.

त आयजन्त द्रविणꣳ समस्मा
ऋषयः पूर्वे जरितारो न भूना ।
असूर्ता सूर्ता रजसो विमाने
ये भूतानि समकृण्वन्निमानि ॥

e. You will not find him who has created,
some obstacle is in your way.
Enveloped in mists and stammering,
taking life, the reciters wander.[1]

न तं विदाथ य इदं जजानान्-
यद् युष्माकमन्तरं बभूवाति ।
नीहारेण प्रावृता जल्प्या चासु-
तृपं उक्थशासश्चरन्ति ॥

f. Beyond sky, beyond this earth,
beyond gods, hidden from demons,
what germ the waters received first
When all gods came together?

परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्या
परो देवेभिरसुरैर्गुहा यत् ।
कꣳ स्विदर्भं प्रथमं दध्र आपो
यत्र देवाः समगच्छन्त विश्वे ॥

g. This first germ the waters received
when all gods came together,
one resides in unborn's navel
where all this world rests.

तमिदर्भं प्रथमं दध्र आपो
यत्र देवाः समगच्छन्त विश्वे ।
अजस्य नाभावध्येकमर्पितं
यस्मिन्निदं विश्वं भुवनमधि श्रितम् ॥

h. God Viśvakarman was born,
second the celestial genius,
third the father, begetting plants,
he deposited the waters' germ in many places.

विश्वकर्मा ह्यजनिष्ट देव
आदिद्गन्धर्वो अभवद् द्वितीयः ।
तृतीयः पिता जनितौषधीना-
मपां गर्भं व्यदधात् पुरुत्रा स्वाहा ॥

The yajamāna renounces to Viśvakarman, the ladle is refilled, and the second oblation is made with:

i. Father of the eye, seeing with his mind,
he created these two (heaven and earth)
as butter oblation;
when the eastern boundaries were fixed,
heaven and earth extended.

चक्षुषः पिता मनसा हि धीरो
घृतमेने अजनन्नन्नमाने ।
यदेदन्ता अदृꣳहन्त पूर्व
आदिद् द्यावापृथिवी अप्रथेताम् ॥

k. Eyes and faces on all sides,

विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखो

[1] Geldner notes that the poet here ridicules ritualists, who mutter mantras and kill animals but do not know how to find the supreme deity.

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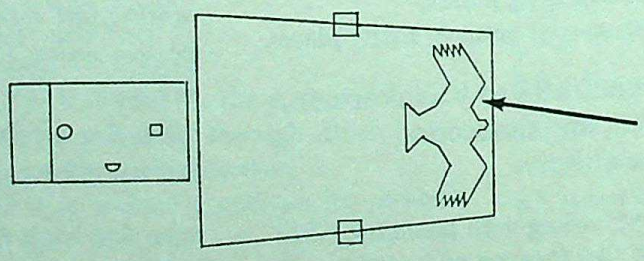
PLATE 85

Deposition of Pravargya Implements in the Shape of a Man

"You who are shaped like a man, do not sit in our mouth.
Upright or oblique, I am not ordained in your manner,
you are ordained in my manner.
What you are that I am; what I am that is you.
Go to heaven jointly with the yajamāna!"

(BŚS 9.16:288.19–289.2)

After the last Pravargya ceremony has been performed, its implements are carried in procession from the Old Hall to the completed sacrificial altar. There they are deposited, in the shape of a man, on the northern side of the body of the bird-shaped altar. The adhvaryu performs this rite, guided by an expert who knows exactly how the implements should be placed.



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hands and feet on all sides,
the one god producing heaven and earth
forges them together with arms and wings.

विश्वतोहस्त उत विश्वतस्पात् ।
सं बाहुभ्यां नमति सं पतत्रै-
र्द्यावापृथिवी जनयन् देव एकः ॥

l. What was the foundation,
what and which of many the beginning,
When Viśvakarman created earth,
developed heaven, all-seeing?

किꣳ स्विदासीदधिष्ठान-
मारम्भणं कतमत् स्वित् किमासीत् ।
यदी भूमिं जनयन् विश्वकर्मा
वि द्यामौर्णोन्महिना विश्वचक्षाः ॥

m. What was the wood, what the tree,
which they used to fashion heaven and earth?
You clever ones, try to find out
where he stood when he supported the worlds.[1]

किꣳ स्विद्वनं क उ स वृक्ष आसी-
द्यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः ।
मनीषिणो मनसा पृच्छतेदु-
तद्यदध्यतिष्ठद् भुवनानि धारयन् ॥

n. Your highest, lowest,
and middle positions, Viśvakarman,
make them available to your friends
for offerings, self-sufficient one;
make the offering to yourself,
being satisfied!

या ते धामानि परमाणि याऽवमा
या मध्यमा विश्वकर्मन्नुतेमा ।
शिक्षा सखिभ्यो हविषि स्वधावः
स्वयं यजस्व तनुवं जुषाणः ॥

o. Master of Speech (Vācaspati), Viśvakarman,
let us today invoke you for our protection,
who is effortless in strength,
Enjoy our nearby offerings,
beneficial to all, doer of good!

वाचस्पतिं विश्वकर्माणमूतये
मनोयुजं वाजे अद्या हुवेम ।
स नो नेदिष्ठा हवनानि जोषते
विश्वशंभूरवसे साधुकर्मा ॥

p. Viśvakarman, growing with oblation,
make the offering to yourself,
being satisfied.
May our enemies around be confused,
may we here have a generous patron!

विश्वकर्मन् हविषा वावृधानः
स्वयं यजस्व तनुवं जुषाणः ।
मुह्यन्त्वन्ये अभितः सपत्ना
इहास्माकं मघवा सूरिरस्तु ॥

q. Viśvakarman, with strengthening oblation,
you made Indra our invincible protector;
the clans of old respected him,
fearful, ready to be invoked-svāhā!

विश्वकर्मन् हविषा वर्धनेन
त्रातारमिन्द्रमकृणोरवध्यम् ।
तस्मै विशः समनमन्त पूर्वी-
रयमुग्रो विहव्यो यथाऽसत् स्वाहा ॥

(TS 4.6.2 1a-6q)

The yajamāna again renounces to Viśvarkarman.

Cherumukku Vaidikan hands three twigs of udumbara wood (instead of the usual vālāsam) to the adhvaryu, who puts them on the fire, reciting:

उदेनमुत्तरां नया-
ग्ने घृतेनाऽऽहुत ।
रायस्पोषेण सꣳ सृज
प्रजया च धनेन च स्वाहा ॥

a. Lead him forward, that Agni
to whom butter is offered;
unite him with increase of wealth,
offspring and possessions—svāhā!

इन्द्रेमं प्रतरां कृधि
सजातानामसद्वशी ।
समेनं वर्चसा सृज

b. Bring him to the fore, Indra,
that he may rule his fellows;
unite him with splendor,

[1] Cf. Archimedes: Δός μοι ποῦ στῶ καὶ κινῶ τὴν γῆν "Give me a place to stand and I move the world."

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that their shares will go to the gods—svāhā! देवेभ्यो भागधा असत् स्वाहा ॥

c. Exalt him, Agni,
in whose house we make the offering;
may the gods give him assistance,
and the lord of Brahman (*brahmaṇaspati*)—svāhā! यस्य वयं हविर्गृहे
तमग्ने वर्धया त्वम् ।
तस्मै देवा अधि ब्रव-
त्वयं च ब्रह्मणस्पतिः स्वाहा ॥
(TS 4.6.3.1a-c)

The yajamāna renounces to Agni, Indra, and Agni, respectively. The adhvaryu lifts the Soma from its stool, and while he holds it, the pratiprasthātā puts firewood in a large clay pot. A helper adds embers from the fire. The adhvaryu puts the Soma back and places the fire pot in front of himself.

Ninth Day: April 21, 1975

EPISODE 20

Carrying Forth of Agni and Oblations

(*Agnipraṇayana, Adhvarāhuti,* etc.)

SITTING WEST OF the new domestic altar in the Old Hall, the fire pot in front of him and facing east, the adhvaryu addresses the hotā who sits behind him, the āgnīdh, and the "second hotā," viz., maitrāvaruṇa (among Kauṣītakins; among Aitareyins, the "second hotā" is maitrāvaruṇa and brahman):

Address Agni who is being carried forth! अग्नये प्रणीयमानायानुब्रूहि ।
Agnīdh! Join with the wooden sword! अग्नीदेकयानुसंधेहि ।
Let the second hotā recite the *Apratiratha* hymn! द्वितीयो होताप्रतिरथमनुब्रवीतु ॥
(BŚS 10.51:53.15–16)

He lifts the pot with the fire (using palmyra potholders) and begins to move east, through the eastern gate of the Old Hall, reciting:

d. May the All-gods carry you, उदु त्वा विश्वे देवा
Agni, with their thoughts, अग्ने भरन्तु चित्तिभिः ।
be most gentle to us स नो भव शिवतमः
with kindly face, resplendent! सुप्रतीको विभावसुः ॥

e. May the five divine regions assist the ritual, पञ्च दिशो दैवीर्यज्ञमवन्तु
goddesses remove poverty and enmity, देवीरपामतिं दुर्मतिं बाधमानाः ।
increasing wealth for the ritual patron! रायस्पोषं यज्ञपतिमाभजन्तीः ॥

f. Ritual is founded on prosperity of wealth, रायस्पोषे अधि यज्ञो अस्थात्
waxing large on kindled fire, समिद्धे अग्नावधि मामहानः ।
praiseworthy, grasped on wings of recitation, उक्थपत्र ईड्यो गृभीत-
they sacrificed embracing the heated vessel! स्तसं धर्मं परिगृह्यायजन्त ॥

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g. When gods expended their strength on ritual
for the divine creator and enjoyer,
they pleased the gods with hundreds of drinks;
the gods kept embracing the ritual!

ऊर्जा यद्यज्ञमशंमन्त
देवा दैव्यांय धर्त्रे जोष्ट्रे ।
देवश्रीः श्रीमणाः शतपयाः
परिगृह्य देवा यज्ञमायन् ॥

h. With the sun's rays and tawny hair
Savitṛ has raised his infinite light;
god Pūṣan moves at his impulse,
circumspecting, guarding all things!

सूर्यरश्मिर्हरिकेशः पुरस्तात्
सविता ज्योतिरुदयाꣳ अजस्रम् ।
तस्य पूषा प्रसवं याति देवः
संपश्यन् विश्वा भुवनानि गोपाः ॥

i. Gods assume priestly roles for gods;
ready for slaughter, the pacifier sacrifices;[1]
when the fourth rite goes to the oblation,
may our pure prayers be accepted!
(TS 4.6.3.1d-2i)

देवा देवेभ्यो अध्वर्यन्तो अस्थु-
र्वीतꣳ शमित्रे शमिता यजध्यै ।
तुरीयो यज्ञो यत्र हव्यमेति
ततः पावका आशिषो नो जुषन्ताम् ॥

By this time the adhvaryu and the others have reached the shed of the āgnīdh. Together with yajamāna and brahman, the adhvaryu sits down inside and places a stone called *vaiṅkaṇṇippāṟa* in Malayalam (*pṛśnir aśman*, "spotted stone," in Sanskrit) in the center, reciting:

k. Measuring he stands at the center of heaven,
filling the two worlds and the sky,
all-ladle, butter-ladle he discerns
banners in east and west.

विमान एष दिवो मध्य आस्त
आपप्रिवान् रोदसी अन्तरिक्षम् ।
स विश्वाचीरभि चष्टे घृताची-
रन्तरा पूर्वमपरं च केतुम् ॥

l. Bull, ocean, ruddy bird,
he entered the womb of his old ancestor;
the spotted stone is put at the center of heaven,
from aside he guards the ends of space.
(TS 4.6.3.3k-l)

उक्षा समुद्रो अरुणः सुपर्णः
पूर्वस्य योनिं पितुरा विवेश
मध्ये दिवो निहितः पृश्निरश्मा
वि चक्रमे रजसः पात्यन्तौ ॥

They get up and move toward the tail of the main altar as the adhvaryu recites:

m. All songs made Indra grow,
enclose the ocean,
best charioteer of charioteers,
true lord and lord of strength.

इन्द्रं विश्वा अवीवृध-
न्त्समुद्रव्यचसं गिरः ।
रथीतमꣳ रथीनां
वाजानाꣳ सत्पतिं पतिम् ॥

n. Let the ritual invite,
and bring the gods;
let god Agni offer,
and bring the gods!

सुम्नहूर्यज्ञो
देवाꣳ आ च वक्ष-
द्यक्षदग्निर्देवो
देवाꣳ आ च वक्षत् ॥

o. At strength's impulse
he seized me with power;
Indra has humbled my enemies

वाजस्य मा प्रसवेनो-
द्ग्राभेणोदग्रभीत् ।
अधा सपत्नाꣳ इन्द्रो मे

[1] The pacifier is the slaughterer; see page 49.

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and put them down!
निग्राभेणाधराꣳ अकः ॥

p. Seizing up and putting down,
gods have increased my brahman;
Indra and Agni, you please scatter
my enemies on every side!
(TS 4.6.3.4 m-p)

उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च
ब्रह्म देवा अवीवृधन् ।
अथा सपत्नानिन्द्राग्नी मे
विषूचीनान् व्यस्यताम् ॥

During this recitation in procession, the hotā recites eight verses, which are also recited when the fire is carried forth at the animal sacrifice and at the varuṇapraghāsa rite of the fourth-month ritual (cāturmāsya):

With a heavenly hymn bring forth the god Jātavedas.
He shall convey our oblations in proper order.
This very pious recitatory priest (hotā) is led forth
to the worship. Covered like the wagon of a traveller,
the glowing one appears by himself.
Agni becomes free from his birth, which is immortal,
as it were.
Mightier than might itself, the god is prepared to
live.
(RV 10.176.2–4)

प्र देवं देव्या धिया भरता जातवेदसम् ।
हव्या नो वक्षदानुषक् ॥
अयमु ष्य प्र देवयुर्होता यज्ञाय नीयते ।
रथो न योरभीवृतो घृणीवाञ्चेतति त्मना ॥
अयमग्निरुरुष्यत्यमृताद्दिव जन्मनः ।
सहसश्चित् सहीयान् देवो जीवातवे कृतः ॥

On the footstep of refreshment, on the navel of the
earth,
we would set thee down, Agni Jātavedas,
in order to convey our oblation.
(RV 3.29.4)

इळायास्त्वा पदे वयं
नाभा पृथिव्या अधि ।
जातवेदो नि धीमह्यग्ने हव्याय वोळ्हवे ॥

Fair-faced Agni, sit first, along with all the gods,
on thy woolen homestead which is full of ghee and
nestlike.[1]
Lead the worship to Savitr, properly for the
worshipper.
(RV 6.15.16)

अग्ने विश्वेभिः स्वनीक देवै-
रूर्णावन्तं प्रथमः सीद योनिम् ।
कुलायिनं घृतवन्तं सवित्रे
यज्ञं नय यजमानाय साधु ॥

Hotā, in that thou dost understand, sit in thy own
place
and set the worship on the course of correctness.
Pursuing them, thou shalt worship the gods with the
oblations, and thou shalt bestow lofty vigor upon the
worshipper.
(RV 3.29.8)

सीद होतः स्व उ लोके चिकित्वा-
न्त्सादया यज्ञं सुकृतस्य योनौ ॥
देवावीर्देवान् हविषा यजास्य-
ग्ने बृहद्यजमाने वयो धाः ॥

The understanding hotā, violent and shining, has sat
down on the seat of the (other) hotās with his great skill.
Bright-tongued Agni is of undeceivable commands
and intentions, the very best bearer of thousands.

नि होता होतृषदने विदान-
स्त्वेषो दीदिवाँ असदत् सुदक्षः ।
अदब्धव्रतप्रमतिर्वसिष्ठः
सहस्रंभरः शुचिजिह्वो अग्निः ॥

[1] Cf. Burkert (1979), p. 44.

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Thou art our messenger, our protector, who leads us to what is better, o bull. Without relenting, be thou the shining protector of our offspring and of our own persons.

(RV 2.9.1–2)

त्वं दूतस्त्वमु नः परस्पा-
स्त्वं वस्य आ वृषभ प्रणेता ।
अग्ने तोकस्य नस्तने तनूना-
मप्रयुच्छन् दीद्यद्बोधि गोपाः ॥

While adhvaryu and hotā are moving east with the fire and with these recitations, the brahman has joined them after going counterclockwise around the new domestic altar. The maitrāvaruṇa, acting as second hotā, stays behind to the west of the new domestic altar, and recites the Apratiratha, or Song to the Irresistible Warrior (cf. above, pages 103–104):

a. Swift, sharpening like a bull his horns,
warrior fond of slaughter, disturber of people,
bellowing, eyes open, sole hero,
Indra conquered a hundred armies at once!

आशुः शिशानो वृषभो न युध्मो
घनाघनः क्षोभणश्चर्षणीनाम् ।
संक्रन्दनोऽनिमिष एकवीरः
शतꣳ सेना अजयत् साकमिन्द्रः ॥

b. With the bellowing, eyes open, conquerer,
fighting, invincible, dare devil Indra,
you men conquer and vanquish armies,
with the bull with arrows in his hands!

संक्रन्दनेनानिमिषेण जिष्णुना
युत्कारेण दुश्च्यवनेन धृष्णुना ।
तदिन्द्रेण जयत तत् सहध्वं
युधो नर इषुहस्तेन वृष्णा ॥

c. Powerful with those who hold arrow and quivers,
Indra ruling with his troups,
winning fights, drinking Soma with his large gang,
with bow uplifted, shooting with well-drawn arrows!

स इषुहस्तैः स निषङ्गिभिर्वशी
सꣳस्रष्टा स युध इन्द्रो गणेन ।
सꣳसृष्टजित् सोमपा बाहुशर्ध्यू-
र्ग्रधन्वा प्रतिहिताभिरस्ता ॥

d. Fly round with your chariot, Bṛhaspati,
killing demons, dispersing enemies,
breaking armies, destroying, victor in battle,
protect our chariots!

बृहस्पते परि दीया रथेन
रक्षोहाऽमित्राꣳ अपबाधमानः ।
प्रभञ्जन्त्सेनाः प्रमृणो युधा जय-
न्नस्माकमेध्यविता रथानाम् ॥

e. Cleaver of cowpens, cow finder, thunderbolt holder,
winner of battles, powerful smasher;
equal him in courage, you fellows,
comrades, follow in Indra's footsteps!

गोत्रभिदं गोविदं वज्रबाहुं
जयन्तमज्मं प्रमृणन्तमोजसा ।
इमꣳ सजाता अनु वीरयध्व-
मिन्द्रꣳ सखायोऽनु सꣳ रभध्वम् ॥

f. Known for his strength, powerful, heroic,
superior victor, dominant terror,
surpassing heroes and fighters, born of strength,
Indra, cow finder, mount your victorious chariot!

बलविज्ञायः स्थविरः प्रवीरः
सहस्वान् वाजी सहमान उग्रः ।
अभिवीरो अभिसत्वा सहोजा
जैत्रमिन्द्र रथमा तिष्ठ गोवित् ॥

g. Mightily penetrating cowpens, Indra,
merciless hero with hundredfold wrath,
irresistible, enduring in battle, invincible,
may he assist our armies in battle!

अभि गोत्राणि सहसा गाहमानो-
ऽदायो वीरः शतमन्युरिन्द्रः ।
दुश्च्यवनः पृतनाषाडयुध्यो-
ऽस्माकꣳ सेना अवतु प्र युत्सु ॥

h. Let Indra lead and let Bṛhaspati,
sacrificial fee, ritual, and Soma go before;
the Maruts precede divine armies

इन्द्रं आसां नेता बृहस्पति-
र्दक्षिणा यज्ञः पुर एतु सोमः ।
देवसेनानामभिभञ्जतीनां

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that cause destruction and win victory.

i. The roars of bull Indra and king Varuṇa,
of the Ādityas, of the mighty Marut army,
roars have arisen of the gods,
spirited, earthshaking, and victorious!

k. Ours be Indra when the standards meet,
on our side the winning arrows,
on our side victorious heroes,
help us, gods, when invoked!

(TS 4.6.4.1a-4k)

जयन्तीनां मरुतो यन्त्वग्रे ॥
इन्द्रस्य वृष्णो वरुणस्य राज्ञ
आदित्यानां मरुता᳖ शर्धो उग्रम् ।
महामनसां भुवनच्यवानां
घोषो देवानां जयतामुदस्थात् ॥
अस्माकमिन्द्रः समृतेषु ध्वजे-
ष्वस्माकं या इषवस्ता जयन्तु ।
अस्माकं वीरा उत्तरे भवन्त्व-
स्मानु देवा अवता हवेषु ॥

While these recitations take place, the Sāmaveda is not left out. The prastotā chants agner vratam, "Agni's Will" (above page 338). In the mean time the adhvaryu has arrived at the altar and puts the fire pot down on the tail. Cherumukku Vaidikan pours melted butter from a dish over his hands, and the adhvaryu sprinkles it over the altar in the four directions and at the center:

May Vasus with Rudras protect you on the east;
ancestors under King Death, with ancestors on the south;
Ādityas with All-gods on the west;
Dyutāna Māruta with Maruts on the north;
gods under chief Indra from below and above!

(TS 5.5.9.4*l*)

वसवस्त्वा रुद्रैः पुरस्तात् पान्तु ।
पितरस्त्वा यमराजानः पितृभिर्दक्षिणतः पान्तु ।
आदित्यास्त्वा विश्वैर्देवैः पश्चात् पान्तु ।
द्युतानस्त्वा मारुतो मरुद्भिरुत्तरतः पातु ।
देवास्त्वेन्द्रज्येष्ठा वरुणराजानो-
ऽधस्ताच्चोपरिष्टाच्च पान्तु ॥

He picks up the fire pot with the potholders, faces east, and recites: PLATE 86

a. Advance east, o wise Agni,
for Agni you be the Agni here!
Light up all regions with your radiance,
give strength to our two- and four-footed beings.

b. With Agni ascend the vault of heaven,
born of the ukhā pot, lifting him in your hands!
Go to the ridge of heaven, paradise,
and eat together with the gods!

(TS 4.6.5.1 a-b)

प्राचीमनु प्रदिशं प्रेहि विद्वा-
नग्नेरग्ने पुरोऽअग्निर्भवेह ।
विश्वा आशा दीद्यानो वि भा-
ह्यूर्ज नो धेहि द्विपदे चतुष्पदे ॥
क्रमध्वमग्निना नाक-
मुख्य᳖ हस्तेषु बिभ्रतः ।
दिवः पृष्ठꣳ सुवर्गत्वा
मिश्रा देवेभिराध्वम् ॥

He steps on the altar with the fire pot and approaches the center of the altar:

c. From earth I mounted sky,
from sky I mounted heaven,
from the ridge of heaven's vault
I reached celestial light!

d. Going to heaven without looking away,
They mount the celestial region, the two worlds!

पृथिव्या अहमुदन्तरिक्षमाऽरुह-
मन्तरिक्षाद् दिवमाऽरुहम् ।
दिवो नाकस्य पृष्ठात्
सुवर्ज्योतिरगामहम् ॥
सुवर्यन्तो नापेक्षन्त
आ द्याꣳ रोहन्ति रोदसी ॥

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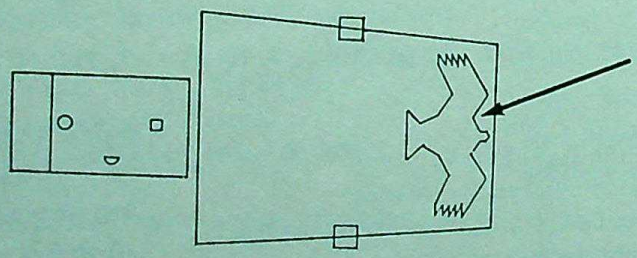
PLATE 86

Arrival of Agni

"Advance east, o wise Agni,
for Agni you be the Agni here!
Light up all regions with your radiance,
give strength to our two- and four-footed beings.
With Agni ascend the vault of heaven,
born in the ukhā pot, lift him in your hands.
Go to the ridge of heaven, paradise,
and eat together with the gods!"

(TS 4.5.6.1a-b)

The adhvaryu arrives with the fire from the domestic altar at the tail of the offering altar.



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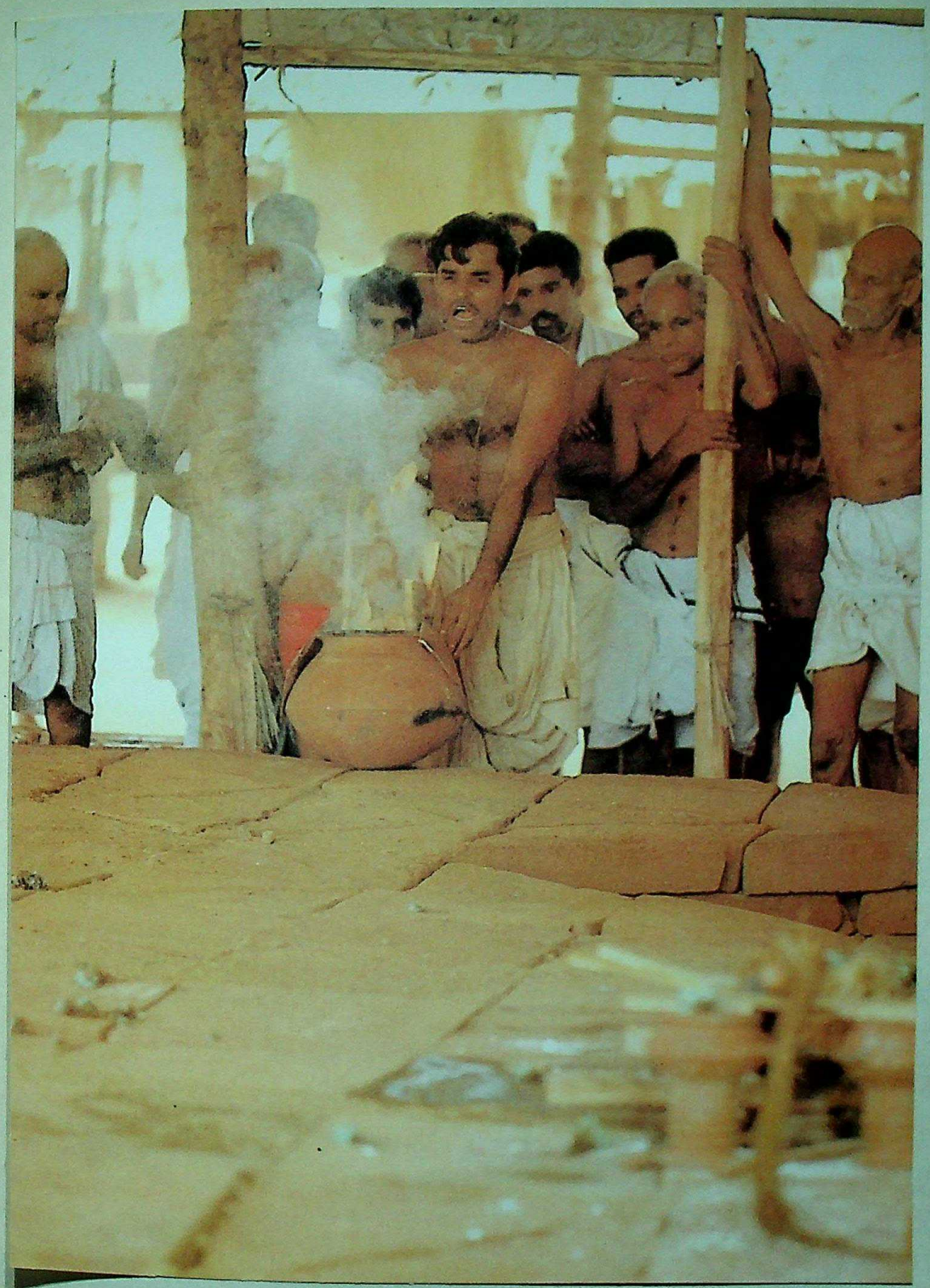

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Halfway to the center, the adhvaryu puts the fire down. Cherumukku Vaidikan hands him a ladle filled with curds, and he makes an oblation on the center. During these activities he recites:

यज्ञं ये विश्वतोधारꣳ
सुविद्वाꣳसो वितेनिरे ॥
अग्ने प्रेहि प्रथमो देवयतां
चक्षुर्देवानामुत मर्त्यानाम् ।
इयक्षमाणा भृगुभिः सजोषाः
सुवर्यन्तु यजमानाः स्वस्ति ॥
नक्तोषासा समनसा विरूपे
धापयेते शिशुमेकꣳ समीची ।
द्यावा क्षामा रुक्मो अन्तर्वि भाति
देवा अग्निं धारयन् द्रविणोदाः ॥
अग्ने सहस्राक्ष शतमूर्ध-
ञ्छतं ते प्राणाः सहस्रमपानाः ।
त्वꣳ सोहस्रस्य राय ईशिषे
तस्मै ते विधेम वाजाय स्वाहा ॥

e. They stretch the ritual carefully,
streaming on all sides.
Agni, advance, first worshipper,
eye of gods and men;
pressing together with the Bhṛgus,
the sacrificers go to heaven, to prosperity!

f. Of one mind but multiple form, night and dawn
suckle one child together;
radiant, he shines between heaven and earth;
giving wealth, gods support Agni!

g. Agni of a thousand eyes, a hundred heads,
your exhalationsa hundred, inhalations a thousand,
you are lord of wealth a thousand times,
thus we worship you for strength—svāhā!

The yajamāna renounces to Agni. The adhvaryu returns the ladle, lifts the fire, goes clockwise around the Pravargya implements to the north and sits down east of the center facing west. Then he overturns the pot and puts the fire in the center of the altar, reciting:

सुपर्णोऽसि गरुत्मान् पृथिव्याꣳ सीद
पृष्ठे पृथिव्याः सीद
भासाऽन्तरिक्षमा पृण
ज्योतिषा दिवमुत्तभान
तेजसा दिश उद् दृꣳह ॥
आजुह्वानः सुप्रतीकः पुरस्ता-
दग्ने स्वां योनिमा सीद साध्या ।
अस्मिन्त्सधस्थे अध्युत्तरस्मिन्
विश्वे देवा यजमानश्च...
...सीदत ॥

h. You are the bird with wings, sit on earth,
sit on the ridge of the earth;
with your glaze fill the sky,
with your light support heaven,
with your brilliance strengthen the quarters!

i. Receiving offerings, handsome Agni,
sit down in front of your own womb;
All-gods, up high with the sacrificer . . .

adding fire sticks to the fire:

. . . you sit down!

(TS 4.6.5)

In the mean time, the hotā has completed his recitation (ending in Ṛgveda 2.9.2). Encircling darbha grasses are put around the newly installed fire, water is sprinkled, the adhvaryu sits west of the fire and prepares an oblation of clarified butter. The yajamāna ascends the altar, goes around the adhvaryu and the adhvaryu passes the ladle with oblation round his legs. The yajamāna sits south of the adhvaryu. While the yajamāna holds the ladle, the adhvaryu makes four adhvara oblations, reciting:

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Carrying Forth of Agni

Agni must lead the ritual knowingly,
that destroyers of ritual will not find it.
Announce the ritual to the gods,
promote the ritual patron—svāhā!
(BŚS 10.52:54.17–19)

अग्निर्यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्
मैनं यज्ञहनो विदन् ।
देवेभ्यः प्रब्रूताद्यज्ञं
प्रप्र यज्ञपतिं तिर स्वाहा ॥

The other three mantras have Vāyu, Sūrya, and Yajña, respectively, in the place of Agni. The yajamāna renounces to these, one at each svāhā. These oblations occur in the animal sacrifice, when fire has been transported to the new altar. The remaining ceremonies also follow the animal sacrifice: the yajamāna scoops clarified butter in his own ladle, and makes oblations to Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya. The adhvaryu traces the outline of the mahāvedi for a second time. He directs the āgnīdh to bring water to the altar and marks the spot where juhū, upabhṛt, other implements, and the clarified butter will be placed. Returning to the altar, he places fifteen fire sticks, anointed with butter, in a dish and puts them in the fire with svāhā! The yajamāna renounces to Agni. The adhvaryu puts three fire sticks of atti, vayyaṅkat, and vahni wood (see above page 206) on the fire with three mantras:

k. Enkindled, Agni, shine for us,
youthful with unfailing rays,
strength accrues to you for ever—svāhā!
l. We worship you in your highest birth, Agni
we worship you with praise in your lower home;
I offer to the womb from where you came,
when kindled, they offer oblations in you—svāhā!
m. I choose that many-fold benevolence
of exquisite Savitṛ, given to all men,
that mighty fat cow which Kaṇva milked,
streaming with milk a thousandfold—svāhā!
(TS 4.6.5.4k-m)

प्रेद्धो अग्ने दीदिहि पुरो नो-
ऽजस्रया सूर्म्या यविष्ठ ।
त्वाꣳ शश्वन्त उप यन्ति वाजाः स्वाहा ॥
विधेम ते परमे जन्मन्नग्ने
विधेम स्तोमैरवरे सधस्थे ।
यस्माद्योनेरुदारिथा यजे तं
प्र त्वे हवीꣳषि जुहुरे समिद्धे स्वाहा ॥
ताꣳ सवितुर्वरेण्यस्य चित्रा-
माऽहं वृणे सुमतिं विश्वजन्याम् ।
यामस्य कण्वो अदुहत् प्रपीनाꣳ
सहस्रधारां पयसा महीं गाꣳ स्वाहा ॥

At each svāhā, the yajamāna renounces to Agni. More butter oblations follow: for Viśvakarman, with TS 5.5.4.3 (see page 283); for Agni with TS 4.4.4.7w (see page 335); and finally a Full-Ladle oblation (*pūrṇāhuti*) for Agni with: PLATE 87

Seven are your kindling sticks, Agni,
and seven your tongues;
seven seers, seven dear homes;
seven hotās sacrifice for you sevenfold,
seven wombs you fill with butter!
(TS 4.6.5.5n)

सप्त ते अग्ने समिधः सप्त जिह्वाः
सप्तर्षयः सप्त धाम प्रियाणि ।
सप्त होत्राः सप्तधा त्वा यजन्ति
सप्त योनीरा पृणस्वा घृतेन स्वाहा ॥

The main offerings are for Agni Vaiśvānara, "Agni who is common to all men." They follow the basic pattern of iṣṭi rites (pages 46–48). The offerings

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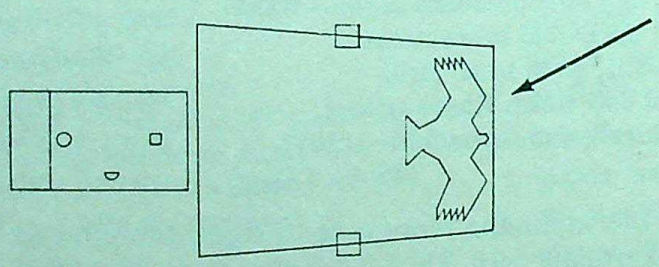
PLATE 87

The Full Oblation (Pūrṇāhuti)

"Seven are your kindling bricks, Agni,
and seven your tongues;
seven seers, seven dear homes;
seven hotās sacrifice for you sevenfold,
seven wombs you fill with butter. Svāhā!"

(TS 4.6.5.5n)

After the fire has been installed on the new altar, and encircling sticks have been placed around it, several oblations of the āhuti or juhoti type (see page 47) are made. The adhvaryu is generally seated during these oblations, but here he stands because he makes a Full Oblation (pūrṇāhuti). After filling the ladle with butter scooped four times, he empties it entirely.



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consist of cooked rice on twelve potsherds, and begin with the command to the hotā:

Address Agni Vaiśvānara! अग्नये वैश्वानरायानुब्रूहि ।

(BŚS 10.52:55.12)

At the end of the iṣṭi, the adhvaryu makes butter oblations over the rice cake, reciting:

Like heaven, heat—svāhā! सुवर्न घर्मः स्वाहा ।
like heaven, arka—svāhā! सुवर्नार्कः स्वाहा ।
like heaven, splendor—svāhā! सुवर्न शुक्रः स्वाहा ।
like heven, light—svāhā! सुवर्न ज्योतिः स्वाहा ।
like heaven, sun—svāhā! सुवर्न सूर्यः स्वाहा ।

(TS 5.7.5.2b)

The yajamāna renounces to Agni each time.

Finally, there are oblations of cooked rice on seven potsherds for the Maruts. The following mantras are recited in low voice, cyclically, and in overlapping pairs, the first mantra always followed by praṇava ("o") and the oblation made with the last, viz., as follows:

o (ending: *sabharo*)—p—svāhā!
p (ending: *atyaṃho*)—q—svaha!
q (ending: *gaṇo*)—r—svāhā!
r (ending: *vidhārayo*)—TA 4.25—svāhā!
TĀ 4.25 (ending: *vikṣipo*)—s—svāhā!
s (ending: *etano*)—t—u—svāhā!
t—u (ending: *bhavanto*)—o—svāhā!

The mantras are:

o. Such like, other like, thus like,
similar, measured, commensurate, harmonious!
p. Of splendid radiance, varied radiance, true radiance,
radiant, true, protector of order, beyond anxiety!
q. Winning order, truth, conquering armies,
with good army, enemies within, afar, gang!
r. Order, true, safe, secure,
supporter, upholder, upholding!

(TS 4.6.5.5o-r)

ईदृङ् चान्यादृङ् चैतादृङ् च
प्रतिदृङ् च मितश्च संमितश्च सभराः ॥
शुक्रज्योतिश्च चित्रज्योतिश्च
सत्यज्योतिश्च ज्योतिष्माꣳश्च
सत्यश्चर्तपाश्चात्यंहाः ॥
ऋतजिच्च सत्यजिच्च सेनजिच्च
सुषेणश्चान्त्यमित्रश्च दूरेअमित्रश्च गणः ॥
ऋतश्च सत्यश्च ध्रुवश्च धरुणश्च
धर्ता च विधर्ता च विधारयः ॥

Terrible, roaring, veiled,
sound, resounding;
power-invoking, victorious, mighty, powerful;
having come, departed, cast down!

(TA 4.25)

उग्रश्च भीमश्च ध्वान्तश्च
ध्वनश्च ध्वनयꣳश्च ।
सहसहाꣳश्च सहमानश्च
सहस्वाꣳश्च सहीयाꣳश्च ।
एत्य प्रेत्य विक्षिपः ॥

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s. Such like, thus like, come to us,
similar and equal!
t. Measure and commensurate, harmonious,
to help us at this ritual, Maruts!
u. Divine people, Maruts, attend on Indra;
just as divine people, Maruts, attend on Indra,
so may people, divine and human,
attent on this yajamāna!
(TS 4.6.5.6s-u)

ईदृक्षास एतादृक्षास ऊ षु णः
सदृक्षासः प्रतिसदृक्षास एतन ।
मितासश्च संमितासश्च न ऊतये
सभरसो मरुतो यज्ञे अस्मिन्
इन्द्रं दैवीर्विशो मरुतोऽनुवर्त्मानो
यथेन्द्रं दैवीर्विशो मरुतोऽनुवर्त्मान
एवमिमं यजमानं दैवीश्च विशो
मानुषीश्चानुवर्त्मानो भवन्तु ॥

At each svāhā! the yajamāna renounces to the Maruts.

Ninth Day: April 21, 1975

EPISODE 21

Flow of Wealth (*Vasor Dhārā*)

THE PRASEKA, A large ladle, as tall as the yajamāna measured from the top of his head to his feet, is installed on the altar. It is supported by a pile of bricks and crossed bamboo sticks. The adhvaryu addresses the pratiprasthātā:

With complete concentration pour continuously
while I shall recite Flow of Wealth!
(BŚS 10.54:56.10)

अप्रमत्तः संततमानय
वसोर्धारां निगदिष्यामि ।

The pratiprasthātā pours a continuous stream of clarified butter through the ladle into the newly installed fire. The adhvaryu touches the ladle with his right hand, his heart with his left, and recites TS 4.7.1–11, inserting svāhā! after each occurrence of *ca me*, "and for me!" This recitation is called vasor dhāra, "flow of wealth," or *camakam*, after the recurrent words *ca me* that follow each noun or noun phrase, but are omitted in the translation.[1] The adhvaryu generally recites four phrases, each *beginning* with svāhā, in one breath. PLATES 88,89

1. a. Agni and Viṣṇu, may these songs gladden you
together!
Come with radiance and strength.
b. For me strength, instigation, influence, inclination, thought, inspiration, speech, fame, renown, reputation, light, heaven, expiration, inspiration, cross-breathing,

अग्नाविष्णू सजोषसेमा वर्धन्तु वां गिरः ।
द्युम्नैर्वाजेभिरा गतम् ॥
वाजश्च मे प्रसवश्च मे प्रयतिश्च मे प्रसितिश्च मे
धीतिश्च मे क्रतुश्च मे स्वरश्च मे श्लोकश्च मे
श्रावश्च मे श्रुतिश्च मे ज्योतिश्च मे सुवश्च मे
प्राणश्च मेऽपानश्च मे व्यानश्च मेऽसुश्च मे चित्तं च

[1] In the Sanskrit text, the sandhi of the printed texts is retained. It does not occur in the recitation after *me*, since each *ca me* is followed by *svāhā*.

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PLATE 88

Flow of Wealth

"Agni and Viṣṇu, may these songs gladden you both.
Come with radiance and strength"

(TS 4.7.1.1a)

A continuous libation of clarified butter is made into the newly installed fire through a large ladle called praseka. The ladle is supported by a pile of bricks and crossed bamboo sticks. While the pratiprasthātā pours the butter and eases its flow, the adhvaryu recites a section of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā called Flow of Wealth (vasor dhārā), or *camakam* after the recurrent words *ca me*, "and for me," which follow each noun or noun phrase. Yajamāna and brahman are seen in front, watching from their usual places. At the end of the libation, the yajamāna will renounce to Agni and Viṣṇu.

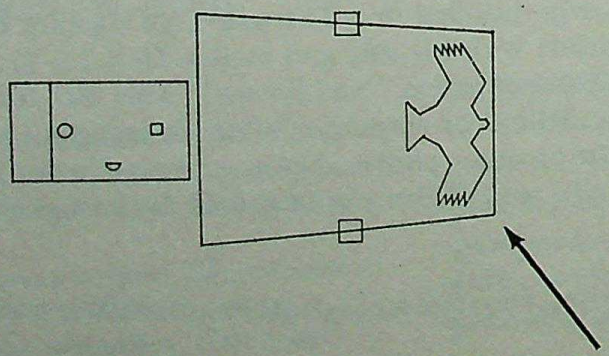

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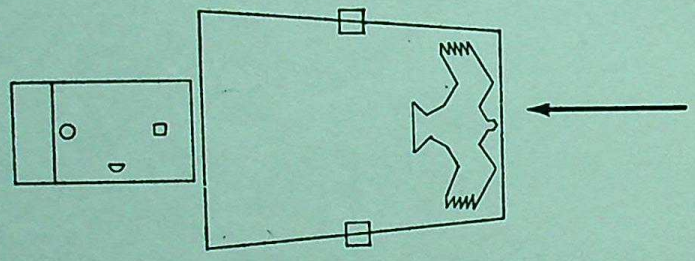
PLATE 89

Flow of Wealth: Detail

Flow of Wealth (vasor dhārā) from the east.



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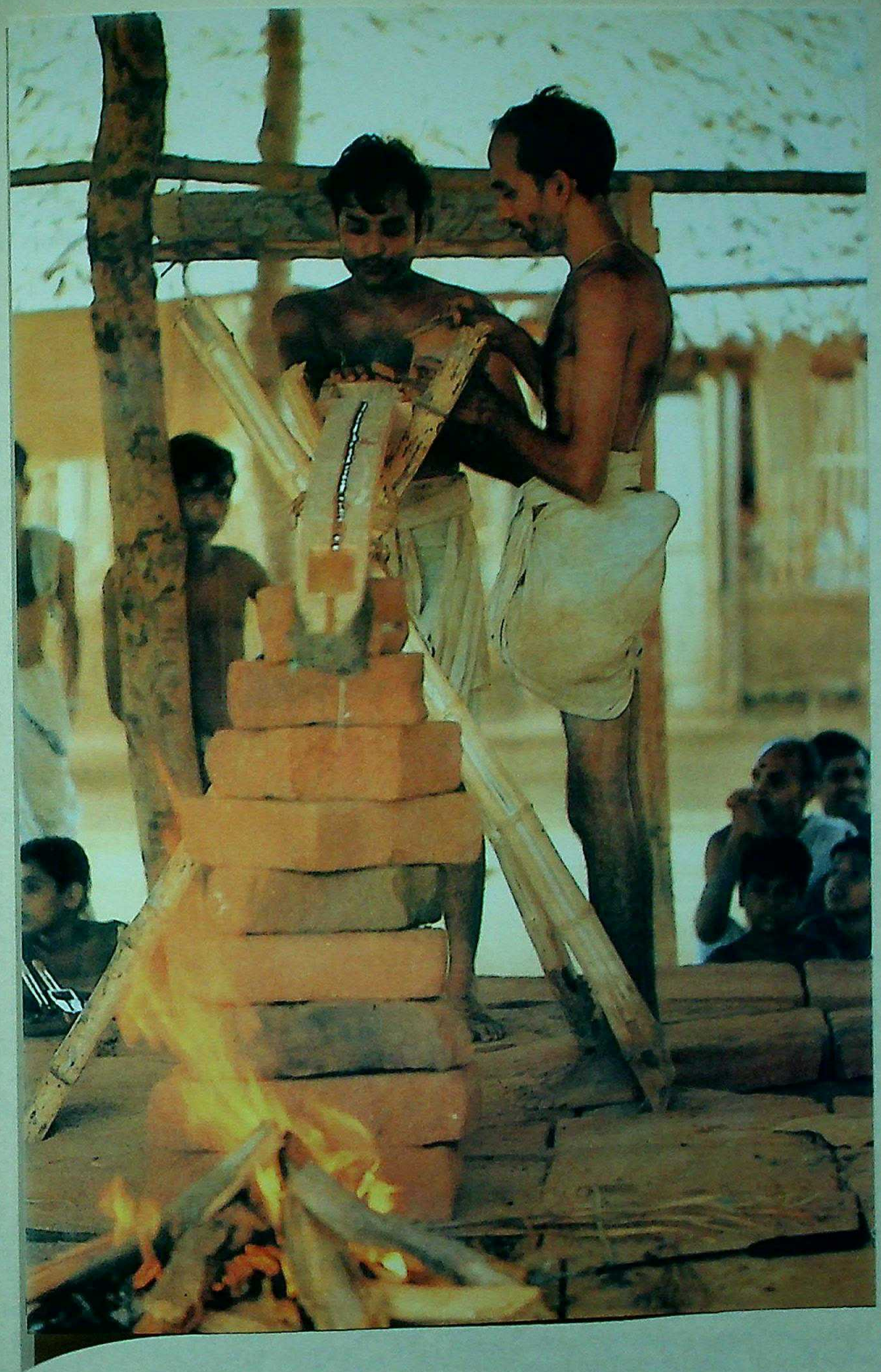

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breath, mind, learning, voice, mind, eye, ear, skill, might, force, strength, life, old age, breath, body, protection, guard, limbs, bones, joints, and bodies for me!

2. For me preeminence, overlordship, spirit, anger, violence, impetuosity, victorious power, greatness, breadth, extent, greatness, length, growth, growing, truth, faith, world, wealth, power, radiance, play, delight, what is born, what is to be born, good words, good deeds, finding, what there is to find, what has been, what will be, easy road, good way, prosperity, prospering, agreement, agreeing, thought, and good thought for me!

3. For me prosperity, comfort, desire, wish, longing, kindliness, good, better, superior, fame, good luck, riches, restrainer, supporter, peace, firmness, all, greatness, discovery, knowledge, begetting, procreation, plough, harrow, holy order, immortality, freedom from disease, freedom from illness, life, longevity, freedom from foes, fearlessness, ease of going, lying fair dawning, and fair day for me!

4. For me strength, righteousness, milk, sap, ghee, honey, eating and drinking in company, ploughing, rain, conquest, victory, wealth, riches, prosperity, prospering, plenty, lordship, much, more, full, fuller, imperishableness, bad crops[1], food, freedom from hunger, rice, barley, beans, sesame, kidney beans, vetches, wheat, lentils, millet, *Panicum miliaccum*, *Panicum frumentaceum*, and wild rice for me!

5. For me stone, clay, hills, mountains, sand, trees, gold, bronze, lead, tin, iron, copper, fire, water, roots, plants, what grows on ploughed land, what grows on unploughed land for me; may tame cattle prosper through the ritual for me, may wild cattle prosper through the ritual for me; for me wealth and gaining wealth, attainment and attaining, riches, dwelling, act, power, aim, strength, moving and going for me!

[1] I question Keith's translation, since it seems to be some kind of grain; recited ten times.

म आधीतं च मे वाक् च मे मनश्च मे चक्षुश्च मे
श्रोत्रं च मे दक्षश्च मे बलं च म ओजश्च मे
सहश्च म आयुश्च मे जरा च म आत्मा च मे
तनूश्च मे शर्म च मे वर्म च मेऽङ्गानि च मेऽ-
स्थानि च मे परूंषि च मे शरीराणि च मे ॥
ज्यैष्ठ्यं च म आधिपत्यं च मे मन्युश्च मे भामश्च
मेऽमश्च मेऽम्भश्च मे जेमा च मे महिमा च मे
वरिमा च मे प्रथिमा च मे वर्ष्मा च मे द्राघुया
च मे वृद्धं च मे वृद्धिश्च मे सत्यं च मे श्रद्धा च
मे जगच्च मे धनं च मे वशश्च मे त्विषिश्च मे
क्रीडा च मे मोदश्च मे जातं च मे जनिष्यमाणं
च मे सूक्तं च मे सुकृतं च मे वित्तं च मे वेद्यं
च मे भूतं च मे भविष्यच्च मे सुगं च मे सुपथं
च म ऋद्धं च म ऋद्धिश्च मे क्लृप्तं च मे क्लृप्तिश्च
मे मतिश्च मे सुमतिश्च मे ॥
शं च मे मयश्च मे प्रियं च मेऽनुकामश्च मे
कामश्च मे सौमनसश्च मे भद्रं च मे श्रेयश्च मे
वस्यश्च मे यशश्च मे भगश्च मे द्रविणं च मे
यन्ता च मे धर्ता च मे क्षेमश्च मे धृतिश्च मे
विश्वं च मे महश्च मे संविच्च मे ज्ञात्रं च मे सूश्च
मे प्रसूश्च मे सीरं च मे लयश्च म ऋतं च मे-
ऽमृतं च मेऽयक्ष्मं च मेऽनामयच्च मे जीवातुश्च मे
दीर्घायुत्वं च मेऽनमित्रं च मेऽभयं च मे सुगं च
मे शयनं च मे सूषा च मे सुदिनं च मे ॥
ऊर्क् च मे सूनृता च मे पयश्च मे रसश्च मे घृतं
च मे मधु च मे सग्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे कृषिश्च
मे वृष्टिश्च मे जैत्रं च म औद्भिद्यं च मे रयिश्च मे
रायश्च मे पुष्टं च मे पुष्टिश्च मे विभु च मे
प्रभु च मे बहु च मे भूयश्च मे पूर्णं च मे पूर्णतरं
च मेऽक्षितिश्च मे कूयवाश्च मेऽन्नं च मेऽक्षुच्च
मे व्रीहयश्च मे यवाश्च मे माषाश्च मे तिलाश्च
मे मुद्गाश्च मे खल्वाश्च मे गोधूमाश्च मे मसुराश्च
मे प्रियङ्गवश्च मेऽणवश्च मे श्यामाकाश्च मे
नीवाराश्च मे ॥
अश्मा च मे मृत्तिका च मे गिरयश्च मे पर्वताश्च
मे सिकताश्च मे वनस्पतयश्च मे हिरण्यं च मेऽ-
यश्च मे सीसं च मे त्रपुश्च मे श्यामं च मे लोहं च
मेऽग्निश्च म आपश्च मे वीरुधश्च म ओषधयश्च मे
कृष्टपच्यं च मेऽकृष्टपच्यं च मे ग्राम्याश्च मे
पशवो यज्ञेन कल्पन्तामारण्याश्च मे पशवो
यज्ञेन कल्पन्तां वित्तं च मे वित्तिश्च मे भूतं च
मे भूतिश्च मे वसु च मे वसतिश्च मे कर्म च मे
शक्तिश्च मेऽर्थश्च म एमश्च म इतिश्चमे गतिश्च मे ॥

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6. For me Agni and Indra, Soma and Indra, Savitṛ and Indra, Sarasvatī and Indra, Pūṣan and Indra, Bṛhaspati and Indra, Mitra and Indra, Varuṇa and Indra, Tvaṣṭṛ the Indra, Dhātṛ and Indra, Viṣṇu and Indra, the Aśvins and Indra, Maruts and Indra, All-gods and Indra, earth and Indra, sky and Indra, heaven and Indra, quarters and Indra, head and Indra, Prajāpati and Indra for me!

अग्निश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे सोमश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे सविता च म इन्द्रश्च मे सरस्वती च म इन्द्रश्च मे पूषा च म इन्द्रश्च मे बृहस्पतिश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे मित्रश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे वरुणश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे त्वष्टा च म इन्द्रश्च मे धाता च म इन्द्रश्च मे विष्णुश्च म इन्द्रश्च मेऽश्विनौ च म इन्द्रश्च मे मरुतश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे विश्वे च मे देवा इन्द्रश्च मे पृथिवी च म इन्द्रश्च मेऽन्तरिक्षं च म इन्द्रश्च मे द्यौश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे दिशश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे मूर्धा च म इन्द्रश्च मे प्रजापतिश्च म इन्द्रश्च मे ।

7. For me the aṃśu cup, the raśmi, the adābhya, the master (cup), the upāṃśu, the antaryāma, the (cup) for Indra and Vāyu, the (cup) for Mitra and Varuṇa, the (cup) for the Aśvins, the pratiprasthāna (cup), the śukra, the manthin, the agrayaṇa, the (cup) for the All-gods, the dhruva, the (cup) for Vaiśvānara, the season cups, the atigrāhyas, the (cup) for Indra and Agni, the (cup) for the All-gods, the (cups) for the Maruts, the (cups) for Mahendra, the (cup) for Āditya, the (cup) for Savitṛ, the (cup) for Sarasvatī, the (cup) for Pūṣan, the (cup) for (Tvaṣṭṛ) with the wives (of the gods), and the hāriyojana (cup) for me!

अंशुश्च मे रश्मिश्च मेऽदाभ्यश्च मेऽधिपतिश्च म उपांशुश्च मेऽन्तर्यामश्च म ऐन्द्रवायवश्च मे मैत्रावरुणश्च म आश्विनश्च मे प्रतिप्रस्थानश्च मे शुक्रश्च मे मन्थी च म आग्रयणश्च मे वैश्वदेवश्च मे ध्रुवश्च मे वैश्वानरश्च म ऋतुग्रहाश्च मेऽतिग्राह्याश्च म ऐन्द्राग्नश्च मे वैश्वदेवश्च मे मरुत्वतीयाश्च मे माहेन्द्रश्च म आदित्यश्च मे सावित्रश्च मे सारस्वतश्च मे पौष्णश्च मे पात्नीवतश्च मे हारियोजनश्च मे ॥

8. For me kindling-wood, the strew, the altar, the lesser altars, the offering-spoons, the cups, the pressing-stones, the chips (of the post), the sounding holes, the two pressing boards, the wooden tub, the vāyu cups, the (bowl) for the purified Soma, the mixing (bowl), the agnīdh's altar, the oblation holder, the house, the sadas, the cakes, the cooked (offerings), the final bath, and the cry of svagā for me!

इध्मश्च मे बर्हिश्च मे वेदिश्च मे धिष्ण्याश्च मे स्रुचश्च मे चमसाश्च मे ग्रावाणश्च मे स्वरवश्च म उपरवाश्च मेऽधिषवणे च मे द्रोणकलशश्च मे वायव्यानि च मे पूतभृच्च म आधवनीयश्च म आग्नीध्रे च मे हविर्धाने च मे गृहाश्च मे सदश्च मे पुरोडाशाश्च मे पचताश्च मेऽवभृथश्च मे स्वगाकारश्च मे ॥

9. For me fire, the cauldron, the beam, the sun, breath, the horse sacrifice, earth, Aditi, Diti sky, the Śakvarī verses, the fingers, the quarters prosper through the sacrifice; may the ṛc, the sāman, the hymn tune, the yajus, consecration, penance, the season, the vow through rain of day and night, the bṛhat and rathantara for me!

अग्निश्च मे घर्मश्च मेऽर्कश्च मे सूर्यश्च मे प्राणश्च मेऽश्वमेधश्च मे पृथिवी च मेऽदितिश्च मे दितिश्च मे द्यौश्च मे शक्करीरङ्गुलयो दिशश्च मे यज्ञेन कल्पन्तामृक् च मे साम च मे स्तोमश्च मे यजुश्च मे दीक्षा च मे तपश्च म ऋतुश्च मे व्रतं च मेऽहोरात्रयोर्वृष्ट्या बृहद्रथन्तरे च मे यज्ञेन कल्पेताम् ॥

10. For me embryo, the calves, the one-and-a-half-year-old male and female, the two-year-old male and female, the two-and-a-half-year-old male and female, the three-year-old male and female, the four-year-old male and female, the draught ox and the draught cow, the bull and the cow that is barren, the steer and the

गर्भाश्च मे वत्साश्च मे ऽयविश्च मे ऽयवी च मे दित्यवाट् च मे दित्यौही च मे पञ्चाविश्च मे पञ्चावी च मे त्रिवत्सश्च मे त्रिवत्सा च मे तुर्यवाट् च मे तुर्यौही च मे पष्ठवाच्च मे पष्ठौही च म उक्षा च मे वशा च म ऋषभश्च मे वेहच्च मेऽनड्वाच्च मे धेनुश्च म आयुर्यज्ञेन कल्पतां प्राणो यज्ञेन कल्पतामपानो यज्ञेन कल्पतां व्यानो यज्ञेन

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cow that miscarries, the bullock and the cow for me! May life prosper through the rite, may expiration prosper through the rite, may inspiration proper through the rite, may cross-breathing prosper through the rite, may the eye prosper through the rite, may the ear prosper through the rite, may mind prosper through the rite, may speech prosper through the rite, may the self prosper through the rite, may the rite prosper through the rite for me!

कल्पता चक्षुर्यज्ञेन कल्पताꣳ श्रोत्रं यज्ञेन कल्पतां मनो यज्ञेन कल्पतां वाग्यज्ञेन कल्पतामात्मा यज्ञेन कल्पतां यज्ञो यज्ञेन कल्पताम् ॥

11. a. For me one, three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, nineteen, twenty-one, twenty-three, twenty-five, twenty-seven, twenty-nine, thirty-one, thirty-three;

एका च मे तिस्रश्च मे पञ्च च मे सप्त च मे नव च म एकादश च मे त्रयोदश च मे पञ्चदश च मे सप्तदश च मे नवदश च म एकविꣳशतिश्च मे त्रयोविꣳशतिश्च मे पञ्चविꣳशतिश्च मे सप्तविꣳशतिश्च मे नवविꣳशतिश्च म एकत्रिꣳशच्च मे त्रयस्त्रिꣳशच्च मे चतस्रश्च मेऽष्टौ च मे द्वादश च मे षोडश च मे विꣳशतिश्च मे चतुर्विꣳशतिश्च मेऽष्टाविꣳशतिश्च मे द्वात्रिꣳशच्च मे षट्त्रिꣳशच्च मे चत्वारिꣳशच्च मे चतुश्चत्वारिꣳशच्च मेऽष्टाचत्वारिꣳशच्च मे ॥

b. for me four, eight, twelve, sixteen, twenty, twenty-four, twenty-eight, thirty-two, thirty-six, forty, forty-four, forty-eight;

c. Strength, instigation, the later born, inspiration, heaven, the head, the vyaśniya, the offspring of the last, the last, the offspring of being, being, the master!

वाजश्च प्रसवश्चापिजश्च क्रतुश्च सुवश्च मूर्धा च व्यश्नियश्चाऽन्त्यायनश्चान्त्यश्च भौवनश्च भुवनश्चाधिपतिश्च ॥

(TS 4.7.1–11)[1]

PLATE 90 The entire recitation lasts just under half an hour. The yajamāna renounces to Agni and Viṣṇu. Afterwards, the praseka ladle is put in the fire, one kiṇḍi with remaining clarified butter is poured over it, and the bricks and bamboo stand are taken down. The remaining clarified butter is added to rice cooked on the domestic fire. This *brahmaudana* meal is eaten by adhvaryu, brahman, hotā, and udgātā, sitting south of the tail.

Ninth Day: April 21, 1975

EPISODE 22

Pressing of Strength, Holding of the Realm, and Other Oblations
(*Vājaprasavīya, Rāṣṭrabhṛt,* etc.)

THE PRESSING OF STRENGTH oblations (*vājaprasavīya*) are fourteen oblations of all kinds of grains (*sārvauṣadha*), mixed with curds and butter, and offered to Agni. Sitting on the altar, the adhvaryu makes these oblations from the sruva ladle with fourteen mantras:

a. In the beginning the pressing of strength pressed this King Soma in plants and waters.
Let them be sweet for us,
let us priests watch the realm—svāhā!

वाजस्येमं प्रसवः सुषुवे अग्रे
सोमꣳ राजानमोषधीष्वप्सु ।
ता अस्मभ्यं मधुमतीर्भवन्तु
वयꣳ राष्ट्रे जाग्रियाम पुरोहिताः स्वाहा ॥

[1] In this last section, *me* "for me" is omitted, and svāhā follows each occurrence of *ca* "and." Each numeral is recited twice.

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PRESSING OF STRENGTH

b. Pressing of strength has pervaded
this world and worlds on all sides.
He goes around recognizing excellence,
increasing our offspring and success—svāhā!

वाजस्यदं प्रसव आ बभूवे-
मा च विश्वा भुवनानि सर्वतः ।
स विराजं पर्येति प्रजानन्
प्रजां पुष्टिं वर्धयमानो अस्मे स्वाहा ॥

c. Pressing of strength rests on heaven,
as emperor on all these worlds.
Let the wise make misers generous
and give us wealth full of heroes—svāhā!

वाजस्येमां प्रसवः शिश्रिये दिव-
मिमा च विश्वा भुवनानि सम्राट् ।
अदित्सन्तं दापयतु प्रजानन्
रयिं च नः सर्ववीरं नि यच्छतु स्वाहा ॥

d. Agni, speak to us,
be thoughtful for us;
lord of the world, promote us,
you give us wealth—svāhā!

अग्ने अच्छा वदेह नः प्रति नः सुमना भव ।
प्र णो यच्छ भुवस्पते
धनदा असि नस्त्वꣳ स्वाहा ॥

e. May Aryaman promote us,
and Bhaga and Bṛhaspati,
may gods and the generous one,
Goddess Speech endow us—svāhā!

प्र णो यच्छत्वर्यमा प्र भगः प्र बृहस्पतिः ।
प्र देवाः प्रोत सूनृता
प्र वाग्देवी ददातु नः स्वाहा ॥

f. To give us gifts impel
Aryaman, Bṛhaspati, Indra,
Speech, Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī,
and Savitṛ the strong—svāhā!

अर्यमणं बृहस्पतिमिन्द्रं दानाय चोदय ।
वाचं विष्णुꣳ सरस्वतीꣳ
सवितारं च वाजिनꣳ स्वाहा ॥

g. We hold on to King Soma,
Varuṇa and Agni,
The Ādityas, Viṣṇu, Sūrya,
Bṛhaspati the brahman—svāhā!

सोमꣳ राजानं वरुणमग्निमन्वारभामहे ।
आदित्यान् विष्णुꣳ सूर्यं
ब्रह्माणं च बृहस्पतिꣳ स्वाहा ॥

(TS 1.7.10.1a-3g)

a. May strength help us through the seven directions
and four distances,
strength help us here with the All-gods,
to gain wealth—svāhā!

वाजो नः सप्त प्रदिश-
श्चतस्रो वा परावतः ।
वाजो नो विश्वैर्देवै-
र्धनसातावि॒हावतु स्वाहा ॥

g. May all Maruts help us today,
may All fires be kindled,
may the all-gods come to help us,
all wealth and strength for us—svāhā!

विश्वे अद्य मरुतो विश्व ऊती
विश्वे भवन्त्वग्नयः समिद्धाः ।
विश्वे नो देवा अवसाऽऽगमन्तु
विश्वमस्तु द्रविणं वाजो अस्मे स्वाहा ॥

c. Come gods to press strength
with your golden chariots,
Agni, Indra, Bṛhaspati,
the Maruts to drink Soma—svāhā!

वाजस्य प्रसवं देवा रथैर्याता हिरण्ययैः ।
अग्निरिन्द्रो बृहस्पति-
र्मरुतः सोमपीतये स्वाहा ॥

d. Help, us, steeds, for each prize,
and rewards—intelligent, immortal,
aware of cosmic order;
drink honey and enjoy it,
go happily on divine paths—svāhā!

वाजेवाजेऽवत वाजिनो नो
धनेषु विप्रा अमृता ऋतज्ञाः ।
अस्य मध्वः पिबत मादयध्वं
तृप्ता यात पथिभिर्देवयानैः स्वाहा ॥

e. Strength is in front and in our midst,
gods shall have strength with the seasons;
pressing of strength bows for us,

वाजः पुरस्तादुत मध्यतो नो
वाजो देवाꣳ ऋतुभिः कल्पयाति ।
वाजस्य हि प्रसवो नन्नमीति

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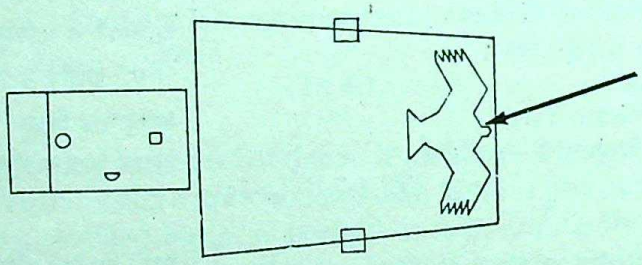
PLATE 90

Conclusion of Flow of Wealth

After Flow of Wealth is completed and the yajamāna has renounced to Agni and Viṣṇu, the praseka ladle is thrown into the fire. Since it is soaked with butter, the flames flare up. The bamboo stand and pile of bricks are taken down by the pratiprasthātā. The Pravargya implements continue to lie on the surface of the altar.



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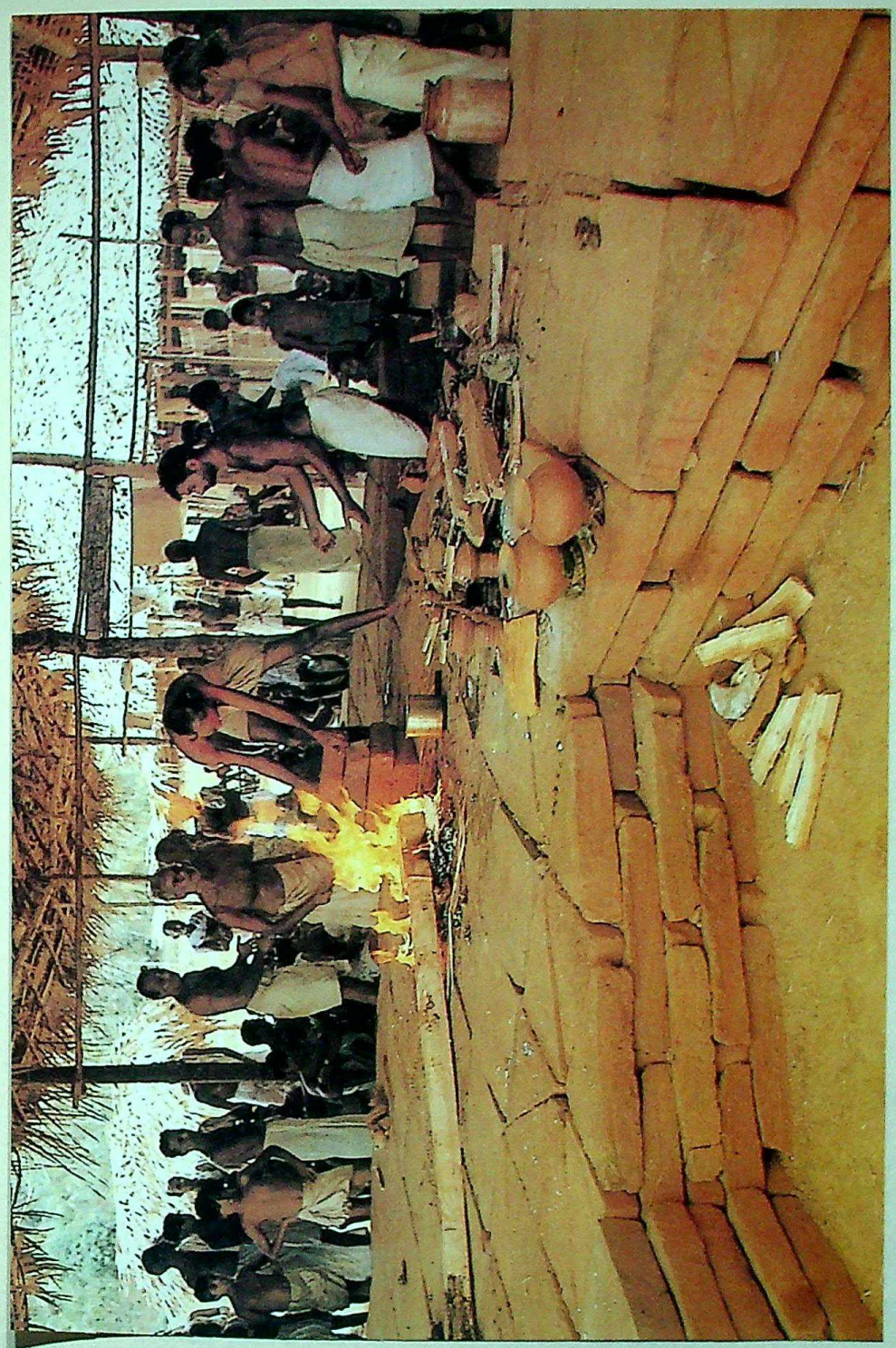

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may I be lord of strength in all quarters—svāhā! विश्वा आशा वाजपतिर्भवेयꣳ स्वाहा ॥

f. Let me put milk on earth, on plants,
in heaven, in the sky,
may the directions have milk for me—svāhā! पयः पृथिव्यां पय ओषधीषु
पयो दिव्यन्तरिक्षे पयो धाम् ।
पयस्वतीः प्रदिशः सन्तु मह्यꣳ स्वाहा ॥

g. I unite myself with milk, butter,
I unite myself with waters, plants,
may I gain strength, Agni—svāhā! सं मा सृजामि पयसा घृतेन
सं मा सृजाम्यप ओषधीभिः ।
सोऽहं वाजꣳ सनेयमग्ने स्वाहा ॥

(TS 4.7.12.1a-2g)

At each svāhā! the yajamāna renounces to Agni. There is a final oblation of milk with TS 4.7.12.3h = TS 4.6.5.2f (page 558), at which the yajamāna renounces to Agni. The remaining grain mixture is kept for later (below, page 640).

The Holding-of-the-Realm oblations (rāṣṭrabhṛt) are eleven butter oblations partly made with the help of a miniature cart (ratham) that has four
PLATE 91B spokeless wheels and is made of audumbara wood. A small copper pipe is vertically attached to the front of this toy cart. Made beforehand by the smith, this pipe is 2 1/2 Aṅgulas long and as wide as a thumb (*aṅguṣṭa*). The first six oblations are made directly from the sruva ladle into the fire, with six mantras:

a. Maintaining, abiding by cosmic order,
Agni is Gandharva, his nymphs' (Apsarases)
plants called strength;
may he protect brahman, kṣatram,
May they protect brahman, kṣatram—svāhā! ऋताषाड्ऋतधामाऽग्नि-
र्गन्धर्वस्तस्यौषधयोऽप्सरस
ऊर्जो नाम स इदं ब्रह्म
क्षत्रं पातु ता इदं ब्रह्म
क्षत्रं पान्तु तस्मै स्वाहा ॥

(TS 3.4.7.1a)

The yajamāna renounces to "Agni Gandharva, nymphs' plants";

b. The continuous, having all songs,
Sun is Gandharva, his nymphs'
rays called alive, etc. सꣳहितो विश्वसामा सूर्यो
गन्धर्वस्तस्य मरीचयो-
ऽप्सरस आयुवः ।

The yajamāna renounces to "Sun Gandharva, nymphs' rays";

c. Blessed sun-rayed moon[1] is Gandharva,
his nymphs' lunar mansions called bright, etc. सुषुम्नः सूर्यरश्मिश्चन्द्रमा गन्धर्वस्तस्य
नक्षत्राण्यप्सरसो भेकुरयः

The yajamāna renounces to "Moon Gandharva, nymphs' lunar mansions";

d. The active bird ritual is Gandharva,
his nymphs' sacrificial fees
called praises, etc. भुज्युः सुपर्णो यज्ञो
गन्धर्वस्तस्य दक्षिणा
अप्सरसः स्तवाः ॥

[1] *Sūryaraśmi*, "sun-rayed," in RV 10.139.1 said of Savitṛ or the sun, here of the moon, indicating that it reflects the light of the sun?

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The yajamāna renounces to "Ritual Gandharva, nymphs' sacrificial fees":

e. Prajāpati, all-maker,
mind is Gandharva, his nymphs'
verse and songs called hymns, etc.

प्रजापतिर्विश्वकर्मा मनो
गन्धर्वस्तस्यर्क्सामा-
न्यप्सरसो वह्नयः...

The yajamāna renounces to "Mind Gandharva, nymphs' verse and songs":

f. The swift, all-pervading,
wind is Gandharva, his nymphs'
waters called delights, etc.

इषिरो विश्वव्यचा वातो
गन्धर्वस्तस्याऽऽपो-
ऽप्सरसो मुदा...

The yajamāna renounces to "Wind Gandharva, nymphs' waters."

PLATE 91A

The remaining five Holding-of-the-Realm oblations are made from the sruva ladle through the copper pipe of the toy cart. Cherumukku Vaidikan holds the cart over the fire, while the adhvaryu makes the oblations, reciting:

g. World leader with homes above and here
give us increase of wealth, unfailing,
abundant heroes, prosperity through the year!

भुवनस्य पते यस्य त उपरि गृहा इह च।
स नो रास्वाज्यानिꣳ रायस्पोषꣳ
सुवीर्यꣳ संवत्सरीणांꣳ स्वस्तिꣳ स्वाहा॥

The yajamāna renounces to Agni:

h. Supreme being, master, death is Gandharva,
his nymphs are the universe, called worlds, etc.

परमेष्ठ्यधिपतिर्मृत्युर्गन्धर्व-
स्तस्य विश्वमप्सरसो भुवः...

The yajamāna renounces to "Death Gandharva, nymphs' universe":

i. With good home, wealth, doing good deeds,
holding light, rain is Gandharva,
his nymphs' lightnings called radiant, etc.

सुक्षितिः सुभूतिर्भद्रकृत्
सुवर्वान् पर्जन्यो गन्धर्व-
स्तस्य विद्युतोऽप्सरसो रुचः...

The yajamāna renounces to "Rain Gandharva, nymphs' lightnings":

k. With far-speeding darts, merciless,
Death is Gandharva, his nymphs'
offspring called timid, etc.

दूरेहेतिरमृडयो मृत्यु-
र्गन्धर्वस्तस्य प्रजा
अप्सरसो भीरुवः...

The yajamāna renounces to "Death Gandharva, nymphs' offspring":

l. Beloved, looking with desire,
Love is Gandharva, his nymphs'
thoughts called burning;
may he protect this our brahman, kṣatram,
may they protect this our brahman, kṣatram,
to him—svāhā! To them—svāhā!
(TS 3.4.7)

चारुः कृपणकाशी कामो गन्धर्व-
स्तस्याऽऽधयोऽप्सरसः
शोचयन्तीर्नाम स इदं ब्रह्म
क्षत्रं पातु ता इदं ब्रह्म क्षत्रं
पान्तु तस्मै स्वाहा
ताभ्यः स्वाहा॥

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PLATE 91A

Holding of the Realm (Rāṣṭrabhṛt)

"World leader with homes above and here
give us increase of wealth, unfailing,
abundant heroes, prosperity through the year!"

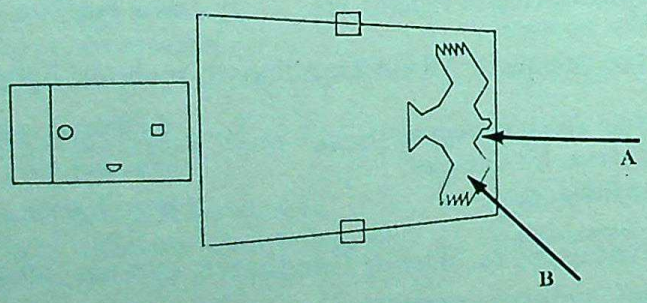
(TS 3.4.7.2 g)

During some of the Holding-of-the-Realm (rāṣṭrabhṛt) oblations, the adhvaryu pours butter through the copper pipe of a miniature cart (ratham), which Cherumukku Vaidikan holds over the fire.

PLATE 91B

Fastening the Copper Pipe to the Cart

Before the Holding-of-the-Realm oblations, Nellikat Nīlakaṇṭhan Akkitiripad attaches the copper pipe to the minature cart.



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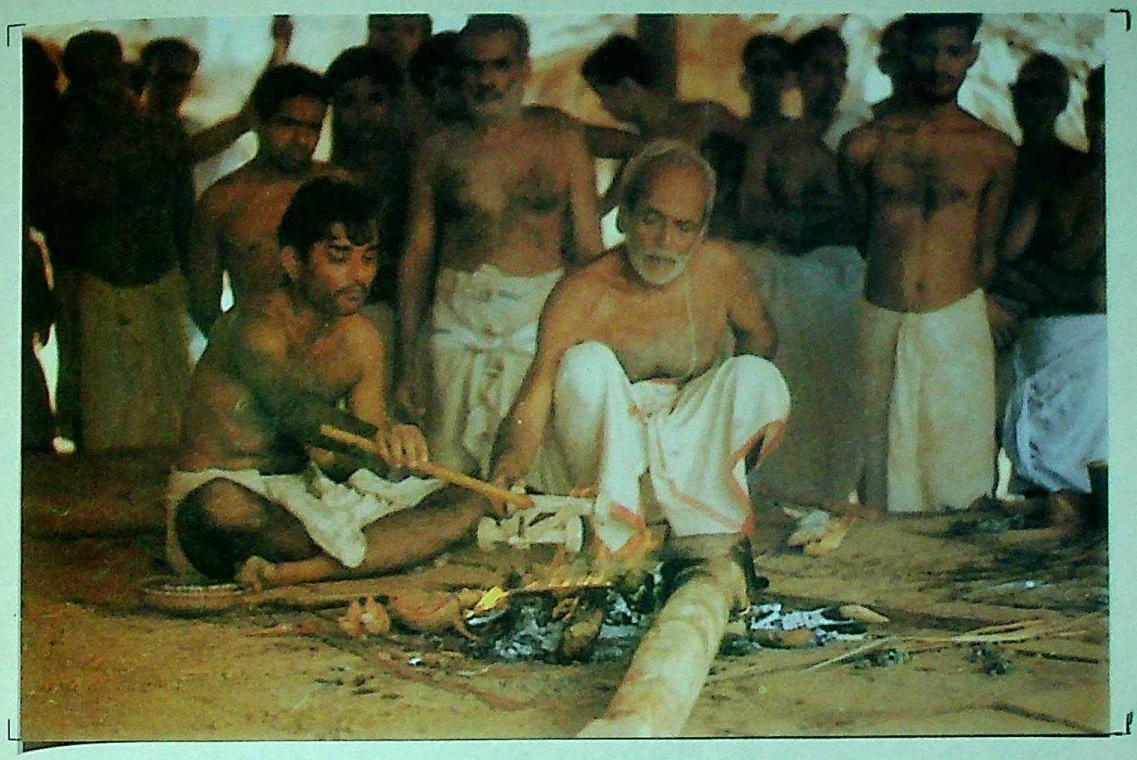

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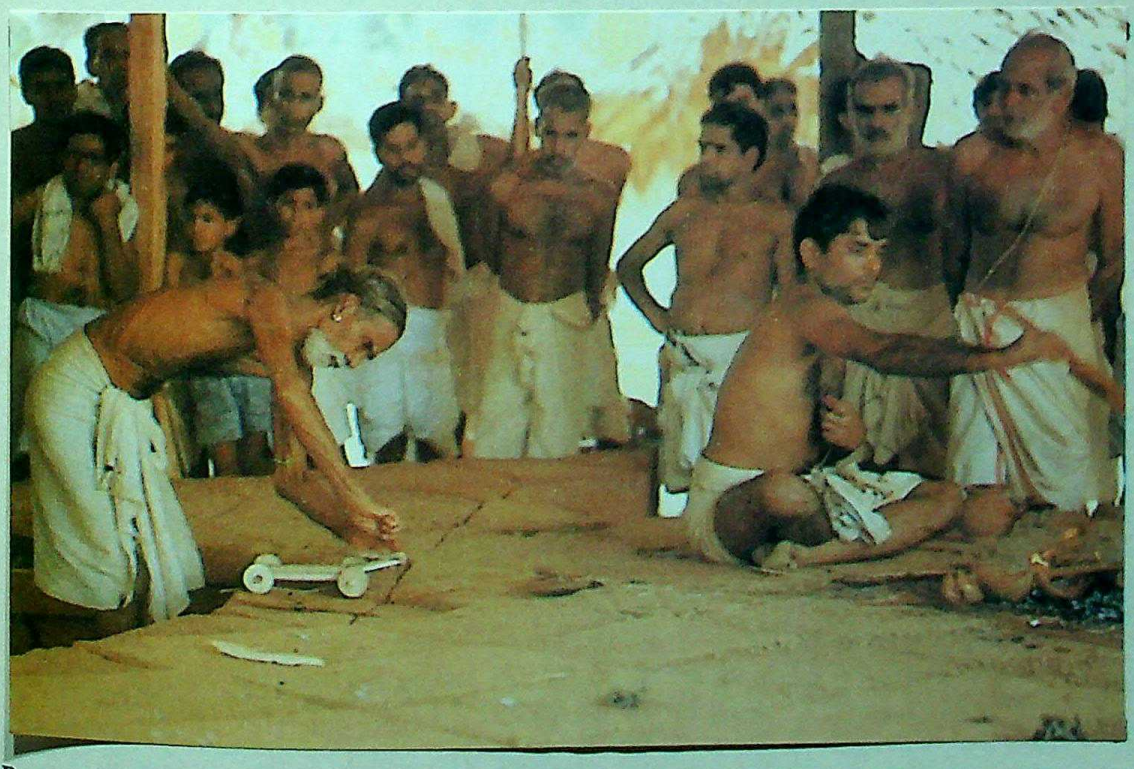

B

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The Yajamāna renounces to "Love Gandharva, nymphs' thoughts."

The cart is thrown into the fire after its pipe has been removed. Then there are three Light (*ruc*) oblations of butter, recited with:

Your flames, Agni, rising in the sun,
envelop heaven with rays,
with all these bring us to light, to man—svāhā!
Your flames in the sun, o gods,
flames in cattle and horses,
with these, Indra and Agni,
give us light, Bṛhaspati—svāhā!
Give light to our brahmins,
place light in our chieftains,
light in tribesmen and servants,
with your flames give me light—svāhā!
(TS 5.7.6.3d)

यास्ते अग्ने सूर्ये रुचो उद्यतो
दिवमातन्वन्ति रश्मिभिः।
ताभिः सर्वाभी रुचे
जनाय नस्कृधि स्वाहा॥
या वो देवाः सूर्ये रुचो
गोष्वश्वेषु या रुचः।
इन्द्राग्नी ताभिः सर्वाभी
रुचं नो धत्त बृहस्पते स्वाहा॥
रुचं नो धेहि ब्राह्मणेषु
रुचꣳ राजसु नस्कृधि।
रुचं विश्येषु शूद्रेषु
मयि धेहि रुचा रुचꣳ स्वाहा॥

At each svāhā, the yajamāna renounces to Agni.

Finally, the adhvaryu makes three butter oblations from the palms of his hands, taking the butter from a dish (caṭṭi). These are called Wind's Names (*vātanāmāni*, cf. the oblations of the beginning of Episode 19: page 544). The mantras are:

You are the ocean, full of mist,
yielding moisture, blow over me,
granting happiness and delight—svāhā!
You are of the Maruts, the Marut troop,
blow over me,
granting happiness and delight—svāhā!
You are helper, worshipful,
blow over me,
granting happiness and delight—svāhā!
(TS 4.7.12.3i)

समुद्रोऽसि नभस्वा-
नार्द्रदानुः शम्भूर्मयोभू-
रभि मा वाहि स्वाहा॥
मारुतोऽसि मरुतां गणः
शम्भूर्मयोभू-
रभि मा वाहि स्वाहा॥
अवस्युरसि दुवस्वा-
ञ्छम्भूर्मयोभू-
रभि मा वाहि स्वाहा॥

PLATE 92 Each time, the yajamāna renounces to Agni.

These concludes the oblations for the newly installed fire. It is about 1:30 p.m. on the 9th ritual day, on which day numerous other ceremonies remain to be performed.

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Ninth Day: April 21, 1975

EPISODE 23

Setting Up of the Soma Hall and the Hall of Recitation; Construction of the Dhiṣṇya Hearths

(Havirdhānamaṇḍapakaraṇam; Sadaḥkaraṇam; Dhiṣṇyanirmāṇam)

THE HAVIRDHĀNA OR Soma Hall and the sadas or Hall of Recitation have to be prepared (see Figure 19, page 262). These rites occur in all Soma celebrations. Two carts, prepared by the carpenter, are moved from the western border of the mahāvedi and placed in the southern and northern parts of the havirdhāna. The Soma rites are performed under the southern cart; on the northern cart two large clay pots are kept: for water required for pressing Soma, and for pressed Soma. The two halls are prepared by the Sāmavedins and the adhvaryu. Holes are dug around their outlines, and also for the sacrificial pole at the center of the eastern border of the mahāvedi.

At the center of the sadas, a hole is dug for the audumbarī pole. This pole, with two-pronged top, is brought by the pratiprasthātā and erected in its hole with the prongs pointing east and west. Three Sāmaveda priests—udgātā, prastotā, and pratihartā—perform rites around it. After covering PLATE 93 it with darbha grass and a cloth (vastra), a string made of darbha grass is wound 28 times around it, since 28 stutis or stotras will be chanted in the sadas (only one will be chanted outside the sadas, whence its name: *bahiṣpavamānastotra,* "Outdoor Chant of the Clarified Soma": Episode 25). When chanting these songs, the udgātā wears a ring of darbha grass (also called a stotra) consisting of two blades, around his finger. After each song, he inserts this stotra into the corresponding row of the string on the pole, so that "anyone can make out how many stutis have been chanted and how many remain to be chanted." In the Agniṣṭoma Soma ritual, with twelve Soma sequences and stutis, the string of darbha grass is wound eleven times around the pole.

The *mārjālīya* and *āgnīdhrīya* sheds are ritually made. Back in the havirdhāna or Soma Hall, four *uparava,* or resounding holes, are dug to the east of the southern havirdhāna cart. These holes are joined together underground. Adhvaryu and yajamāna put their hands inside, ascertaining that they can touch each other. Sacrificial grass is put inside these holes and two wooden PLATE 94 planks are placed over them and joined together. Bamboo pins are fixed in the ground so that the planks stay in position. The adhvaryu scatters soil and sacrificial grass around the planks and spreads a bullock skin over it.

In the mean time, bricks for the dhiṣṇya hearths have been placed inside the sadas. Each of these hearths, and also the āgnīdhrīya and mārjālīya hearths, are square, with a side of one pañcami or aratni (see pages 195–196). Each consists of one layer of bricks. First comes the hearth of the āgnīdhrīya, which consists of nine square bricks, placed around the vaiṅkaṇṇippāṟa stone (or pṛśnir aśman), put there during the Carrying Forth of Agni (Episode 20, page 552), see Figure 41. The adhvaryu consecrates brick no. 1 with:

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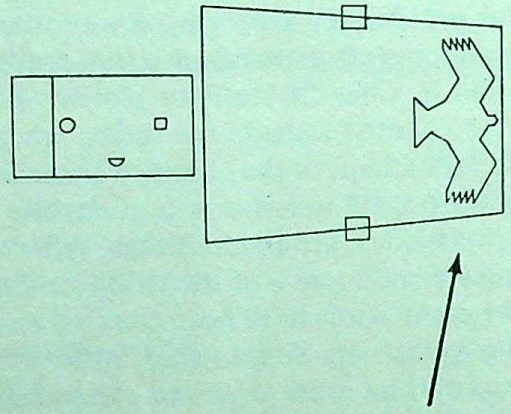
PLATE 92

The Yajamāna's View

Through most of the ceremonies at the Agni altar, the customary place of the Yajamāna is south of the altar. He sits on his antelope skin, his fists closed, with the brahman to his right. From this place he looks north over the altar, the six tips of the southern wing right in front of him.



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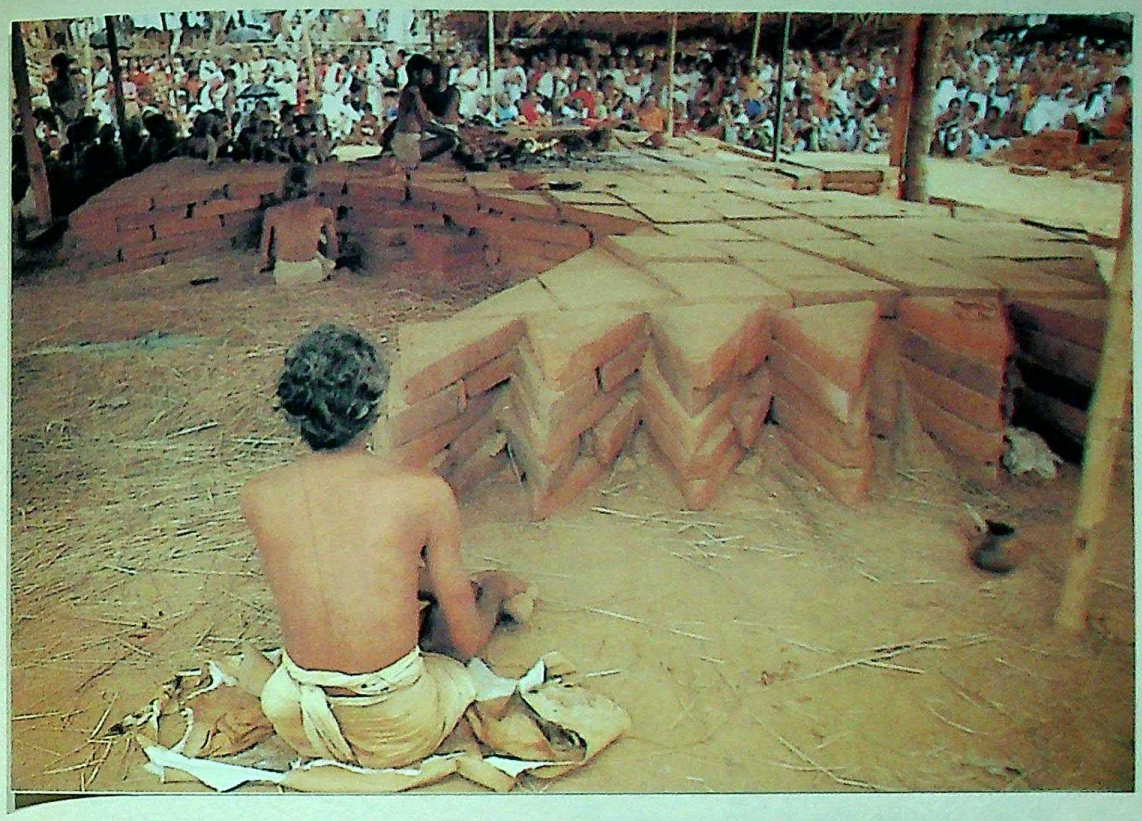

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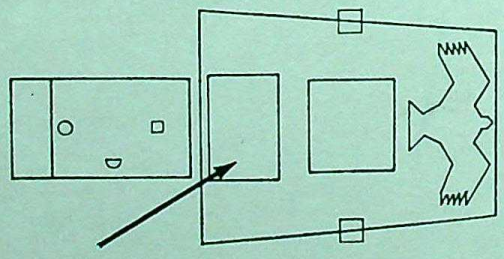
PLATE 93

Fixing the Audumbarī Pillar

"I surround you who procures brahman,
kṣatra, good offspring and increase of wealth!"

(JŚS 6:7.13–14)

One (ordinary) prakrama south of the center of the sadas hall of recitation (see Figure 19), a pole has been erected that supports the roof. Against this, the udgātā, assisted by the adhvaryu and under the smile of Nellikat Akkitiripad, fixes the audumbarī pole, around which a string of darbha grass will be wound 28 times, once for each of the stotras that will be chanted in the sadas. The udgātā pours butter on the pole, and then three times puts earth around it, reciting the above mantra.



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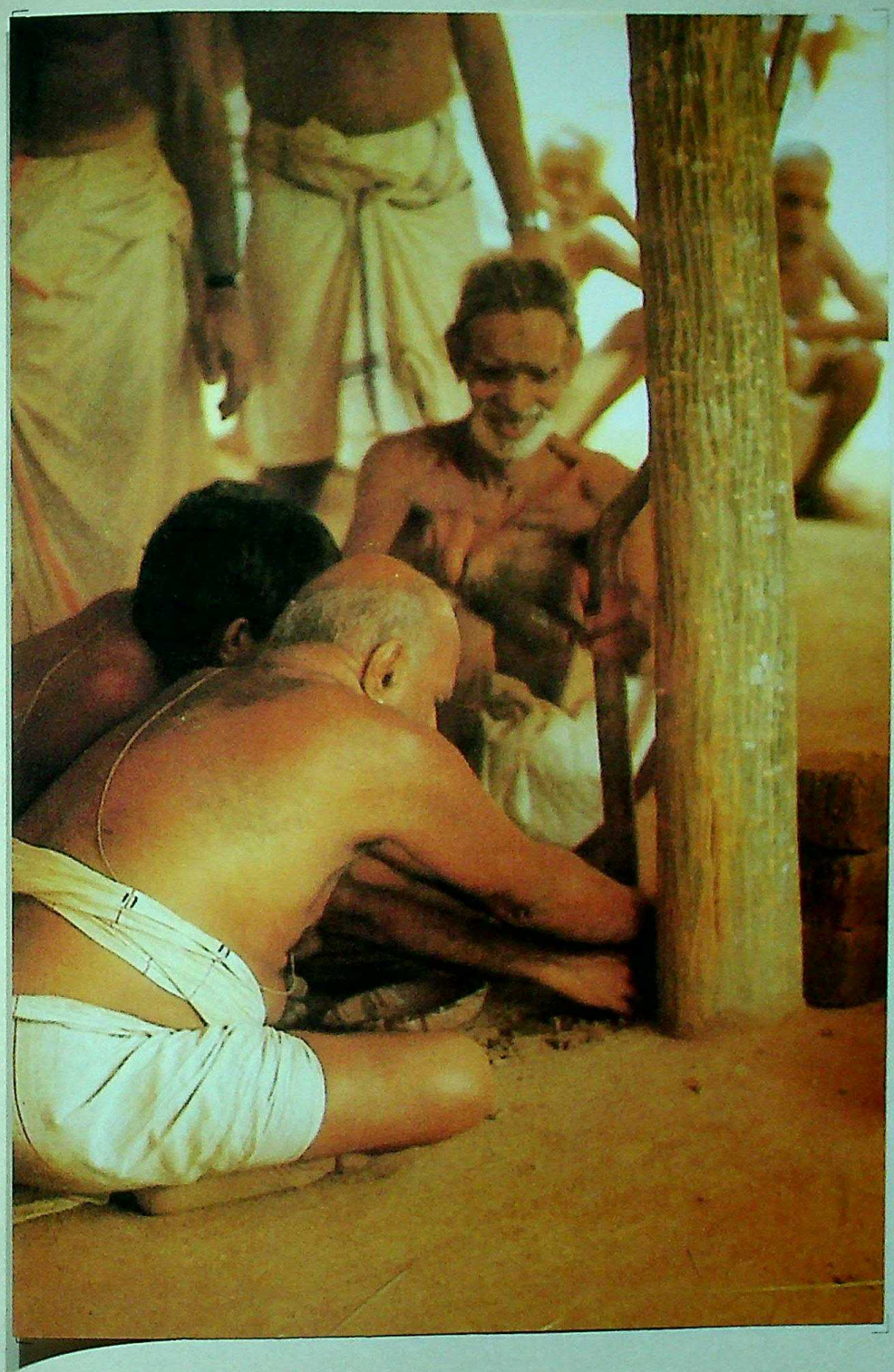

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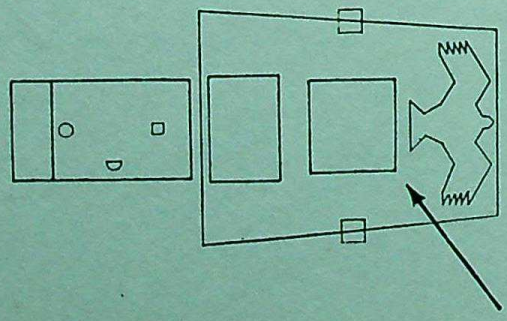
PLATE 94

Preparing the Uparava Resounding Holes

"I bestrew those that slay the demons
that slay the secret charms
that belong to Viṣṇu."

(TS 1.3.2.2k)

Four uparava resounding holes are dug in front of the axle of the southern Soma cart in the havirdhāna or Soma Hall. They are joined with each other under the ground. The adhvaryu puts sacrificial grass inside the holes. Later they will be covered with a plank and a bullock skin, and the Soma stalks will be pounded on top of these.



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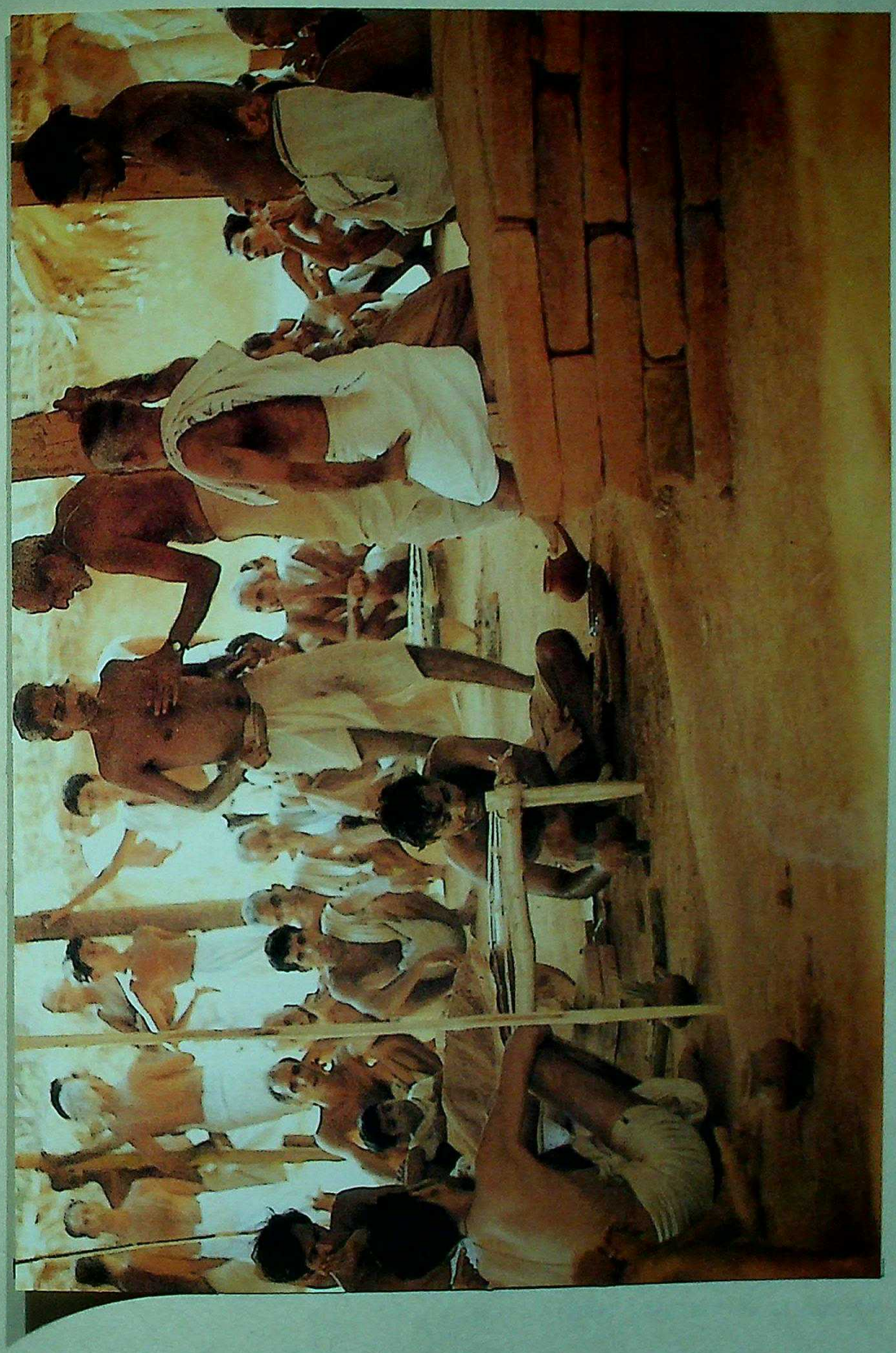

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In rival invocations let radiance be mine, Agni,
we will kindle you and nourish our body.
Let the four directions bow for me.
With you as overseer may we win battles!
(TS 4.7.14.1a)

ममाग्ने वर्चो विहवेष्वस्तु
वयं त्वेन्धानास्तनुवं पुषेम ।
मह्यं नमन्तां प्रदिशश्चतस्र-
स्त्वयाऽध्यक्षेण पृतना जयेम ॥

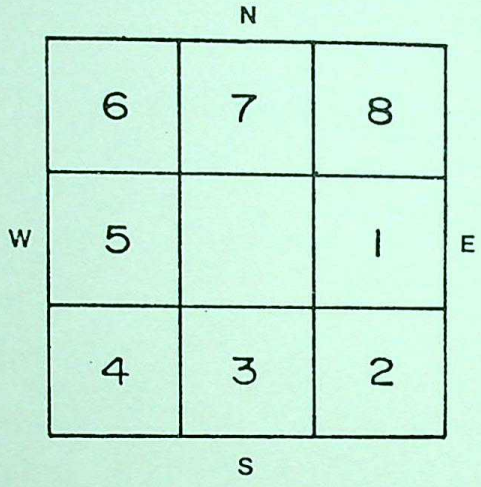

Figure 41—Āgnīdhrīya Hearth

He consecrates the remaining bricks with the Space-Filler mantras (lokampṛṇa: TS 4.2.4.4n, page 341).

The six dhiṣṇya hearths in the sadas are constructed in a row from south to north. The dhiṣṇya of the hotā is on the east-west line (pṛṣṭhyā), that of the maitrāvaruṇa is to its south, and the others to its north, from south to north in the order: brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, potā, neṣṭā, and acchāvāka. See Figure 42. The dhiṣṇya of the hotā is constructed first. It consists of twelve bricks, as in Figure 43. The adhvaryu consecrates brick no. 1 with:

Let all the gods be at my invocation,
the Maruts with Indra, Viṣṇu, and Agni.
May the wide sky be my guardian,
may the wind blow for my desire!
(TS 4.7.14.1b)

मम देवा विहवे सन्तु सर्व
इन्द्रावन्तो मरुतो विष्णुरग्निः ।
ममान्तरिक्षमुरु गोपमस्तु
मह्यं वातः पवतां कामे अस्मिन् ॥

and the remaining bricks with the Space-Filler mantras.

The remaining five dhiṣṇya hearths consist each of eight bricks, in the same configuration. See Figure 44. Brick no. 1 of the dhiṣṇya of the maitrāvaruṇa is consecrated with:

May the gods offer me riches,
for me prayers and divine invocations.

मयि देवा द्रविणमा यजन्तां
मय्याशीरस्तु मयि देवहूतिः ।

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Divine invokers of old shall gain for us,
let our bodies be intact, rich in heroes!
(TS 4.7.14.1c)

दैव्या होतारा वनिषन्त पूर्वे-
ऽरिष्टाः स्याम तनुवा सुवीराः ॥

and the remaining bricks with Space-Filler mantras. Brick no. 1 of the dhiṣṇya of the brāhmaṇacchaṃsin is consecrated with:

Let them offer for me, which offerings are mine,
the intent of my mind be fulfilled.
Let me commit no evil deed,
let all the gods befriend me!
(TS 4.7.14.2d)

मह्यं यजन्तु मम यानि हव्या-
ऽऽकूतिः सत्या मनसो मे अस्तु ।
एनो मा नि गां कतमच्चनाहं
विश्वे देवासो अधि वोचता मे ॥

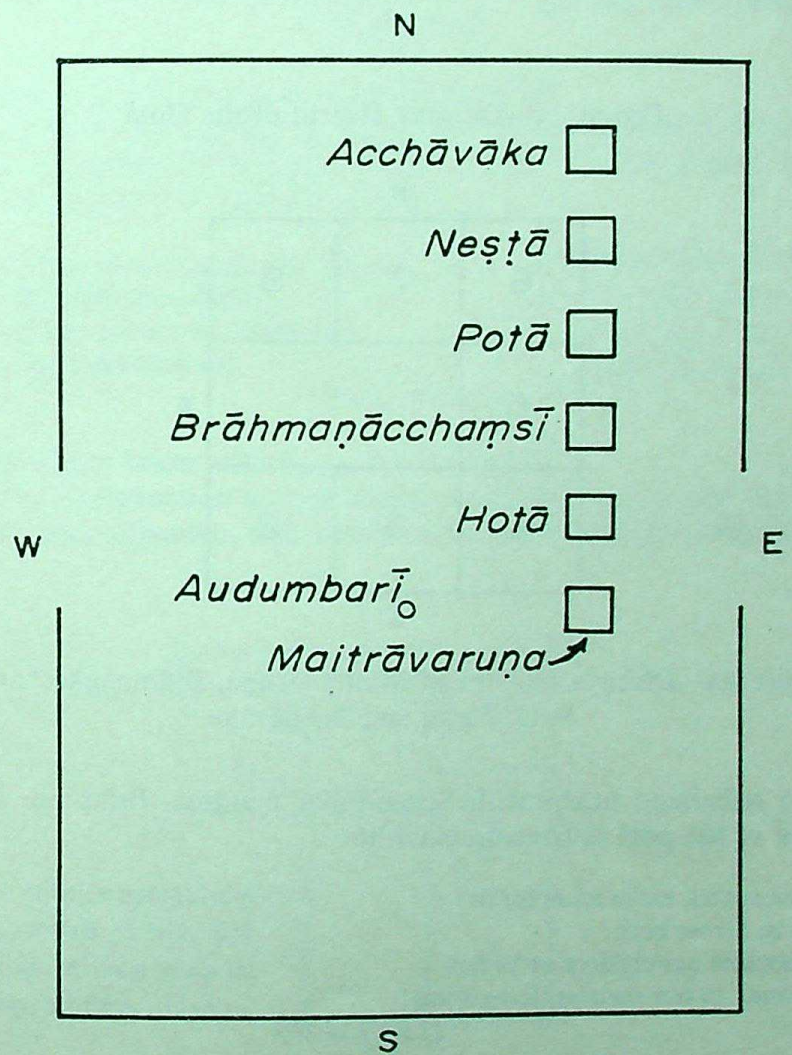

Figure 42—The Dhiṣṇya Hearths

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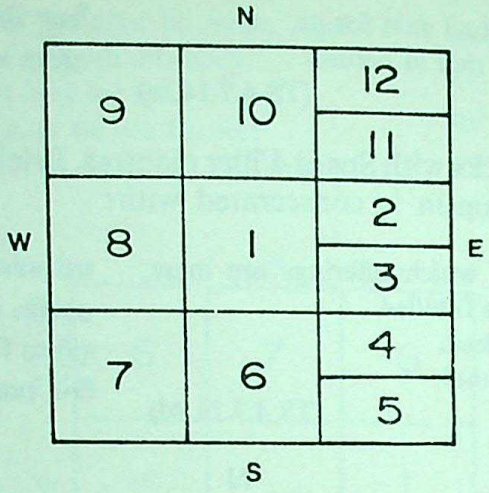

Figure 43—Dhiṣṇya Hearth of the Hotā

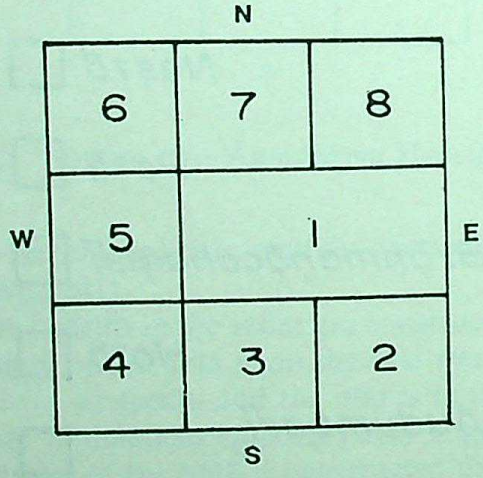

Figure 44—Dhiṣṇya Hearths of Maitrāvaruṇa, Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, Potā, Neṣṭā and Acchāvāka

and the remaining bricks with Space-Filler mantras. Brick no. 1 of the Dhiṣṇya of the potā is consecrated with:

Six divine spaces, make room for us,
all gods be heroes here.
Let us not lose our children or bodies,
nor succumb to our enemies, King Soma!
(TS 4.7.14.2e)

देवीः षडुर्वीरुरु णः कृणोत
विश्वे देवास इह वीरयध्वम्।
मा हासहि प्रजया मा तनूभि-
र्मा रधाम द्विषते सोम राजन्॥

and the remaining bricks with Space-Filler mantras. Brick no. 1 of the dhiṣṇya of the neṣṭā is consecrated with:

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Agni, avert anger ahead of us,
unfailing guardian, protect us all around.
Let your enemies be turned away,
their plans be crushed by your foresight!
(TS 4.7.14.3f)

अग्निर्मन्युं प्रतिनुदन् पुरस्ता-
-ददब्धो गोपाः परि पाहि नस्त्वम्।
प्रत्यञ्चो यन्तु निगुतः पुनस्ते-
ऽमैषां चित्तं प्रबुधा वि नेशत्॥

and the remaining bricks with Space-Filler mantras. Brick no. 1 of the dhiṣṇya of the acchāvāka is consecrated with:

Creators' creator, lord of the world,
god Savitṛ overcoming hostility.
Let both Aśvins and Bṛhaspati protect this ritual,
gods guard the ritual patron from misfortune!
(TS 4.7.14.3g)

धाता धातॄणां भुवनस्य यस्पति-
र्देवꣳ सवितारमभिमातिषाहम्।
इमं यज्ञमश्विनोभा बृहस्पति-
र्देवाः पान्तु यजमानं न्यर्थात्॥

and the remaining bricks with Space-Filler mantras.

The hearth of the mārjālīya, where the Soma vessels and goblets will be cleaned, is constructed last. It consists of six bricks. See Figure 45. The adhvaryu consecrates its first brick with:

Let the broad bull be our refuge, rich in food,
much invoked in this invocation.
You of bay steeds, protect our children,
don't harm, don't abandon us!
(TS 4.7.14.3h)

उरुव्यचा नो महिषः शर्म यꣳस-
दस्मिन् हवे पुरुहूतः पुरुक्षु।
स नः प्रजायै हर्यश्व मृडयेन्द्र
मा नो रीरिषो मा परा दाः॥

and the remaining bricks with Space-Filler mantras.

After the construction and consecration of the hearths and two more Agniṣṭoma rites, yajamāna and brahman sit south of the mahāvedi. The

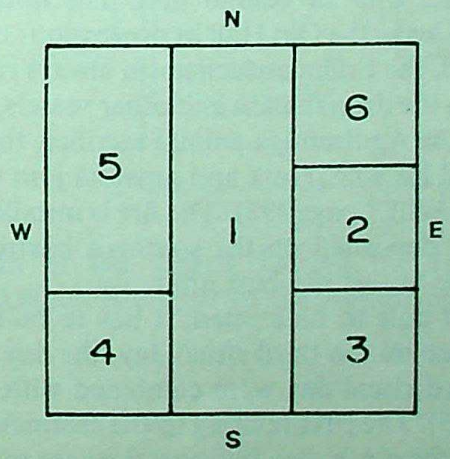

Figure 45—Mārjālīya Hearth

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adhvaryu goes a little further east with a bundle of sacrificial grass, faces east and recites:

Divine grass!
I strew you soft as wool,
a good seat for the gods!
(BŚS 6.30:194.9–10; cf. TS 1.1.11.1h)

देवबर्हि-
रूर्णाम्रदसं त्वा स्तृणामि
स्वासस्थं देवेभ्यः।

Darbha grass is spread all over the mahāvedi, especially thick inside the havirdhāna and sadas halls, and on the āstāva area where the first stuti will be sung.

Third and Ninth Day: April 21, 1975

EPISODE 24

Carrying Forth of Agni and Soma; Animal Sacrifice for Agni and Soma; Offerings for the Divine Instigators; Proclamation of the Yajamāna
(*Agnīṣomapraṇayanam; Agnīṣomīyapaśu; Devasuvāṃ Havīṃṣi*)

THE CEREMONIES OF the ninth ritual day continue with the carrying forth of Agni and Soma from the Old Hall to the mahāvedi. During Agnipraṇayana (Episode 20), Agni was carried to the new offering altar, and installed there. During the Agnīṣomapraṇayana he is connected with Soma and installed on the new hearth of the āgnīdhrīya. Also, Agnīṣomapraṇayana is more of a family affair than Agnipraṇayana. Before the procession begins, the adhvaryu, yajamāna, the yajamāna's wife, and his children come to the Old Hall. The adhvaryu sits down in front of the new domestic altar, facing east. A long cloth is used to tie a turban around his head and to cover the yajamāna and his wife, who sit behind him. The hotā sits to their right (south). All get up and leave the Old Hall in procession: the brahman in front with Soma on his head, the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin always ready to take over the Soma, the unnetā with the droṇakalaśa and other vessels, a helper with ladles of clarified butter for the Agnīṣomīya animal sacrifice, the adhvaryu with the fire, the yajamāna, and his wife. Hotā and prastotā join them with recitation and chant (of "Agni's Will," page 492). The fire is installed on the āgnīdhrīya hearth. King Soma is deposited on the southern havirdhāna cart, and the ladles are put near the tail of the bird altar.

PLATE 95

For the sacrificial pole to be erected, it has to be felled first. This rite should have taken place on the third ritual day, the day that was lost. Most of the rites of the third ritual day were combined with those of the fourth (Episodes 8 through 12). The rites relating to the sacrificial pole have remained unperformed until the ninth day, but now they are required. First the bilba tree is symbolically felled, a libation made on the stump, the branches cut off symbolically, and a pole measured of 9 aratnis, excluding the span of a

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hand at the bottom and a special piece, the *caṣāla*, at the top (cf. above page 306).

The carpenter has to make the sacrificial pole octagonal, and cut off its base. However, not being a brahmin, he cannot enter the ritual enclosure. Actually, he had already made the octagonal shape before the enclosure was consecrated (above page 207). So he merely waits for the pole to be carried outside the enclosure by brahmin helpers. There he symbolically makes the pole octagonal, and cuts off the base, actually; from the base he will make a goblet, the śukra-pātram (see above page 215). After the carpenter has cut off the piece, the brahmin helpers carry the pole back into the sacred enclosure.

The pole is erected in the hole that was previously dug—both acts belonging to the ninth day. The helpers have difficulty getting it up. The rice cake, representing the Agnīṣomīya goat, is tied to the pole. All the other rites of the animal sacrifice are gone through. The dialogues of the iṣṭi, modified by the participation of the maitrāvaruṇa priest (see above page 48) take PLATE 96

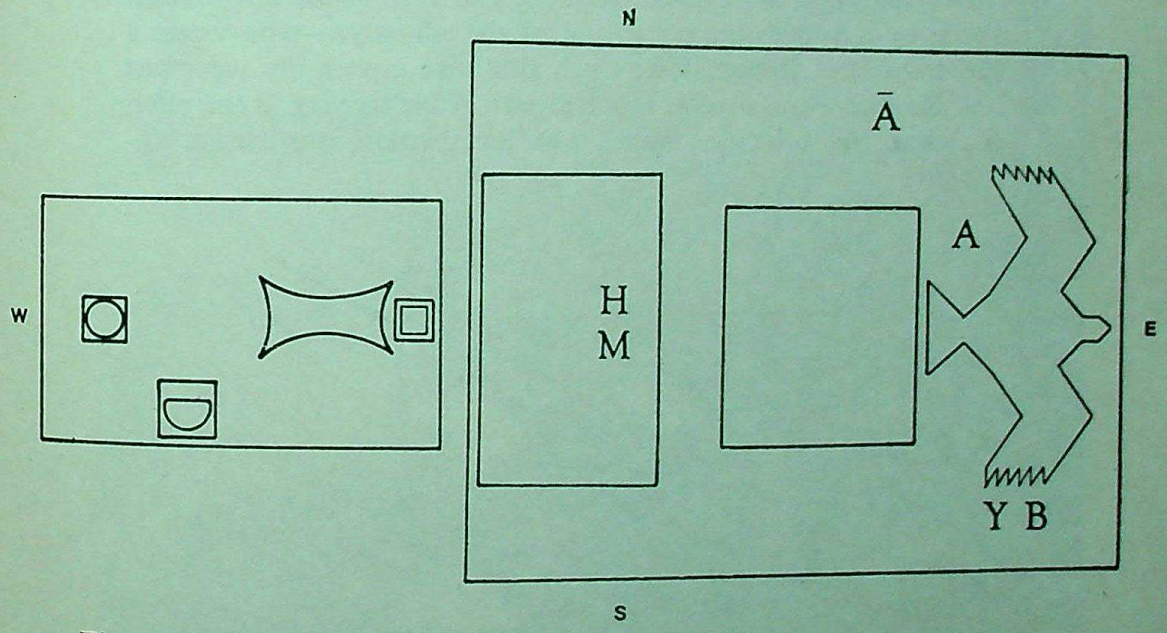

Figure 46—Position of the Priests During the Iṣṭi Ceremonies and Animal Sacrifices of the Agnicayana

A: adhvaryu
Y: yajamāna
B: brahman
Ā: āgnīdhra
H: hotā
M: maitrāvaruṇa

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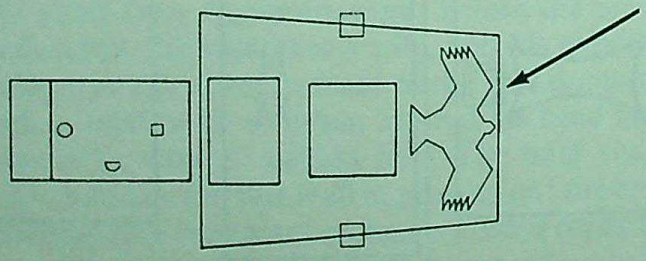
PLATE 95

Arrival of Soma and Agni

"Viṣṇu, step wide,
give us wide space to live in!
Born in butter, drink the butter,
lengthen the years of the ritual master!"

(TS 1.3.4.1d)

Soma and Agni are carried from the Old Hall to the Great Altar space by a procession consisting of the adhvaryu—who wears a turban wound from a long cloth that also covers the yajamāna and his wife—and several other priests. After arriving at the offering altar, the adhvaryu makes a butter oblation into the fire.



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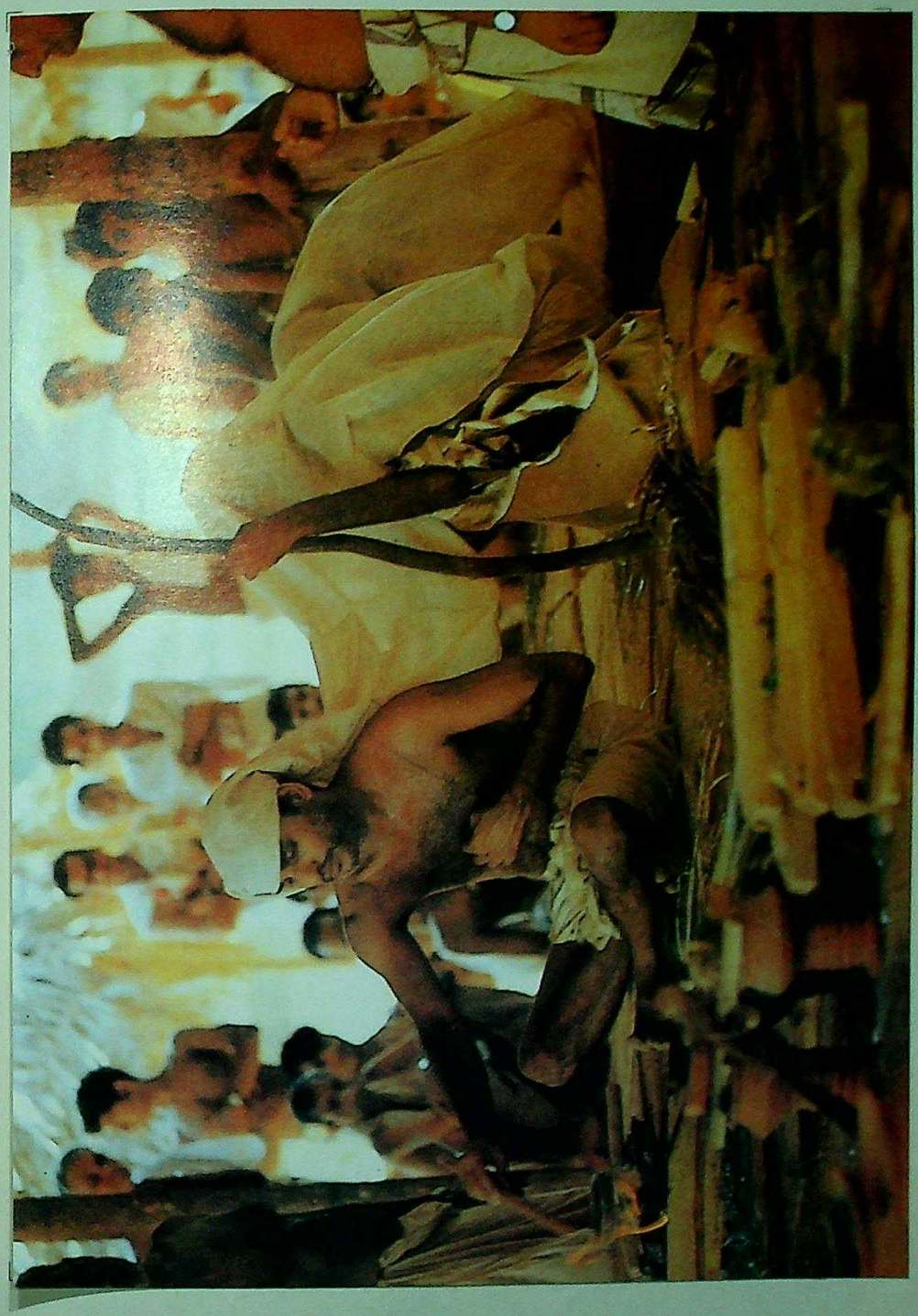

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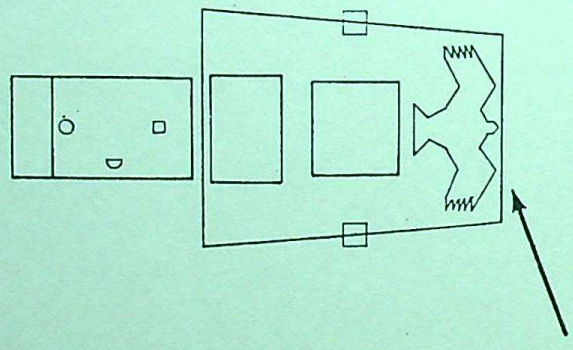
PLATE 96

Erection of the Sacrificial Pole

The sacrificial pole (yūpa) for the animal sacrifices is erected at the extreme east of the Great Altar Space. It has been there from the beginning, but had to be taken down for the carpenter to cut off a piece of its base. This is done outside the ritual enclosure, which the carpenter, a nonbrahmin, cannot enter. Afterwards brahmins carry the pole back, and erect it again.



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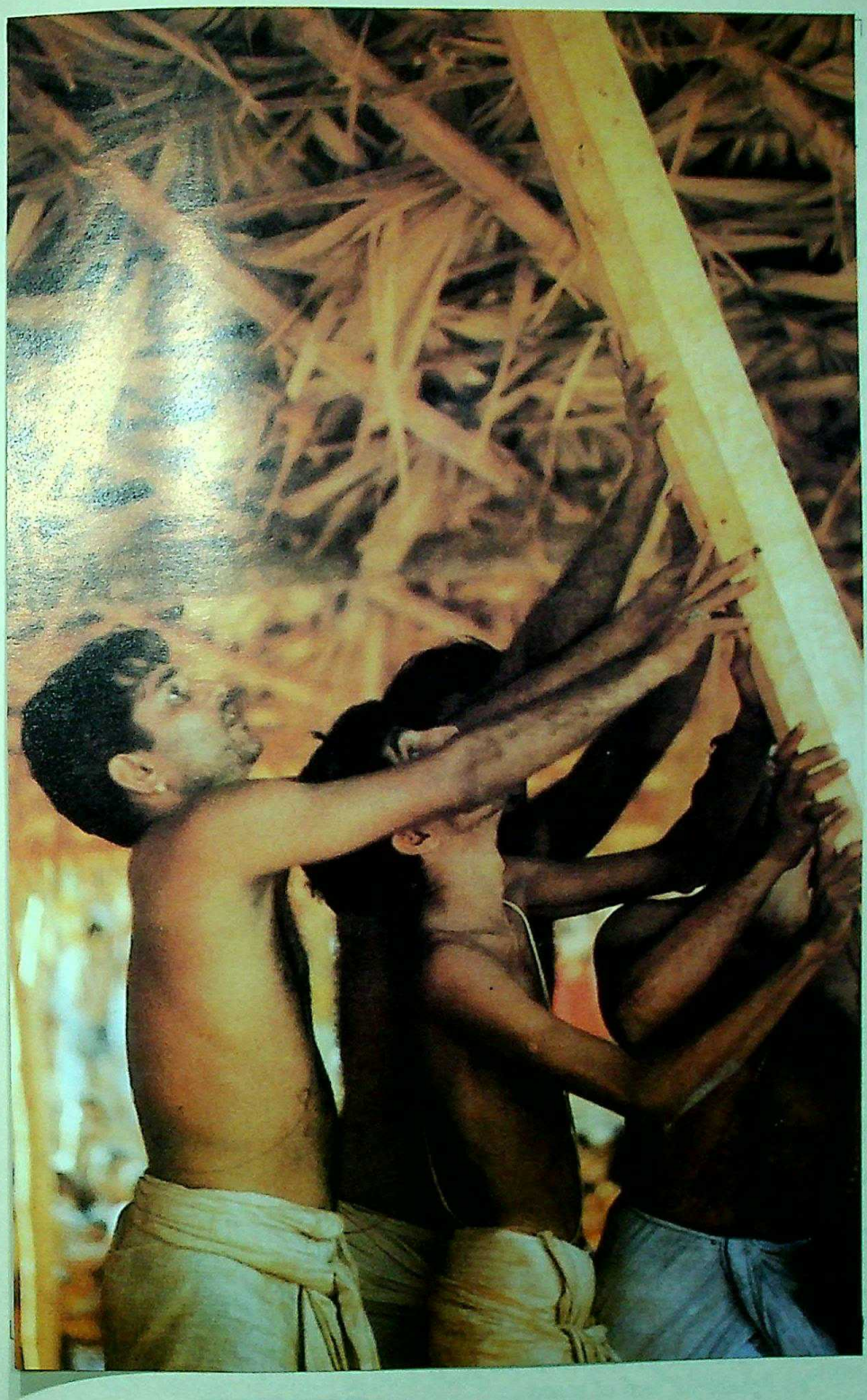

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place. The adhvaryu stands northwest of the Agni altar, the agnīdh on the utkara near his āgnīdhrīya shed, hotā and maitrāvaruṇa in the sadas in front of their respective hearths. In all subsequent iṣṭi rites, the priests will occupy these positions. See Figure 46 on page 591.

The subrahmaṇya priest, who has been chanting his Subrahmaṇyā north of the altar each morning and afternoon since the purchase of Soma (Episode 8), chants it now adding the ancestors and descendants of the yajamāna:

Nīlakaṇṭha Śarmā sacrifices,	नीलकण्ठशर्मा यजते ।
The son of Vallabha Śarmā sacrifices,	वल्लभशर्मणः पुत्रो यजते ।
The grandson of Vāsudeva Śarmā sacrifices,	वासुदेवशर्मणः पौत्रो यजते ।
The descendant of Vallabha Śarmā sacrifices,	वल्लभशर्मणो नप्ता यजते ।
The father, grandfather, great-grandfather	जनिष्यमाणानां पिता पितामहः
of those that will be born sacrifice.	प्रपितामहो यजते ।

Toward the end of the Agnīṣomīya animal sacrifice some Agnicayana rites are inserted. First come eight oblations generally called Offerings for the Divine Instigators (*devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi*). The Nambudiris and Baudhāyana's Dvaidha and Karmānta Sūtras call them Iṣṭis for Various Seeds (*nānābījeṣṭi*). The agnīdh prepares them on the domestic altar:

(1) black rice (*kṛṣṇavrīhi;* Malayalam: *karuttanellu*);
(2) millet (*śyāmāka*; Malayalam: *kavuṭṭa*)
(3) swift rice (*āśuvrīhi*; Malayalam: *navaranellu*);
(4) *gavīdhukā* (Malayalam: celanni);
(5) wild rice (*nīvāra;* Malayalam: *varinellu*);
(6) large rice (*mahāvrīhi*; Malayalam: *valiyanellu* [*kuṭṭātam*]);
(7) āmba (Malayalam: *marutandu*);
(8) barley (*yava:* Malayalam: *yavam*).

The rites are prescribed in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā:

I.	To Agni, lord of the house, he offers a cake of black rice on eight potsherds.	अग्नये गृहपतये पुरोडाश-मष्टाकपालं निर्वपति कृष्णानां व्रीहीणाम् ।
II.	To Soma, lord of the forest, an oblation of millet.	सोमाय वनस्पतये श्यामाकं चरुम् ।
III.	To Savitṛ, of true instigation, a cake of swift rice on twelve potsherds.	सवित्रे सत्यप्रसवाय पुरोडाशं द्वादशकपालमाशूनां व्रीहीणाम् ।
IV.	To Rudra, lord of cattle, an oblation of gavīdhukā grain.	रुद्राय पशुपतये गावीधुकं चरुम् ।
V.	To Bṛhaspati, lord of speech, an oblation of wild rice.	बृहस्पतये वाचस्पतये नैवारं चरुम् ।
VI.	To Indra, the noblest,	इन्द्राय ज्येष्ठाय

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a cake of large rice
on eleven potsherds.
VII. To Mitra, truthful,
an oblation of āmba grain.
VIII. To Varuṇa, master of law,
an oblation of barley.
(TS 1.8.10.1a)

पुरोडाशमेकादशकपालं
महाव्रीहीणाम्।
मित्रायं सत्यायाऽ-
ऽऽम्बानां चरुम्।
वरुणाय धर्मपतये
यवमयं चरुम्।

The yajamāna renounces, respectively, to Agni, lord of the house; Soma, lord of the forest; Savitṛ, of true instigation; etc.

The adhvaryu goes to the south of the altar, takes the yajamāna by the hand, and recites:

b. May Savitṛ of instigations instigate you,
Agni of lords of the house,
Soma of lords of the forest,
Rudra of cattle, Bṛhaspati of speech,
Indra of nobles, Mitra of truth,
Varuṇa of masters of law!
c. Gods that instigate gods,
instigate him,
descendant of Vallabha Śarmā,
to freedom from enemies,
great lordship, great mastery,
great rule over people!
(TS 1.8.10.1b-c)

सविता त्वा प्रसवानाꣳ सुवता-
मग्निर्गृहपतीनाꣳ
सोमो वनस्पतीनाꣳ
रुद्रः पशूनां बृहस्पतिर्वाचा-
मिन्द्रो ज्येष्ठानां मित्रः सत्यानां
वरुणो धर्मपतीनाम्।
ये देवा देवसुवः स्थ
त इममामुष्यायण-
मनमित्रायं सुवध्वं
महते क्षत्रायं महत आधिपत्याय
महते जानराज्याय।

The adhvaryu addresses all who are present:

This is your Kaśyapa king!
(BŚS 10.56:58.16; cf. TS 1.8.10.1d[1])

एष वः काश्यपो राजा।

The name Kaśyapa is used because Kaśyapa is the yajamāna's gotra, or patrilinear clan. All those who are present reply:

Soma is the king of us brahmins!
(TS 1.8.10.1d[2])

सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानाꣳ राजा।

The yajamāna recites:

Earth! Sky! Heaven!
e. This kingdom has been truly conferred,
Varuṇa has diffused his own body,
we have become obedient to pure Mitra,
we have magnified the name of cosmic order!

भूर्भुवः सुवः।
प्रति त्यन्नामं राज्यमधायि
स्वां तनुवं वरुणो अशिश्रे-
च्छुचेर्मित्रस्य व्रत्या अभूमा-
मन्महि महत ऋतस्य नामं॥

He wipes his face and continues:

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f. They have all become hosts of Varuṇa.
Mitra in his course has overcome hostility.
The pious follow cosmic order,
Trita has taken our old age!

सर्वे ब्राता वरुणस्याभूवन्
वि मित्र एवैररातिमतारी-
दसूपुदन्त यज्ञिया ऋतेन
व्यु त्रितो जरिमाणं न आनट् ॥

and wipes his face again.

The yajamāna then takes three Viṣṇu strides to the east, reciting:

You are the stepping of Viṣṇu,
you are the step of Viṣṇu,
you are the stride of Viṣṇu!

विष्णोः क्रमोऽसि ।
विष्णोः क्रान्तमसि ।
विष्णोर्विक्रान्तमसि ॥

(TS 1.8.10.3g)

After this, the Agnīṣomīya animal sacrifice is completed with the offering for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt.

The remaining ceremonies are direct preparations for the next day, which is the pressing day (*sutyāha*). The pratiprasthātā prepares milk, curds, and parched rice, powdered and not powdered. He also prepares darbha grass and fire sticks for the next day and for the iṣṭi for maitravāruṇa on the last day. The adhvaryu and yajamāna take the Soma vessels and implements and put them in their places in the havirdhāna, mārjālīya, and āgnīdhrīya sheds. With these activities the ceremonies of the ninth ritual day are completed.

Tenth Day: April 22, 1975

EPISODE 25

Continuation of the Soma Ritual; Outdoor Chant for the Purified Soma (*Bahiṣpavamānastuti*)

SO FAR WE have met with relatively quiet days as well as very busy, even frantic days (such as the first, fourth, and ninth ritual days). From now on we are caught in a whirlpool of rites, often overlapping, which continue for three days and two nights through the twelfth and last day. Most of these rites belong to the Soma ritual and will be described only summarily. However, specific Agnicayana rites occur along with the others, not to mention the fact that the bird-shaped Agnicayana altar continues to function as offering altar, and its fire as the main receptacle for the oblations. In the remaining portions of the present description, Agnicayana rites will be singled out.

For the Soma ceremonies the reader is once again referred to the work of Caland and Henry, which provides the relevant details. The material is also accessible in the Śrautakośa. However, these works are confined to the prototype of Soma ritual, i.e., the Agniṣṭoma. In the following pages attention will therefore be paid to special features of the Atirātra, which modify

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or go beyond the Agniṣṭoma. These features are mostly related to the 17 Soma sequences of the Atirātra, which are added to the 12 Soma sequences of the Agniṣṭoma (see above pages 49, 54). The differences, however, are not confined to these additions. Several of the first 12 stutis and śastras of the Atirātra are different, or partly different, from the 12 stutis and śastras of the Agniṣṭoma. Differences in the stutis induce differences in the śastras, which often begin with the same verses upon which the immediately preceding stutis were based. In sum, the amount of material from Ṛgveda and Sāmaveda incorporated in the Atirātra, which is not found in the Agniṣṭoma, is enormous. I shall mention all relevant hymns, verses, chants, and songs. I shall translate only the sources (generally ṛks) from which the stutis are constructed, which are also the beginning verses of the accompanying śastra. With the exception of the first, I shall not translate the remaining parts of the śastras, or śastras textually different from the preceding stutis. I shall concentrate on what is ritually significant, viz., the structure of the chants and recitations. This structure is generally arrived at on formal grounds, not on account of meaning. Many verses are included, for example, because of their meters or because they contain particular words or expressions. In some of the recitations (like the Ṣoḍaśi Śastra) the entire composition is arrived at on formal grounds and a translation of the result would be meaningless. While the structure in such cases can be regarded as significant, in terms of meaning it makes no sense.

The activities of the tenth day, the sutyā or Soma-pressing day, start on April 22 at about 2:30 A.M. Implements for the eleven animal sacrifices (Episode 26) are prepared. When the ladles have been prepared, they are addressed by the adhvaryu:

Sit on your dear seat
with your dear name!

प्रियेण नाम्ना
प्रिये सदसि सीद।

(TS 1.1.11.2q[b])

The yajamāna takes possession of the ladles with his usual mantras:

Whatever, Agni,
in my ritual is spoilt;
whatever of butter, Viṣṇu,
may be spilt;
with that I strike the enemy, die-hard,
I place him in the lap of destruction!

यन्मे अग्ने अस्य यज्ञस्य रिष्या-
द्यद्वा स्कन्दाद्याज्यस्योतं विष्णो।
तेनं हन्मि सपत्नं दुर्मरायु-
मेनं दधामि निर्ऋत्या उपस्थे॥

(TS 1.6.2.1e)

An Agnicayana rite follows: Agni is "yoked" with three mantras, which the adhvaryu recites while he touches the five layers from top to bottom (as he did after the completion of the altar, above page 543, and will do again, below page 654):

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a. I yoke Agni with glory, with butter,
divine bird strong with power;
may we fly the expanse of the ruddy one,
mounting heaven beyond the highest vault!
b. Your wings, bird, are unaging,
you strike demons with them, Agni,
let us fly with them
to the world of the virtuous,
where the first born seers live!
c. You are piled, ocean-born drop,
clever and wise griffon,
gold-winged bird, active and impressive,
who has sat in its place, firm!
(TS 4.7.13.1a-c)

अग्निं युनज्मि शवसा घृतेन
दिव्यꣳ सुपर्णं वयसा बृहन्तम्।
तेन वयं पतेम ब्रध्नस्य विष्टपꣳ
सुवो रुहाणा अधि नाक उत्तमे ॥
इमौ ते पक्षावजरौ पतत्रिणौ
याभ्याꣳ रक्षाꣳस्यपहꣳस्यग्ने।
ताभ्यां पतेम सुकृतामु लोकं
यत्रर्षयः प्रथमजा ये पुराणाः ॥
चिदसि समुद्रयोनिरिन्दु-
र्दक्षः श्येन ऋतावा।
हिरण्यपक्षः शकुनो भुरण्यु-
र्महान्त्सधस्थे ध्रुव आ निषत्तः ॥

The adhvaryu calls the yajamāna, as he does on all important occasions:

Come yajamāna! एहि यजमान।

Soma is taken off the southern havirdhāna cart and placed under it, the pressing stones are arranged upon the bullock skin on top of the planks, and the hotā begins to recite the Morning Litany (*prātaranuvāka*). This recitaton lasts for about an hour, and consists, among Kauṣītakins, of 360 Ṛgvedic verses, in which Dawn (*uṣas*) plays an important part (cf. ŚŚS 6.2; translation in Caland-Henry 2.428–459):

RV	10.30.12 (3×)	= 3
	1.74.1–9	= 9
	1.1.1–9	= 9
	6.16.15–27	= 13
	2.5.1–8	= 8
	4.7.2–11	= 10
	4.2.1–20	= 20
	7.12.1–3	= 3
	7.16.1–12	= 12
	3.16.1–6	= 6
	3.10.1–9	= 9
	8.23.1–30	= 30
	1.150.1–3	= 3
	1.140.1–7	= 7
	5.11.1–6	= 6
	5.6.1–10	= 10
	1.30.20–22	= 3
		161

		161
RV	4.52.1–7	= 7
	1.49.1–4	= 4
	7.77.1–6	= 6
	7.78.1–5	= 5
	7.79.1–5	= 5
	7.80.1–3	= 3
	7.81.1–6	= 6
	1.48.1–16	= 16
	1.92.13–15	= 3
	1.92.1–4	= 4
	5.79.1–10	= 10
	1.3.1–3	= 3
	1.22.1–4	= 4
	1.30.17–19	= 3
	8.85.1–9	= 9
	8.8.1–23	= 23
		272

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		272			328
RV	5.74.1–10	= 10	RV	1.47.5	= 1
	5.76.1–5	= 5		8.26.1–5	= 5
	5.77.1–5	= 5		1.34.1–12	= 12
	1.116.1–25	= 25		10.41.1–3	= 3
	7.73.1–5	= 5		5.75.1–8	= 8
	7.74.1–6	= 6		5.75.9 (3 ×)	= 3
		328			360

Soma vessels, cups, and goblets are arranged. The adhvaryu, accompanied by yajamāna's wife and neṣṭā, brings *ekadhāna* waters in five pots (in the Agniṣṭoma there are three). These waters will be used for pressing Soma. The adhvaryu offers a cup with curds (*dadhigraha*) and, as first Soma cup, the *upāṃśu* cup, for which six Soma stalks have been pressed.[1] Assisted by pratiprasthātā, agnīdh, and neṣṭā, the adhvaryu presses a fair amount of Soma by pounding the stalks on the plank with the pressing stones. PLATE 105

The chanters, udgātā, prastotā, and pratihartā, enter the havirdhāna or Soma Hall, touch the havirdhāna carts, and sit down. The udgātā chants:

namaḥ pitṛbhyaḥ pūrvasadbhyo namas sākanniṣadbhyaḥ / yuñje vācaṃ śatapadīṃ gāye sahasravartanīṃ gāyatra traiṣṭubhaṃ jagat / viśvā rūpāṇi saṃbhṛtam / devā ōkāṃsi cakrire //

(JA 60.1–2)

immediately followed by the Viśvarūpa chant, which is based upon it:

namaḥ pitṛbhyaḥ pūrvasadbhyom / namas sākanniṣadbhāyā yuñje vācāṃ śātā hṃ bhā o vā / yūñje vācāṃ śatapadoṃ / gāye sahasravartanīṃ gāyatran trāyiṣṭubhā hṃ bhā o vā / gāyatran traiṣṭubhañ jagoṃ / viśvā rūpāṇi saṃbhārtān devā okāṃ sāyicā hṃ bhā o vā //

(Ūṣāṇi = RG 1.1; cf. JB 1.74; JŚS 8)

Homage to the ancestors, sitting in front,
homage to those who sit together.
I harness the voice of a hundred verse,
I sing in a thousand turns,
with meters gāyatrī, triṣṭubh, jagatī.
All the assembled forms
the gods have taken up as their abodes.

The udgātā wipes the droṇakalaśa vessel and places it over the uparava holes. The adhvaryu offers the antaryāma cup and filters Soma through a

[1] The Nambudiris do not offer the optional *adābhya* and *aṃśu* cups.

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cloth into the various goblets, cups, and vessels. Several Soma cups are offered to pairs of deities (*dvidevatya*).

The first stuti chant is about to begin. Starting from the uparava holes in the Soma Hall, adhvaryu, the three chanters (prastotā, udgātā, pratihartā), yajamāna, brahman, and pratiprasthātā crawl on the altar, in serpentine movement and holding each other's shoulders, "as hunters approach their prey." Each makes an oblation into the fire, but the Sāmavedins and the brahman make two. They crawl off the altar and move toward the *āstāva* spot, northwest of the altar. Three cloths have been placed on the ground for the chanters to sit on. They sit down, the prastotā facing west, the udgātā north, and the pratihartā south. There they sing the Outdoor Chant for the Purified Soma (Bahiṣpavamānastotra). This chant (stotra or stuti) consists of nine *stotriyās*. It is the first of the twenty-nine chants that characterize the Atirātra.

A stotriyā is a unit of chant consisting of verse set to a melody (sāman). The verses are generally ṛks from the Ṛgveda. They are listed in the Jaiminīya Ārcikā. The melodies (with certain verses set to them) are listed in the Grāmageyagāna or Grāmegeyagāna (GG: "songs to be sung in the village") and Āraṇyakagāna or Araṇyegeyagāna (AG: "forest songs" or "songs to be sung in the forest"). Many of these chants are used in the Agnicayana, as we have seen. The ritual stotra or stuti chants, however, which are now beginning, are generally listed in the Ūhagāna (UG) or in the Rahasya (or: Ūhya)-gāna (RG; "secret songs", which the Nambudiris call: Ūṣāṇi). What characterizes these last two collections is that each three chants sung to the same melody are written out in full.

In some cases, the correspondance between ṛks (or other underlying verses) and sāmans is complicated. A complex pattern, which is common, results when two ṛks are turned into three sāmans by a process of overlapping. Illustrations will follow. In other cases, the correspondance is simple: one ṛk is turned into one stotriyā. This applies to the Outdoor Chant of the Purified Soma.

Like all sāmans, each stotriyā consists of five parts or portions (*bhakti*): *prastāva* ("prelude"), *udgītha* ("chant"), *pratihāra* ("response") *upadrava* ("accessory"), and *nidhana* ("tail" or "finale"). In general, each of these five parts should be sung in one breath. Sometimes breathing is allowed within one portion. This is indicated in the manuscripts by a hyphen ("-") and I shall indicate it by an oblique stroke ("/"). In the ritual chants, the text is generally preserved only in the prastāva. In the other four, it is fragmented and/or hidden by syllables, which is called "unexpressed chant" (*aniruktagāna*). As a rule, the prastāva is chanted by the prastotā, the udgītha by the udgātā, the pratihāra by the pratihartā, the upadrava again by the udgātā, and the nidhana by all three. Sometimes there is an "intermediate finale" (*antarnidhana*) following the udgītha and sung by the trio. There are other

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variations. In singing these portions, the chanters often overlap. For example the udgītha starts almost always before the prastāva is over.

The Outdoor Chant is sung in accordance with the melody of the gāyatra sāman. The gāyatra melody is used in all the stutis of the morning pressing (nos. 1–5), in the first stuti of the midday pressing (no. 6), and in the first stuti of the third pressing (no. 11). It does not occur elsewhere in the Atirātra. In the gāyatra sāman, the prastāva contains the beginning words of the underlying text, and the udgītha is always:

ō vā ō vā ō vā hṃ bhā ō vā.

This is chanted by the udgātā. The partiharta sings *hṃ* together with the udgātā, breathes in, and chants *vāk* while he holds his breath (and therefore almost inaudibly). Some of the other priests should also chant *ō* together with the udgātā: yajamāna and brahman always; maitrāvaruṇa, brahmaṇācchaṃsin, and acchāvāka, whenever they do not recite the following śastra; moreover, the acchāvāka should abstain when the hotā recites the succeeding śastra.

At the beginning of each stuti, the three chanters sing "*o hṃ.*" As we have seen, the Outdoor Chant of the Purified Soma consists of nine stotriyās. These differ only with respect to the prastāva, the remainder being chanted in the gāyatra manner, which has just been described. (There is one minor exception, which occurs in the first stotriyā: its udgītha does not include *hṃ bhā.*) For each stotriyā, it is therefore sufficient to list the prastāva, the source in the Jaiminīya Ārcika (JA)[1], and the (textual) source in the Ṛgveda:

I. *pavasva vāco agriyōṃ* (JA 72.1; RV 9.62.25)
II. *tvaṃ samudriyā apōṃ* (JA 72.2; RV 9.62.26)
III. *tubhyam imā bhuvanā kavōṃ* (JA 72.3; RV 9.62.27)
IV. *pavasvendo vṛṣā sutōṃ* (JA 72.4; RV 9.61.28)
V. *yasya te sakhye vayōṃ* (JA 72.5; RV 9.61.29)
VI. *yā te bhīmānyāyudhōṃ* (JA 72.6; RV 9.61.30)
VII. *pavamānasya te kavōṃ* (JA 60.9; RV 9.66.10)
VIII. *acchā kośaṃ madhuścutōṃ* (JA 60.10; RV 9.66.11)
IX. *acchā samudram indavōṃ* (JA 60.11; RV 9.66.12)

The prastāva always ends in *-ōṃ*. The text differs slightly from the Ṛgvedic source. This Outdoor Chant of the Atirātra differs from the Outdoor Chant of the Agniṣṭoma in the first six stotriyās; the last three are the same. For a general comparison of the stutis of the Atirātra and the corresponding stutis of the Agniṣṭoma, the reader may compare those that are published in this

[1] I use the Nambudiri system of reference. The mantras can be found in Caland's edition (1907) without difficulty. Note the long *ō* which is not marked in Sanskrit (where *o* is always long), but which occurs in the manuscripts of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda.

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volume with the Agniṣṭoma stutis published in Staal 1968 (where the practice of gāyatra singing, however, is described incorrectly).

During the udgītha of the middle, i.e., fifth stotriyā, the prastotā signals to the adhvaryu:

एष मध्यमः ।

This is the middle!

(JŚS 11, ed. Gaastra, page 13, lines 15-16)

In later chants, similar indications will be given (e.g., "This is the last!") The underlying verses of the Outdoor Chant are:

As leader of speech, Soma,	पवस्व वाचो अग्रियः
purify thyself with thy bright aids	सोम चित्राभिरूतिभिः ।
to attain all poetic powers.	अभि विश्वानि काव्या
As leader of speech, arouse the sea waters	त्वं समुद्रियो अपो-
and purify thyself,	ऽग्रियो वाचं ईरयन् ।
thou who dost stir everything.	पवस्व विश्वमेजय ॥
Poet, these creations submit to thee	तुभ्येमा भुवना कवे
and to thy greatness, o Soma.	महित्वे सोम तस्थिरे ।
The rivers flow for thee.	तुभ्यमर्षन्ति सिन्धवः ॥
(RV 9.62.25–27)	
Purify thyself, drop, now that thou the bull art pressed.	पवस्वेन्दो वृषा सुतः
Make us glorious among the folk.	कृधी नो यशसो जने ।
Smash away all enemies.	विश्वा अप द्विषो जहि ॥
Under thy comradeship, under thy highest majesty,	अस्य ते सख्ये वयं
may we overwhelm those who wish to do battle.	तवेन्दो द्युम्न उत्तमे ।
Protect us from the corn of each person	सासह्याम पृतन्यतः ॥
with thy fearsome weapons	या ते भीमान्यायुधा
which are sharp for destruction.	तिग्मानि सन्ति धूर्वणे ।
(RV 9.61.28–30)	रक्षा समस्य नो निदः ॥
Poet and winner, as thou purifiest thyself,	पवमानस्य ते कवे
thy discharges have been released	वाजिन्त्सर्गा असृक्षत ।
like racehorses striving after fame.	अर्वन्तो न श्रवस्यवः ॥
They have been released into the woolen sieve,	अच्छा कोशं मधुश्चुत-
to flow towards the bucket which drips with sweetness.	मसृग्रं वारे अव्यये ।
The poems (of the priests) have bellowed (at them).	अवावशन्त धीतयः ॥
Like milk cows to their stall,	अच्छा समुद्रमिन्दवो-
the drops have come to the sea,	ऽस्तं गावो न धेनवः ।
to the homestead of truth.	अग्मन्नृतस्य योनिमा ॥
(RV 9.66.10–12)	

When the chant is over, the udgātā prompts the yajamāna to say:

You are a griffon!	श्येनोऽसि गायत्रच्छन्दा
Your meter is gāyatri.	

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Outdoor Chant for the Purified Soma

I hold you, transport me safely.	अनु त्वा रभे
May the essence of the chant	स्वस्ति मा संपारया
come to me.	मा स्तुतस्य स्तुतं गम्या-
United with Indra we conquer,	दिन्द्रवन्तो वनामहे
we acquire offspring and food.	धुक्षीमहि प्रजामिष-
I have accomplished, fully accomplished,	मापं समापं
with the chant fully accomplished!	साम्ना समापम् ।
(JŚS 11:13.10–13)	

Yajamāna and adhvaryu recite the Stuti Milking (*stutadoha*, "milking of the chanted"), a recitation that occurs after each stuti:

g. You are the chanted of the chanted,	स्तुतस्य स्तुतमस्यू-
may the chanted milk strength for me,	र्ज मह्यꣳस्तुतं दुहामा
may the chanted of the chanted come to me!	मा स्तुतस्य स्तुतं गम्यात् ।
i. With power may we conquer,	इन्द्रियावन्तो वनामहे
let us milk offspring and food!	धुक्षीमहि प्रजामिषम् ।
k. May my wish be fulfilled among the gods!	सा मे सत्याऽऽशीर्देवेषु भूयाद्
l. May Brahma splendor come to me!	ब्रह्मवर्चसं माऽऽगम्यात् ॥
(TS 3.2.7.1g, 2 i-1)	

After other mantras, some muttered inaudibly, the udgātā throws a clay dish, earlier contemplated by the singers, on the cātvāla pit, "sending water back to the ocean." He takes the yajamāna to the northern boundary of the Great Altar Space. Standing next to him, the udgātā makes the yajamāna repeat, within the sacrificial enclosure: PLATE 97

Don't cut (me) off	मा स्वर्गाल्लोका-
from the celestial world!	दवच्छैत्सीः ।

and outside the enclosure:

Nor from this world!	मास्मात् ।

(JŚS 11:14.3–5)

After several other rites, the agnīdh takes fire from his hearth and installs it on the dhiṣṇya hearths in the sadas, and on the hearth of the mārjālīya. All the required fires have now been installed.

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PLATE 97

Udgātā's Council to Yajamāna

After the Outdoor Chant for the Purified Soma (bahiṣpavamāna-stuti) has been completed, the udgātā chanter takes the yajamāna to the northern boundary of the Great Altar Space (mahāvedi). Both face east. The yajamāna has not been outside the sacrificial enclosure since his consecration on the first day. Now the udgātā, standing next to him, makes him spread his legs, put his right foot down within the enclosure, and repeat:

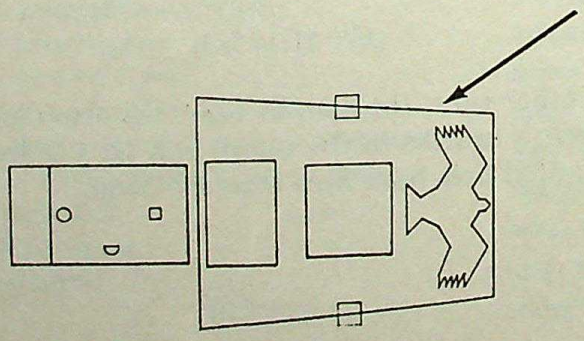
> Don't cut (me) off
> from the celestial world!

Then he makes him put his left foot outside the enclosure, and repeat:

> Nor from this world!

(JŚS 11:14.3–5)

Photo A. Parpola



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Tenth Day: April 22, 1975

EPISODE 26

The Eleven Animal Sacrifices and the Rest of the Morning Pressing (*Savanīyapaśu; Prātaḥsavana*)

ELEVEN GOATS, REPRESENTED by packets of rice flour folded in banana leaves (see page 303 and Volume II, page 465), are offered to Agni, Sarasvatī, Soma, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra, the Maruts, Indra-Agni, Savitṛ, and Varuṇa. These rites, which take up a great deal of time, continue through several of the following ceremonies. While the Sāmavedins are chanting their stuti chants, or the Ṛgvedins reciting their śastra recitations in the sadas, elsewhere the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātā, together with the śamitā, "pacifiers," may be performing parts of these animal sacrifices. The Nambudiris do object to recitations or chants being bungled or rushed through. They do not mind them going on simultaneously.

PLATES 98–100

Before the chants and recitations begin, the priests enter the sadas, Hall of Recitation, and take up their appointed places: from north to south, acchāvāka (who will enter later), neṣṭā, potā, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, hotā, and maitrāvaruṇa sit in front of their dhiṣṇya hearths, facing east; yajamāna and brahman sit a little further south, facing north, as usual; the sadasya is to their left, also facing north; pratiprasthātā and adhvaryu, when not otherwise engaged, sit to the north and south of the eastern entrance, facing west; and the three chanters sit west of the audumbarī pole, the prastotā facing west, the udgātā north, and the pratihartā south. The priests occupy these positions during the following 28 chants and 29 recitations: see Figure 47.

It may be useful to recapitulate briefly the structure of the Atirātra. As we have seen, there are 29 Soma sequences. Each Soma sequence consists of a chant (stotra or, as the Nambudiris call it, stuti), a recitation (śastra), Soma offerings to the deities, which are made into the sacrificial fire on the bird-shaped altar, and Soma drinking (*somabhakṣaṇam*) by the yajamāna and his chief priests in the sadas. Each stuti is chanted by the three sāmavedins, prastotā, udgātā, and pratihartā. Except for the Outdoor Chant, all chants take place in the sadas. The śastra recitations generally come in groups of four, recited successively by hotā, maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, and acchāvāka, sitting in the sadas in front of their dhiṣṇya with folded hands and facing east. Soma for the Soma offerings is poured by the adhvaryu, with mantras, from the round pātram goblets (this is called *graha*); or it is poured by helpers (parikarmī) without mantras from the camasa cups (see pages 214–215). Only the latter form of Soma offering is used during the nocturnal rounds of the Atirātra.

Table 16 provides a list of the stuti chants and śastra recitations that characterize the Atirātra (and therefore includes those of Ukthya and Ṣoḍaśin. Only Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra are referred to in the Jaiminīya

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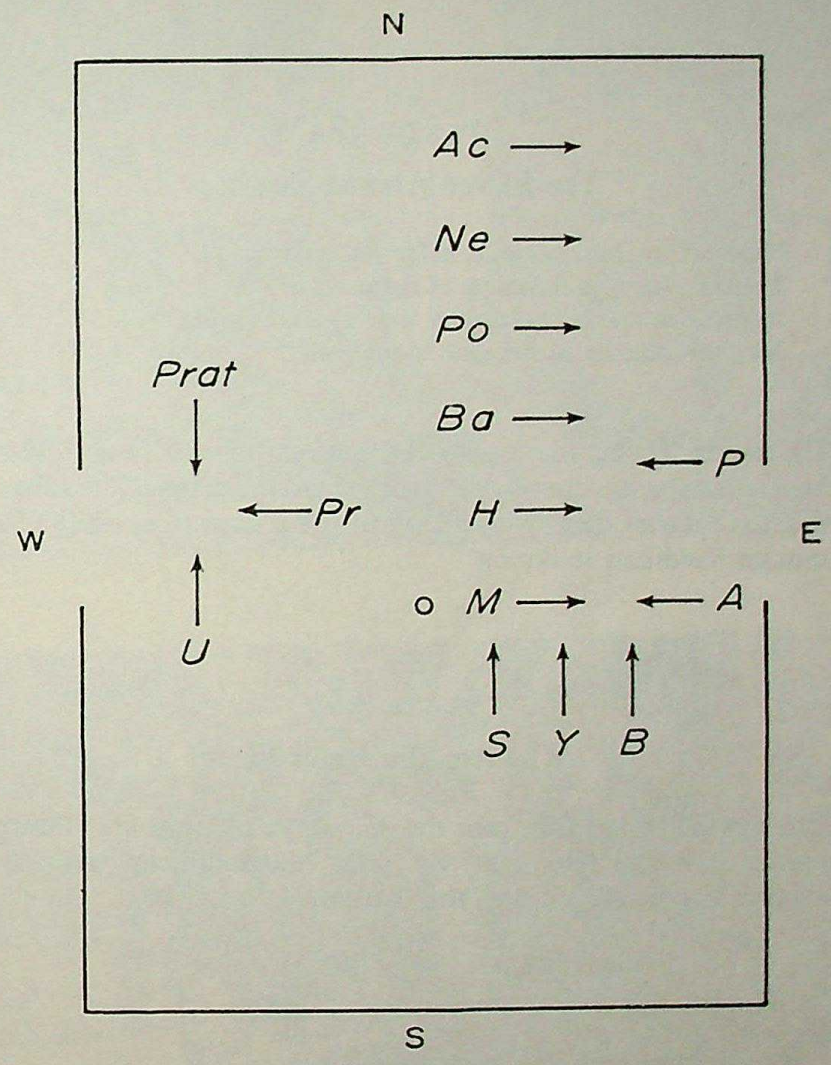

Figure 47—Position of Priests in the Sadas

Saṃhitā and are performed in the Nambudiri tradition: cf. above, page 185). The Soma sequences continue through the tenth and eleventh ritual days and nights. The final śastra should end after sunrise on the twelfth day.

Let us return to the tenth day. After sunrise, the animal sacrifice continues with the offering of cakes (*savanīya-puroḍāśa*). The Two-Deity (*dvi-devatya*) Soma cups are offered to pairs of deities, each during an iṣṭi cere-

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PLATE 98A

The Eleven Animal Sacrifices

"This victim, lord of cattle, is for you today.
I bind it, Agni, in the midst of righteous action.
Approve it, and let us sacrifice with a good offering
May this offering be welcome to the gods."

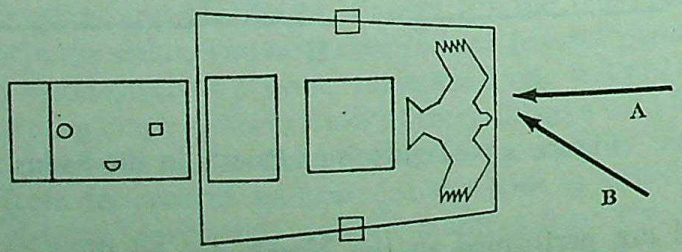
(TS 3.1.4.1b)

The eleven goats, represented by packets of rice flour folded in banana leaves, are in a row north of the sacrificial pole. The adhvaryu touches each of them with a twig of the plakṣa tree, while Cherumukku Vaidikan looks on.

PLATE 98B

The Agnīdh Brings Fire

The agnīdh brings fire from the *āhavanīya* offering fire. Thrice he carries it round (paryagni) the altar, the sacrificial victims, the sacrificial pole (yūpa) and the cātvāla.



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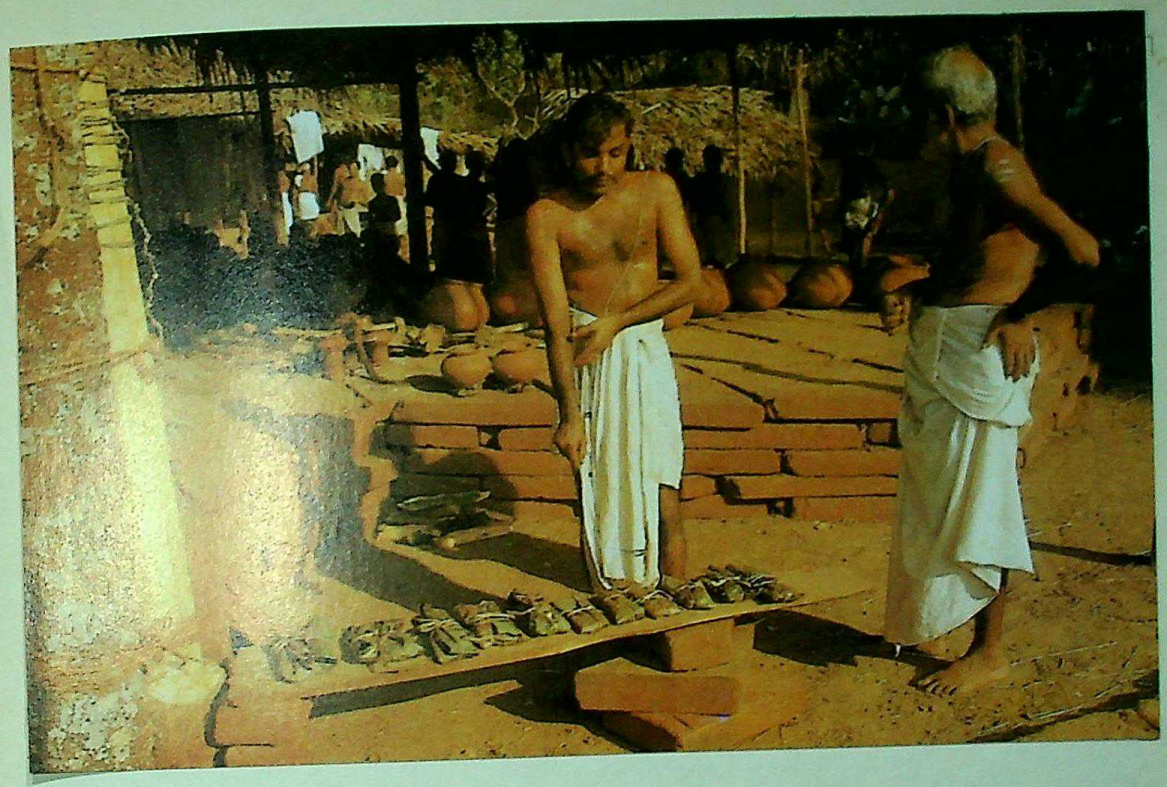

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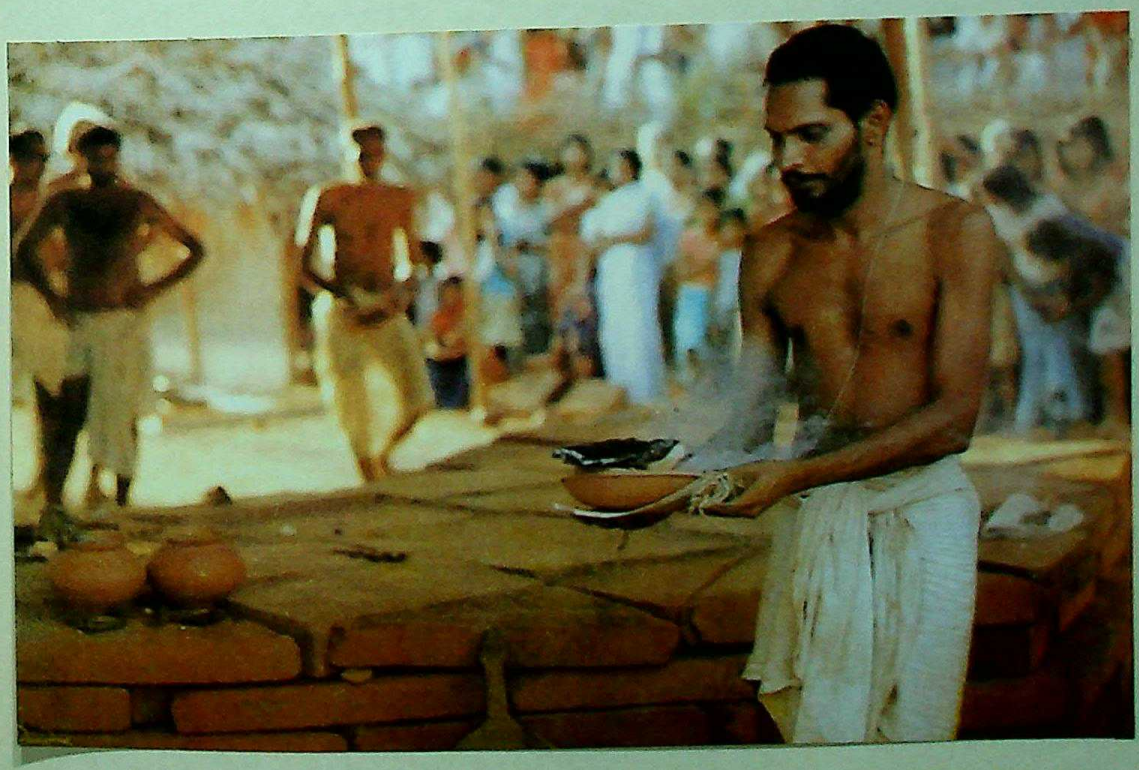

B

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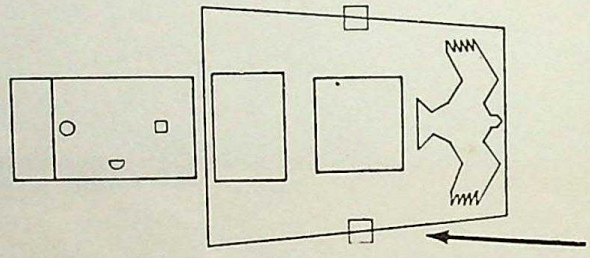
PLATE 99

Helpers Carry Fire

The pratiprasthātā and ten helpers carry fire in dishes from the old domestic fire via the Mārjalīya shed to the Agni altar.



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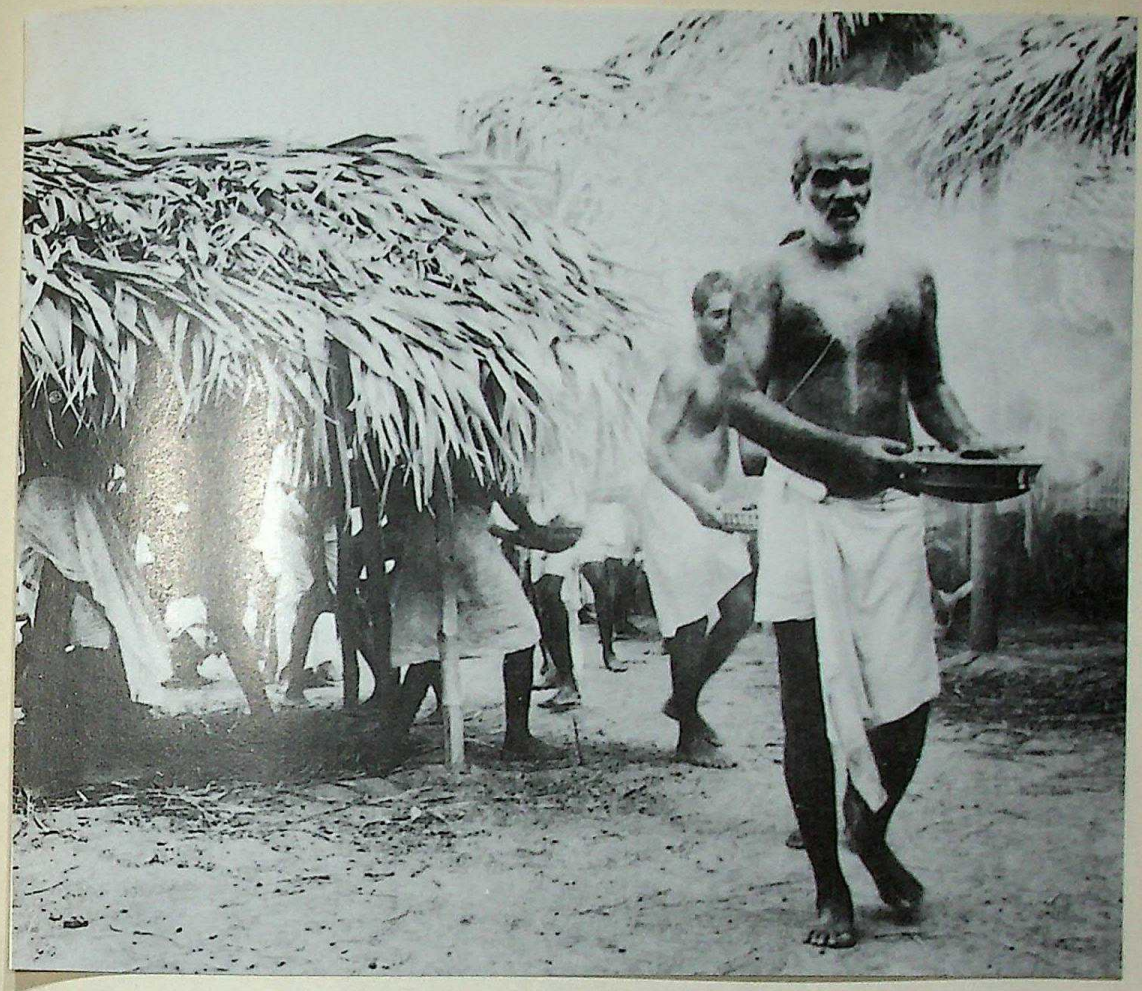

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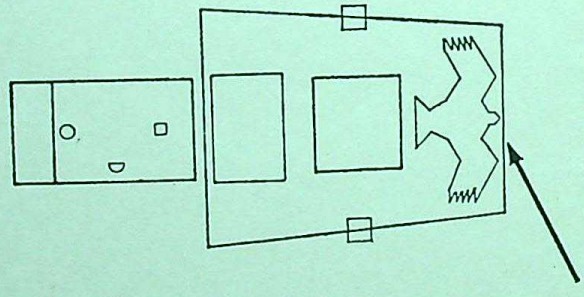
PLATE 100

During the Animal Sacrifices

The fire dishes have been placed on the northern wing of the Agni altar, together with large kalam vessels that will be used for cooking animal flesh. In the background, a row of helpers each holding the vapā "omentum" with its specific fork (vapāśrapaṇī), ready for the vapāhoma oblation.



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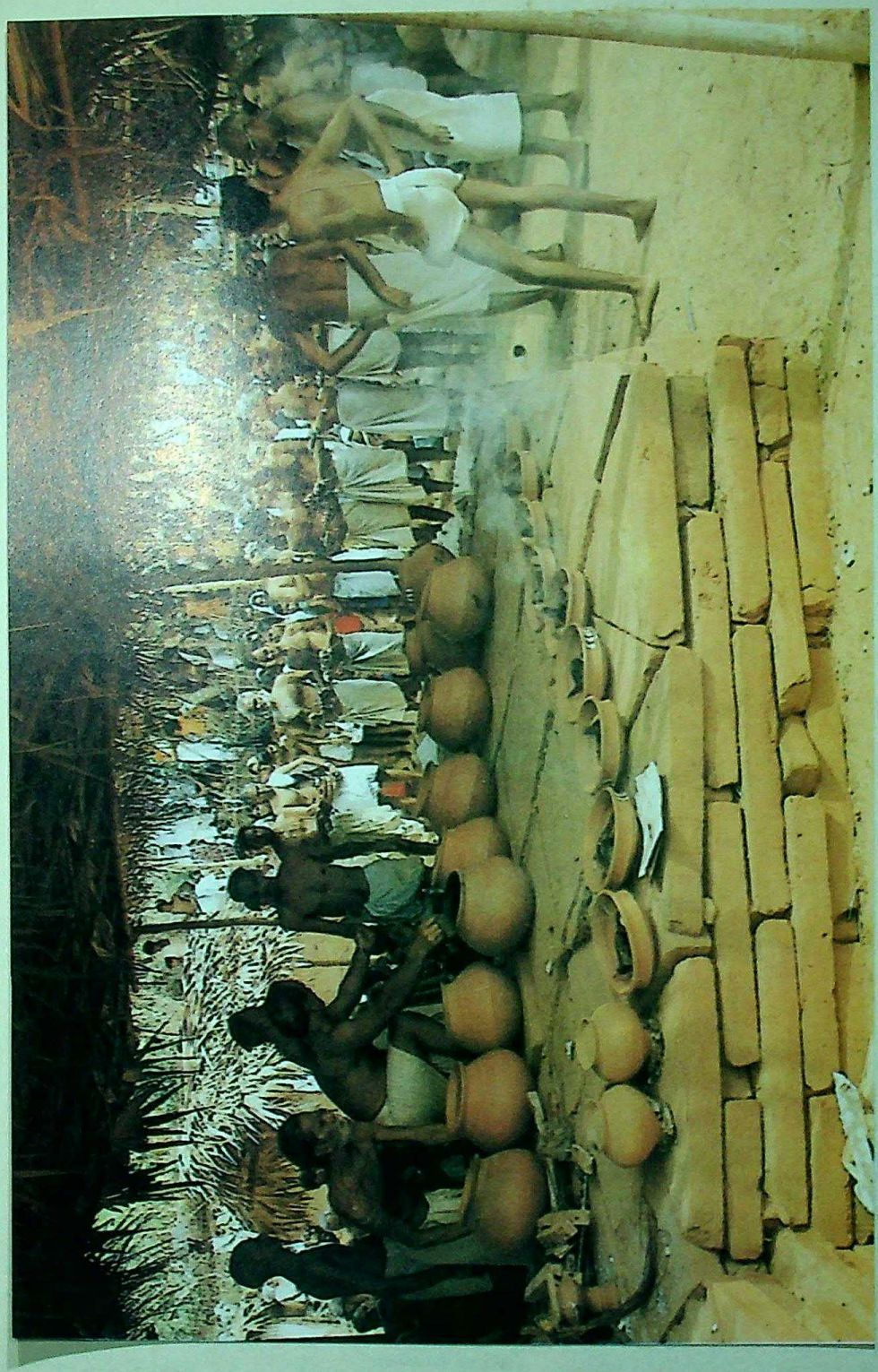

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STUTIS AND ŚASTRAS OF THE ATIRĀTRA

STUTI (STOTRA)	ŚASTRA	RECITER	DEITY
	Morning Pressing		
1 outdoor pavamāna stuti	first ājya śastra	hotā	Indra-Agni
2 first ājya stuti	praügaśastra	hotā	Viśvedevas
3 second ājya stuti	second ājya śastra	maitrāvaruṇa	Mitrāvaruṇa
4 third ājya stuti	third ājya śastra	brāhmaṇācchaṃsin	Indra
5 fourth ājya stuti	fourth ājya śastra	acchāvāka	Indra-Agni
	Midday Pressing		
6 midday pavamāna stuti	marutvatīyaśastra	hotā	Maruts
7 first pṛṣṭha stuti	first niṣkevalya śastra	hotā	Mahendra
8 second pṛṣṭha stuti	second niṣkevalya śastra	maitrāvaruṇa	Indra
9 third pṛṣṭha stuti	third niṣkevalya śastra	brāhmaṇācchaṃsin	Indra
10 fourth pṛṣṭha stuti	fourth niṣkevalya śastra	acchāvāka	Indra
	Third Pressing		
11 ārbhava pavamāna stuti	mahāvaiśvadeva śastra	hotā	Indra
12 agniṣṭoma stuti	āgnimāruta śastra	hotā	Agni-Maruts
	End of Agniṣṭoma		
13 first uktha stuti	first uktha śastra	maitrāvaruṇa	Indra-Varuṇa
14 second uktha stuti	second uktha śastra	brāhmaṇācchaṃsin	Indra-Bṛhaspati
15 third uktha stuti	third uktha śastra	acchāvāka	Indra-Viṣṇu
16 ṣoḍaśin stuti	ṣoḍaśin śastra	hotā	Indra Ṣoḍaśi
17		hotā	
18 first	first	maitrāvaruṇa	
19 nocturnal round	nocturnal round	brāhmaṇācchaṃsin	
20		acchāvāka	
21		hotā	Indra
22 middle	middle	maitrāvaruṇa	
23 nocturnal round	nocturnal round	brāhmaṇācchaṃsin	
24		acchāvāka	
25		hotā	
26 last	last	maitrāvaruṇa	
27 nocturnal round	nocturnal round	brāhmaṇācchaṃsin	
28		acchāvāka	
29 stuti	āśvina śastra	hotā	Aśvins
	End of Atirātra		

TABLE 16

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mony. The first to be offered is the cup for Indra and Vāyu; it contains filtered Soma. While the adhvaryu does this, the pratiprasthātā offers a libation of Soma mixed with milk and flour, drawn from the droṇakalaśa vessel. The residue of these two is mixed. The second dvidevatya libation, for Mitra and Varuṇa, and the third for the Aśvins, are offered in the same manner, the Soma being mixed with milk and flour, respectively. The cups of the cup-bearers, excepting for the acchāvāka, are filled with mixed Soma from the droṇakalaśa and pūtabhṛt vessels. Then śukra and manthin cups are offered to Indra, simultaneously by the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātā. The śukra-pātram, made from the base of the sacrificial pole (above, page 591) is used. Remnants of these offerings are drunk by the priests, beginning with the hotā and adhvaryu. Excluded is the remnant in the manthin cup, which the pratiprasthātā pours into the sacrificial fire. Pieces of gold are put in all the cups.

In general, Soma drinking follows a set pattern. I shall describe some of its salient features as they occur in the first Soma sequence. When the hotā is about to drink from the cup for Indra and Vāyu, he addresses the adhvaryu: PLATES 101–102

Adhvaryu invite me! — अध्वर्यु उपह्वयस्व

The adhvaryu replies:

(You are) invited! — उपहूतः

The hotā drinks and recites:

We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal,
we have come to the light, we have found the gods.
What can the enmity, what can the intrigue
of any mortal do to us now, o immortal one?
Now that thou hast been drunk, drop, become benefit
to our heart, become very kind like a father to his son, Soma.
Thou of broad fame, become steadfast like a comrade to his comrade.
Soma, extend our life for us to live on!
(RV 8.48.3–4; cf. page. 113)

अपाम सोमममृता अभूमा-
गन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् ।
किं नूनमस्मान् कृणवदरातिः
किमु धूर्तिरमृत मर्त्यस्य ॥
शं नो भव हृद आ पीत इन्दो
पितेव सोम सूनवे सुशेवः ।
सखेव सख्य उरुशंस धीरः
प्र ण आयुर्जीवसे सोम तारीः ॥

During the first verse, the hotā touches his face; during the second, his heart. While the hotā recites, the adhvaryu intones his Long Drink (*dīrghabhakṣa*):

a. Come, beverage, enter me for long life,
for health, increase of wealth,
splendor, good offspring.
Come here, Vasu, preceded by wealth,

भक्षेहि माऽविश दीर्घायुत्वाय
शन्तनुत्वाय रायस्पोषाय
वर्चसे सुप्रजास्त्वाये-
हि वसो पुरोवसो

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PLATE 101A

Pouring Soma

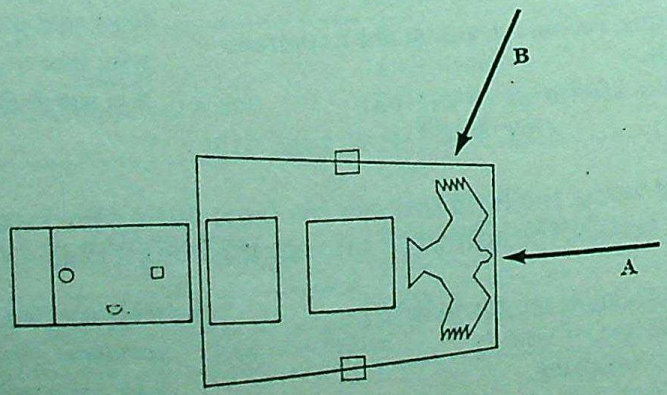
At the morning pressing, before each of the śastra recitations, a helper pours the Soma liquid into the wooden camasa cups, Soma cups of the "cupbearers" (camasin) that are characterized by the shapes of their handles (see page 214). The cups are lined up from south to north on the body of the bird. The leftmost, southernmost cup, which is bigger than the others, is the hotā's cup (hotṛcamasa).

PLATE 101B

Offering Soma

"Agni, take possession of the Soma—Vauṣaṭ!"

The cupbearers and their assistants make a Soma oblation into the offering fire. Adhvaryu and pratiprasthātā stand on the left, and the chief helper (parikarmī) on the extreme right. In front of the offering fire, the Pravargya implements continue to lie in the shape of a man.



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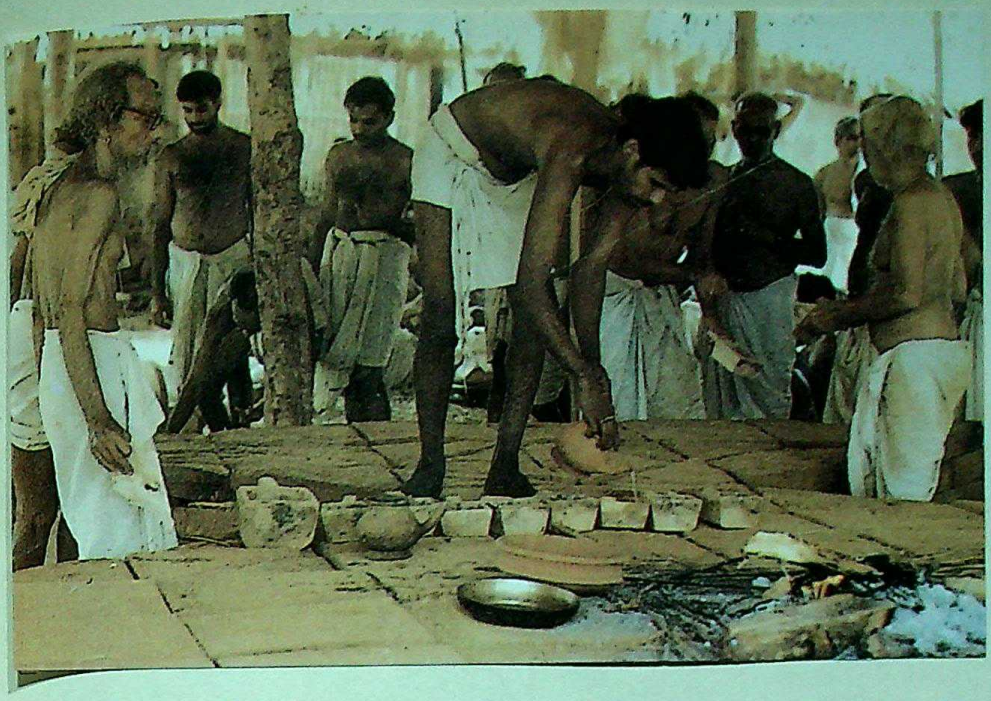

A

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PLATE 102

Drinking Soma

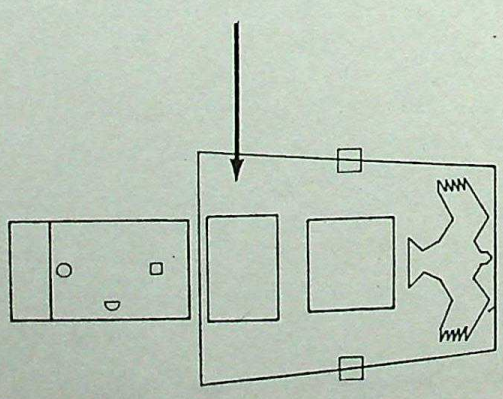
During the morning pressing, Soma cups called ṛtugraha, "season's offering," are offered to the twelve months. The remnants are consumed by the priests in the sadas. The adhvaryu drinks Soma from a goblet. He leans over the hearth (dhiṣṇya) of the acchāvāka and faces the acchāvāka priest himself. Earlier, he addressed him:

Acchāvāka invite me!

and the latter replied:

(You are) invited!

To the right of the acchāvāka sit the neṣṭā (holding his head), potā, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, and (behind him) hotā priests, in front of their respective hearths. To the right of the hotā is the audumbarī pole, and further to his right, bending forward, the maitrāvaruṇa. The yajamāna sits on the extreme left, dimly visible; the three Sāmavedins sit on the right, looking at the Soma drinking.



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you are dear to my heart.
प्रियो मे हृदयोऽसि ।

b. Let me hold you with the arms of the Aśvins.
अश्विनोस्त्वा बाहुभ्यां प्रति गृह्णामि ।

c. Clear sighted let me look at you,
Soma, who inspects mankind.
नृचक्षसं त्वा देव सोम सुचक्षा अव ख्येषम् ।

d. Gentle control, banner of rites,
let speech accept and enjoy Soma.
Let Aditi, gentle, propitious,
with head inviolable,
as speech accept and enjoy Soma.
मन्द्राऽभिभूतिः केतुर्यज्ञानां
वाग्जुषाणा सोमस्य तृप्यतु ।
भन्द्रा स्वर्वाच्यदितिरनाहतशीर्ष्णी
वाग्जुषाणा सोमस्य तृप्यतु ॥

e. Come here, friend of men,
healing and refreshing,
come safely to me, tawny-colored one,
for skill, strength, increase of wealth,
for good heroes.
एहि विश्वचर्षणे शम्भूर्मयोभूः
स्वस्ति मा हरिवर्ण प्र चर
क्रत्वे दक्षाय रायस्पोषाय
सुवीरतायै ॥

f. Don't frighten me, king,
don't pierce my heart with radiance,
for vigor, life, and splendor.
मा मा राजन् वि बीभिषो
मा मे हार्दि त्विषा वधीः ।
वृषणे शुष्मायाऽऽयुषे वर्चसे ॥

g. Of you, Soma, with the Vasus in your gang,
mind reader of the morning pressing,
with your gāyatrī meter, drunk by Indra,
drunk by Narāśamsa, drunk by the fathers,
full of sweetness and invited,
invited I partake of you!
वसुमद्गणस्य सोम देव ते
मतिविदः प्रातःसवनस्य
गायत्रछन्दस इन्द्रपीतस्य
नराशꣳसपीतस्य पितृपीतस्य
मधुमत उपहूतस्योपहूतो भक्षयामि ॥

(TS 3.2.5.1a-2g)

During the midday pressing, the Vasus (in *g*) are replaced by Rudras, "morning" by "midday," and gāyatrī by triṣṭubh; during the third pressing, by the Ādityas, "third," and jagatī meter, respectively. After this first round of Soma drinking, the acchāvāka enters the Hall of Recitation. Soma cups, called *ṛtugraha*, "season's offering," are offered to the twelve months. Again, the remnants of the offerings are consumed by the priests.

PLATE 102

The first ritual recitation of the Ṛgveda, or śastra, is about to begin. The first śastra of the morning pressing is the First Conquering Recitation (*ājya-śastra*) by the hotā. It consists of eleven verses, made up from seven by repeating the first and the last verse thrice. At the end of each verse there is a lengthened recitation of the sound "o", called praṇava. It lasts three *mātrās* (time beats). This is linked with the beginning of the next verse, for no breath is taken: breathing does not occur between the verses, but only in the middle of a verse. The śastra always ends in ōṃ, vowel and consonant lasting three beats each. These rules necessitate a great deal of breath, and sometimes reciters are heard to run out of it. These breathing exercises are characteristic of all śastra recitations and are similar to the sāmidhenī recitation (above, page 311). The stutis require even longer breaths.

At the beginning and before the last verse, the hotā recites: *śoṃsāvo*, "let us both recite." This is called *āhāva*. The remaining four śastra recitations of the morning pressing have the same structure. At the midday pressing

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the first āhāva of each śastra is: *adhvaryo śoṃsāvo* (the others are: śoṃsāvo); at the third pressing the first āhāva of each śastra is: *adhvaryo śośoṃsāvo* (the others again: śoṃsāvo). In the remaining śastra recitations of the Atirātra we have śoṃsāvo. These āhāva recitations are addressed to the adhvaryu, who by this time has postured himself opposite the hotā and maitrāvaruṇa, facing them, while his right hand, the pratiprasthātā, has postured himself opposite acchāvāka and brahmaṇācchaṃśin, facing them. When the hotā recites his āhāva, the adhvaryu murmurs a response: *śoṃsāmo daiva,* "let us recite, divine one," his hands folded. In practice, the adhvaryu's response is whispered, at best. During the long *o*'s at the end of each verse, the adhvaryu recites a response, called *pratigara: āthāmo daiva.* When the hotā recites oṃ, the pratigara is: *ōthāmo daiva*, the first *o* lasting thrice as long as in *othamo daiva*. These responses were inaudible during the 1975 performance and seem to have been inaudible in Kerala during the last 65 or 70 years.[1] As we shall see, there are special modifications of the pratigara responses in the *marutvatīya* (page 640), *mahāvaiśvadeva* (page 650), *āgnimāruta* (page 655), and *ṣoḍaśi* (page 663) śastras. These are the "bizarres contorsions liturgiques" referred to by Caland and Henry (1906, I, 232, note 8).

At the first śastra, the hotā recites in a low voice immediately before his āhāva:

May father Mātariśvan make the verse flawless;
may Uśij create the asīya's (?);
may Soma, knower of modes, lead the modes;
may Bṛhaspati recite the hymns and acclamations!
(ŚŚS 7.9.1; cf. TS 5.6.8.6h, above page 542).

पिता मातरिश्वाच्छिद्रा पदो-
शिगसीयानुतक्षिपत्
सोमो नीथविन्नीथानि नेषद्
बृहस्पतिरुक्थामदानि शꣳसिषत्॥

Immediately after his āhāva he recites, also in a low voice, the Prior Light (*puroruc*):

Agni light, light Agni; Indra light, light Indra;
Sūrya light, light Sūrya.
Agni kindled by the gods. Agni kindled by men.
Agni with good fuel. The hotā selected by the gods.
The hotā selected by men.
Guide of the sacrifices, leader of the ritual service,
unhurt hotā, eager performer of oblations.
That the god may lead the gods,
that the god Agni may sacrifice to the gods.
It is he who performs the ritual service, Jātavedas.
(Ṛgveda Khila 5.7: ŚŚS 7.9.2–3)

अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः।
इन्द्रो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरिन्द्रः।
सूर्यो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिः सूर्यः।
अग्निर्देवेद्धः। अग्निर्मन्विद्धः। अग्निः सुषमित्।
होता देववृतः। होता मनुवृतः।
प्रणीर्यज्ञानाम्। रथीरध्वराणाम्।
अतूर्तो होता। तूर्णिर्हव्यवाट्।
आ देवो देवान् वक्षत्।
यक्षदग्निर्देवो देवान्।
सो अध्वरा करति जातवेदः ३॥

[1] But see Volume II, page 759.

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He continues without any pause, in fact, without taking breath, with the First Conquering Recitation, which will be translated in full:

I shall sing forth most exaltedly to this god Agni.
He shall come hither with the other gods.
Best at worship, he shall sit upon our sacrificial strew.
He adheres to the truth,
he whose ability both worlds
and the help (of the gods) follows.
(The priests) who offer oblations,
the (warriors) who wish to win,
call upon him for help.
He the bard is leader of these (bards),
he is leader of the worship.
Indeed is he so.
Befriend this Agni of yours,
who wins and bestows gifts.
Let this Agni extend the most beneficial refuge
to this pursuit of ours,
in consequence of which
he shall sprinkle the goods found in heaven
and in the waters upon our lands.
Along with their good poems for him,
the singers kindle the ever-shining Agni as never before,
him who is the recitatory priest (hotā)
and the lord of all clans.
Aid us both in our prayer and in our hymn
since thou art the one who summons best the gods.
Shine beneficently upon us as thou growest through the Maruts,
o Agni, thou who art the first to win thousands—
Let us both recite (*śaṃsāvo*)—
Grant now to us thousandfold goods
along with offspring and prosperity.
Agni, grant majestic heroism and let it be
most wide and never failing.

(RV 3.13)

प्र वो देवायाग्नये
बर्हिष्ठमर्चास्मै ।
गमद्देवेभिरा स नो
यजिष्ठो बर्हिरा सदत् ॥
ऋतावा यस्य रोदसी
दक्षं सचन्त ऊतयः ।
हविष्मन्तस्तमीळते
तं सनिष्यन्तोऽवसे ॥
स यन्ता विप्र एषां
स यज्ञानामथा हि षः ।
अग्निं तं वो दुवस्यत
दाता यो वनिता मघम् ॥
स नः शर्माणि वीतये-
ऽग्निर्यच्छतु शंतमा
यतो नः प्रुष्णवद्वसु
दिवि क्षितिभ्यो अप्स्वा ॥
दीदिवांसमपूर्व्यं
वस्वीभिरस्य धीतिभिः ।
ऋक्वाणो अग्निमिन्धते
होतारं विश्पतिं विशाम् ॥
उत नो ब्रह्मन्नविष
उक्थेषु देवहूतमः ।
शं नः शोचा मरुद्वृधो-
ऽग्ने सहस्रसातमः ॥
नू नो रास्व सहस्ववत्
तोकवत् पुष्टिमद्वसु ।
द्युमदग्ने सुवीर्यं
वर्पिष्ठमनुपक्षितम् ॥

The hotā adds the Śastra Strength (*ukthavīrya*) in a low voice:

Splendor, luster, dawn, heaven!
Light! You for glory!
The śastra has been uttered!

(ŚŚS 7.9.6)

भा विभा उषाः
स्वर्ज्योतिः
श्लोकाय त्वोक्थमवाचि ॥

Yajamāna and adhvaryu supplement the Śastra Milking (śastradoha):

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h. You are the recitation [i.e., śastra] of the recitation,
may the recitation milk strength for me,
may the recitation of the recitation come to me!
(TS 3.2.7.2h)

शस्त्रस्य शस्त्रमस्यू-
र्जं मय्यूर्जं शस्त्रं दुहामा
मा शस्त्रस्य शस्त्रं गन्मयात् ॥

followed by TS 3.2.7.2i-1 (above, page 605). This Sastra Milking parallels the Stuti Milking (stutadoha) that follows all stuti chants. In most of the later Soma sequences, where śastra follows immediately upon stuti, Śastra Milking follows immediately upon Stuti Milking. Unlike Śastra Strength, which varies, Stuti and Śastra Milking are always the same.

The yajamāna adds another piece:

The ritual has been, has been produced,
it is born, it has grown,
it has become king of the gods.
Let it turn us into kings,
may we be masters of wealth!
(TS 3.2.7.2m)

यज्ञो बभूव स आ बभूव
स प्र जज्ञे स वावृधे ।
स देवानामधिपतिर्बभूव
सो अस्माꣳ अधिपतीन् करोतु
वयꣳ स्याम पतयो रयीणाम् ॥

A Soma libation is made for Indra and Agni, at which the hotā recites RV 3.25.4 as his offering verse (yājyā). During the remainder of the morning pressing, four Soma sequences are gone through. The first chant that is sung in the sadas is the second stuti, or First Conquering Chant (ājya-stuti). It will be described in some detail, since all chants are sung in a similar manner. A more detailed description of some of the melodies is given by Wayne Howard in Volume II (Part III, pages 311–342).

First the udgātā has to receive the stotra, two blades of darbha grass that he will wear as a ring round his fingers and afterwards insert into the strings on the audumbarī pole (above, pages 263, 579). This stotra is made from darbha grass that the adhvaryu fetches from the havirdhāna hall. If the following śastra recitation is by hotā or maitrāvaruṇa, the stotra is given by the adhvaryu; if it is by brāhmaṇācchaṃsin or acchāvāka, it is given by the pratiprasthātā; in either case, it is accompanied by the same recitations. Since the First Conquering Chant will be followed by the Praügaśastra of the hotā, the adhvaryu initiates the action by sitting down and handing the stotra to the udgātā with the recitation:

You are the bed for the coupling of Ṛk and Sāman
for the sake of procreation!
(BŚS 7.8:212.19–213.1)

ऋक्सामयोरुपस्तरणमसि
मिथुनस्य प्रजात्यै

He continues:

The maker of the sound HṂ is Vāyu,
the prastotā is Agni,
the sāman is Prajāpati,
the udgātā is Bṛhaspati,

वायुर्हिंकर्ता-
ऽग्निः प्रस्तोता
प्रजापतिः साम
बृहस्पतिरुद्गाता

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the other chanters are the All-gods,
the pratihartās are the Maruts,
the concluding portion of the chant is Indra.
May these gods who support breath
bestow breath upon me.

विश्वे देवा उपगातारो
मरुतः प्रतिहर्तार इन्द्रो निधनं
ते देवाः प्राणभृतः
प्राणं मयि दधतु ॥

(TS 3.3.2.1a)

ŌṂ! Chant!

ओँ स्तुध्वम्

During the last exclamation, the prastotā asks permission from maitrāvaruṇa and brahman:

Brahman, shall we chant, praśāstā?

ब्रह्मन्स्तोष्यामः प्रशास्तः

They both answer:

ओँ स्तुध्वम्

ŌṂ! Chant

The First Conquering Chant consists of fifteen melodies, made up by repetitions from three basic stotriyā chants. Since the melody is gāyatra, as in the Outdoor Chant (above, page 603), it suffices to list the prastāva portions of the text, together with their sources (they differ from the sources of the First Conquering Chant in the Agniṣṭoma: see Staal 1968, 417). The prastāvas of the three basic stotriyās are:

I. *agnin dūtaṃ vṛṇīmahōṃ* (JA 73.1);
II. *agnim agniṃ havīmabhōṃ* (JA 73.2)
III. *agne devaṃ ihāvahōṃ* (JA 73.3)

The underlying verses are:

We elect Agni,
the recitatory priest who wins all possessions,
as the very wise messenger of this worship.
With their summons (the priests) shall always summon every Agni,
the lord of the clans, as the conveyer of their oblations
who is dear to many.
Agni, now that thou art born,
convey the gods hither to the (priest)
who has arranged the sacrificial strew.
Thou art our recitatory priest (hotā)
who is worthy of invocation.

अग्निं दूतं वृणीमहे
होतारं विश्ववेदसम् ।
अस्य यज्ञस्य सुक्रतुम् ॥

अग्निमग्निं हवीमभिः
सदा हवन्त विश्पतिम् ।
हव्यवाहं पुरुप्रियम् ॥

अग्ने देवाँ इहा वह
जज्ञानो वृक्तबर्हिषे ।
असि होता न ईड्यः ॥

(RV 1.12.1–3)

The three stotriyās of the First Conquering Chant are made into fifteen, three rounds of five, as follows: in the first round the first is repeated thrice;

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in the second round, the second; and in the third, the third. Each round, moreover, is preceded by the syllable *hṃ* (called *hiṃkāra*), chanted by the three sāmavedins. A lengthened "o" precedes the first hiṃkāra of the entire chant. Thus the following pattern results:

o hṃ. I.I.I.II.III;
hṃ. I.II.II.II.III;
hṃ. I.II.III.III.III.

While similar modifications occur in all the chants of the Atirātra, the First Conquering Chant has a further particularity: when the first stotriyā is chanted for the first time, the udgītha is:

dā dā tā thā hṃ tā hṃ bhā o vā.

The pattern of the stotriyā structure is called *viṣṭuti.* It is marked by the prastotā with the help of *kuśā* sticks, placed before him on a piece of white cloth, called *vaiṣṭutaṃ vasanam.* Each of these sticks has a head (often slightly bent) and a tail. The heads should point only to the north or east. The three rounds are marked to the south, west, and east, subsequently. The fifteenfold viṣṭuti of the First Butter Chant is pictured in Figure 48, where the heads of the sticks are marked as arrows, and the order in which the sticks are put down is expressed by numerals. At 1, the prastotā chants I; at 2 he repeats I; at 3 he repeats I again; at 4 he chants II; and at 5 he chants III. At 6 he chants I; at 7, 8, and 9, each time II; and at 10, III. At 11 he chants I; PLATE 103

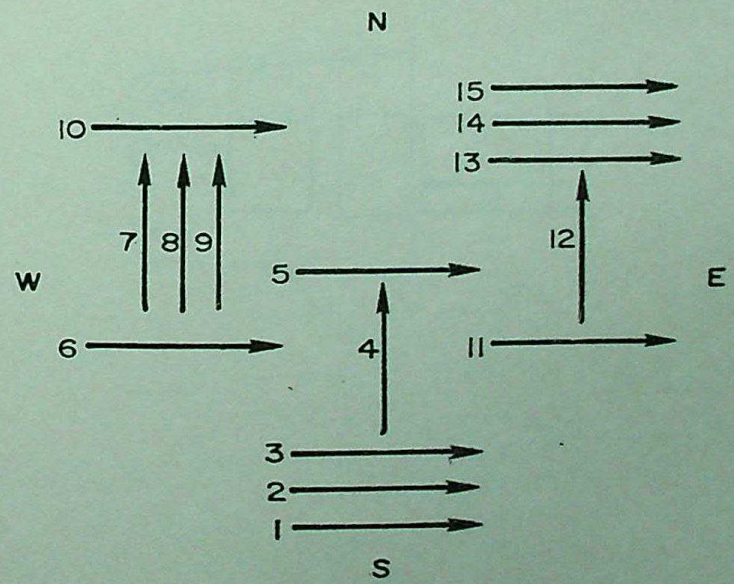

Figure 48—Fifteenfold Viṣṭuti of the Morning Butter Chants

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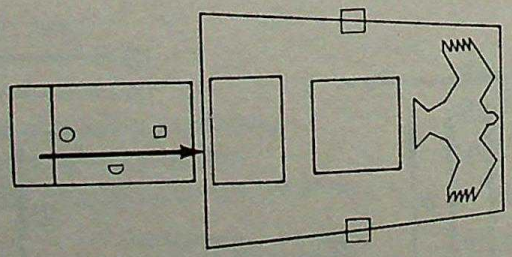
PLATE 103

Rounds of Morning Chant

After the morning pressing, the three sāmavedins sing five chants: one outside the sadas, and the remaining four inside. In the sadas, the prastotā (center) faces west, the udgātā (right) faces north, and the pratihartā (left) faces south. The audumbarī pole is to the right of the udgātā. Behind them, further east, some of the dhiṣṇya hearths are visible, together with some of their priests (see Figure 47). Seen from behind are the hotā (right of the prastotā) and the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin (left of the prastotā), both facing east. To the left of the latter is the potā, looking over his shoulder. In front of the three sāmavedins are the viṣṭuti sticks, arranged in a configuration that marks the progress of the chant. The configuration will be completed as in Figure 48. On the plate, the first round has already been completed, and the last chant of the second round (no. 10 in Figure 48) is about to begin.



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at 12, II; and at 13, 14, and 15, each time III. In this manner he keeps track of the stotriyās. The stotra is subsequently put on the audumbarī pole, and thus he keeps track of the stuti chants themselves.

After the First Conquering Chant, the śastra recitation is the praüga-śastra of the hotā. It is complicated by the insertion not only of eight occurrences of śoṃsāvo, but also of seven pieces called Prior Light (*puro-ruc*: listed in Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra). If the Prior Light mantras are referred to as I-VII, the following pattern results:

śoṃsāvo; I (ŚŚS 7.10.9); RV 1.2.1 (3 x); 1.2.2–3
śoṃsāvo; II (ŚŚS 7.10.10); RV 1.2.4–6
śoṃsāvo; III (ŚŚS 7.10.11); RV 1.2.7–9
śoṃsāvo; IV (ŚŚS 7.10.12); RV 1.3.1–3
śoṃsāvo; V (ŚŚS 7.10.13); RV 1.3.4–6
śoṃsāvo; VI (ŚŚS 7.10.14); RV 1.3.7–9
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.3.10–11; śoṃsāvo; 1.3.12(3 x).[1]

The Śastra Strength (ukthavīrya) is in ŚŚS 7.10.15b. The offering verse (yājyā) is RV 1.14.10. This praüga śastra is the same as in the Agniṣṭoma.

The third Soma sequence comprises a third stuti, the Second Conquering Chant. Different from the corresponding chant of the Agniṣṭoma, it has the same viṣṭuti, but the prastāvas of its three basic stotriyās are:

I. *mitraṃ vayaṃ havāmahōm* (JA 73.4);
II. *ṛtena yāvṛtāvṛdhōm* (JA 73.5);
III. *varuṇaḥ prāvitā bhuvōm* (JA 73.6).

The underlying verses are:

We summon Mitra and Varuṇa to the drinking of Soma,	मित्रं वयं हवामहे वरुणं सोमपीतये ।
the knowledgeable ones whose ability is refined.	जज्ञाना पूतदक्षसा ॥
With truth I summon Mitra and Varuṇa who increase through truth,	ऋतेन याव्ऋतावृधा- वृतस्य ज्योतिष्पती ।
those lords of the light of truth.	ता मित्रावरुणा हुवे ॥
Varuṇa shall become our helper with every assistance, Mitra also.	वरुणः प्राविता भुवन्- मित्रो विश्वाभिरूतिभिः ।
They shall unite us with their good solicitude.	करतां नः सुराधसः ॥
(RV 1.23.4–6)	

The Second Conquering Chant is followed by the Second Butter Recitation (*ājya śastra*), recited by the maitrāvaruṇa:

śoṃsāvo; RV 1.23.4 (3 x); 1.23.5–6

[1] The seventh puroruc (ŚŚS 7.10.15a) is not recited.

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śoṃsāvo; RV 5.71.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 5.68.1–5; 7.66.1–8
śoṃsāvo; RV 7.66.9 (3 x).

This Second Conquering Recitation of the Atirātra differs from the corresponding Second Conquering Recitation of the Agniṣṭoma in the first three verses, which in both cases are the source of the Second Conquering Chant. The offering verse is RV 5.71.3.

The same pattern continues through the remainder of the morning pressing. The fourth Soma sequence comprises a fourth stuti, the Third Butter Chant:

(1) *indram id gāthino bṛhōm* (JA 73.7; RV 1.7.1);
(2) *indra iddharyos sacōm* (JA 73.8; RV 1.7.2);
(3) *indra vājeṣu nōvōm* (JA 73.9; RV 1.7.4 (*sic*)).

The underlying verses are:

The songsters exaltedly (have celebrated) Indra,
the singers (have sung) to Indra with their songs,
the musicians have resounded to Indra.
Indra is united with his golden steeds.
Golden himself, the cudgel-bearing Indra shall mount
those two which are yoked with the (holy) word.
Mighty Indra, with thy mighty assistance
help us in the contests and in the stakes for
thousands.
(RV 1.7.1–2, 4)

इन्द्रमिद्गाथिनो बृह-
दिन्द्रमर्केभिरर्किणः ।
इन्द्रं वाणीरनूषत ॥
इन्द्र इद्धर्योः सचा
संमिश्ल आ वचोयुजा ।
इन्द्रो वज्री हिरण्ययः ॥
इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव
सहस्रप्रधनेषु च ।
उग्र उग्राभिरूतिभिः ॥

The accompanying śastra is the Third Conquering Recitation, recited by the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:

śoṃsāvo; RV 1.7.1 (3 x); 1.7.2, 4
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.17.4–6
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.17.7–13; 3.40.1–9; 8.93.1–2
śoṃsāvom; 8.93.3 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 3.40.2.

The fifth Soma sequence comprises a fifth stuti, the Fourth Conquering Chant:

I. *indre agnā namō bṛhōm* (JA 73.10; RV 7.94.4);
II. *tā hi śaśvanta īḷatōm* (JA 73.11; RV 7.94.5);
III. *tā vāṃ gīrbhir vipanyavōm* (JA 73.12; RV 7.94.6).

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The underlying verses are:

Reverently and exaltedly we shall raise our good song style to Agni and Indra.
Seeking their help, (we shall offer them) the milk streams along with our poems.
Indeed the continual stream of poets zealously summon them in the correct manner
for help and for the winning of contests.
Inspired in poetry and offering refreshment,
we summon you two with songs,
we who wish to win at the winning of the sacrifice.
(RV 7.94.4–6)

इन्द्रे॑ अ॒ग्ना नमो॑ बृ॒हत्
सु॒वृ॒क्तिमे॑रयामहे ।
धि॒या धेना॑ अव॒स्यवः॑ ॥
ता हि शश्व॑न्त॒ ईळ॑त
इ॒त्था वि॒प्रास॑ ऊ॒तये॑
स॒बाध्यो॒ वाज॑सातये ॥
ता वां॑ गी॒र्भिर्वि॑पन्यवः
प्रय॑स्वन्तो हवामहे ।
मे॒धस॑ाता सनि॒ष्यवः॑ ॥

The accompanying śastra is the Fourth Conquering Recitation, recited by the acchāvāka:

śoṃsāvo; RV 7.94.4 (3 x); 7.94.5–6
śoṃsāvo; RV 3.12.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 3.12.4–6; 1.21.1–5; 7.94.1–8
śoṃsāvo; RV 7.94.9 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 3.12.1.

The viṣṭuti for all the chants is the same (see Figure 48). At the end of each recitation, Soma cups are offered to the Viśvedevas, Mitrāvaruṇa, Indra, and Indra-Agni, respectively. The offering verses have already been indicated. Thus ends the morning pressing.

Tenth Day: April 22, 1975

EPISODE 27

Midday Pressing and Anointing the Yajamāna

(Mādhyandinasavana; Abhiṣeka)

THE GRĀVASTUT PRIEST enters the havirdhāna for the first time. He is blindfolded with cloth untied from the Soma cart. While Soma stalks are being pounded with pressing stones (grāvan), he recites the Ṛgvedic hymn to the pressing stones (text specified in ŚŚS 7.15; translation in Caland and Henry, §175). The Midday Chant for the Purified Soma (*mādhyandinapavamānastuti*) is chanted. It consists of fifteen stotriyās, of which the first three are chanted to the gāyatra melody (the chants of the morning pressing), so that it suffices to mention their prastāva only. The others are chanted to various melodies, and the five parts of each stotriyā will therefore be specified. The texts are given in Ūhagāna 1.1–4. Sometimes three stotriyās correspond to three ṛks, but at other times two ṛks are turned into three stotriyās

PLATE 104
PLATE 105

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by a process of repetition and overlapping. This is common in the ritual chanting of the Sāmaveda and occurs also in the ritual recitation of the Ṛgveda. The Midday Chant begins with a lengthened "o" and each triplet starts with the hiṃkāra "hṃ". This Midday Chant is the same as the Midday Chant of the Agniṣṭoma:

ō hṃ /
I. *uccā te jātam andhasōṃ* (JA 62.1; RV 9.61.10)
II. *asya pratnāṃ anu dyutōṃ* (JA 70.1; RV 9.54.1)
III. *enā viśvāny arya ōṃ* (JA 62.3; RV 9.61.11)
hṃ /
IV. prastāva: *uccā tā yi jātam andhasā /*
udgītha: *ō vau ṣāt bhū ō dā dā yi /*
pratihāra: *ugraṃ śarmā /*
upadrava: *ō havāvu vā /*
nidhana: *stauṣe //*
V. prastāva: *sa na ā yindrāya yajyavāyi /*
udgītha: *ō yā ō dā yāḥ /*
pratihāra: *varivovāyit /*
upadrava: *ō havāvu vā /*
nidhana: *stauṣe //* (based upon JA 62.2; RV 9.61.12)
VI. prastāva: *ēnā vā yi śvāny aryayā /*
udgītha: *ō mā ō ṣā ṇām /*
pratihāra: *sayiṣāsantāḥ /*
upadrava: *ō mahāvu vā /*
nidhana: *stauṣe //* (UG 1.1)
hṃ /
VII. prastāva: *punānas somā dhārāyā /*
udgītha: *ā vasano arṣasyā ratnadhā yonī ō dā dā ō hāvu vā /*
pratihāra: *utsō devō hirā hā ō hāvu vā /*
upadrava: *ō yā au hō bā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā //*
VIII. prastava: *utsō devō hāyirāṇyā yāḥ /*[1]
udgitha: *ōtsō devō hiraṇyayā duhāna ūdhar divi ā priyām ō hāvu vā /*
pratihara: *pratnaṃ sadhastham ā hā ō hāvu vā /*
upadrava: *ō dā au hō bā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā //*
IX. prastāva: *pratnaṃ sadhasthām āsā dāt /*
udgītha: *ō tnaṃ sadhastham āsadad āpṛcchyandhāru ō ṣāsā ō hāvu vā /*

[1] After chanting this prastāva, the prastotā says: *eṣā madhyamā*, "this is the middle one."

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PLATE 104

Enter the Grāvastut Blindfolded

"These (pressing stones) will speak, we shall speak.
Speak to the speaking stones,
when you rocks, you mountains,
together and swift,
resound Soma's roar for Indra!"

(RV 10.94.1)

At the midday pressing, while Soma stalks are being pounded, the grāvastut enters the Soma Hall blindfolded, and recites a long hymn to the pressing stones (grāvan). His blindfold and turban are made with cloth untied from the Soma cart. The tail of the offering altar is on the right.

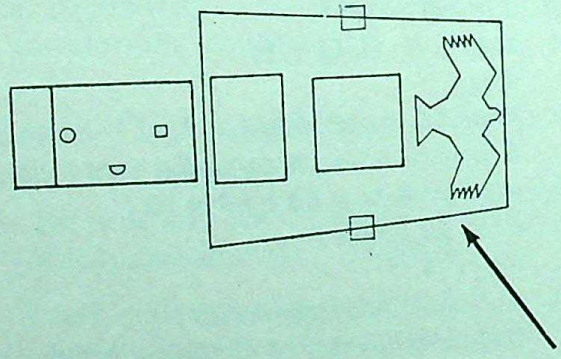

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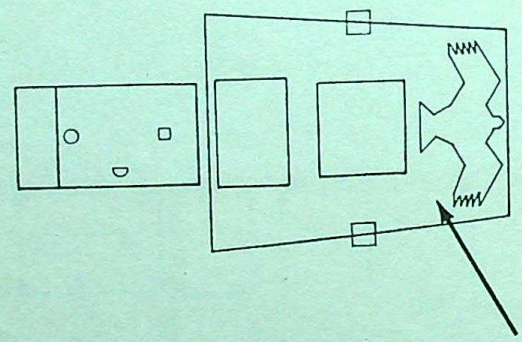
PLATE 105

Pounding Soma

"Here! Here! Here!"

(BŚS 8.1:234.13)

Under the Soma cart, Soma stalks are pounded on the bullock skin on top of the plank that covers the uparava resounding holes. During the midday pressing, the adhvaryu shouts *ihā ihā ihā* "here, here, here!" while the pratiprasthātā pounds. Soma goblets stand ready, covered by a cloth. The tail of the altar is on the right.



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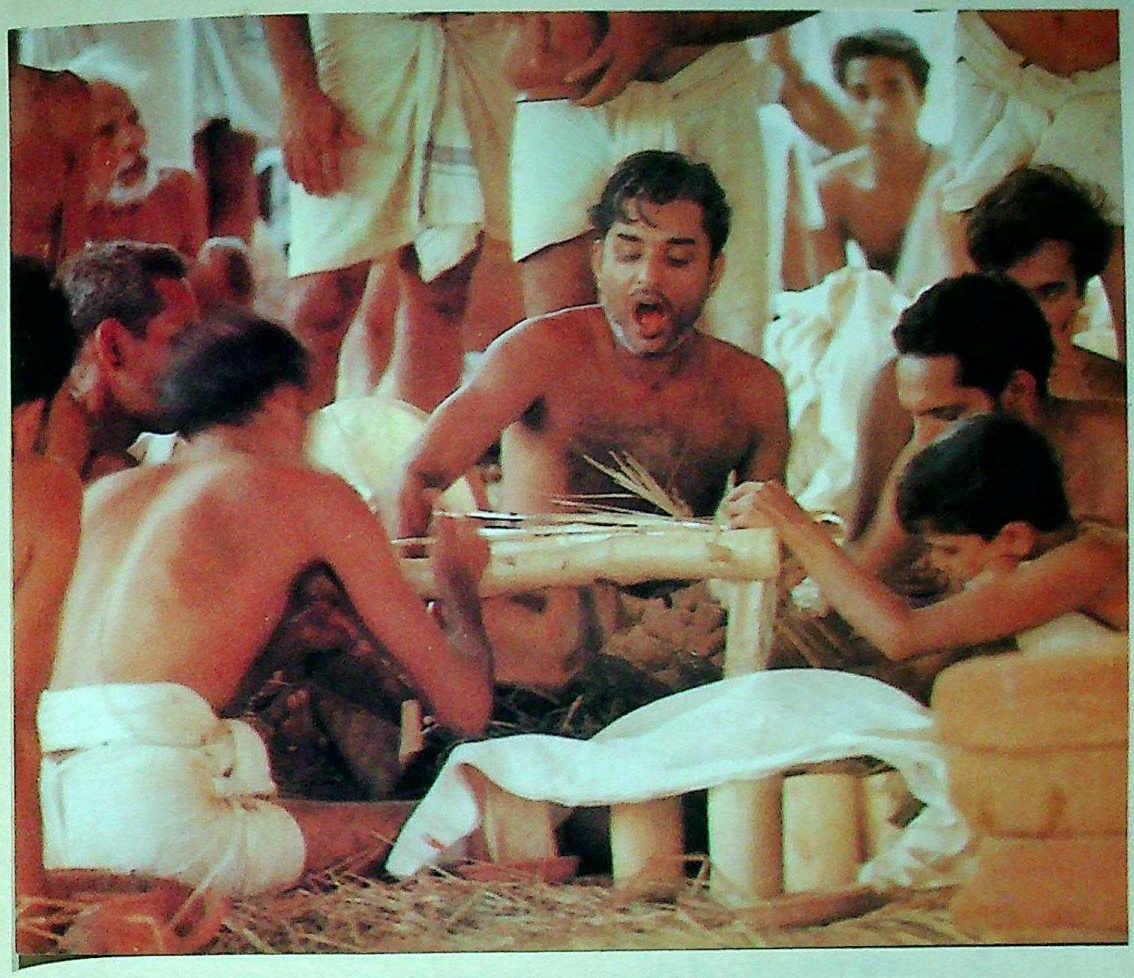

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pratihāra: *nṛbhirddhauto vicā hā ō hāvu vā /*
upadrava: *ō ṇa au hō bā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷa //* (UG 1.2 based upon JA 62.4–5; RV 9.107.4–5)

hṃ /

X. prastāva: *punānās soma dhārāyā /*
udgitha: *ō pō na yā /*
antarnidhana: *ṣā si /*
udgītha: *ō rātnadhā yonī ō sya sā yi /*
antarnidhana: *dā sī /*
pratihāra: *utsāḥ /*
upadrava: *ō hirā /*
nidhana: *ṇyā yā //*

XI. prastāva: *utso devō hirāṇyāyā /*
udgītha: *ōtsō hirā /*
antarnidhana: *ṇyā yā /*
udgītha: *ō hā na ūdhardivi ōṃ ma dhū /*
antarnidhana: *prīyām /*
pratihāra: *pratnām /*
upadrava: *ō sthamā /*
nidhana: *sā dāt //*

XII. prastāva: *pratnām sādhāstham āsā dāt /*
udgītha: *ō tnā ō sthamā*
antarnidhana: *sā dāt /*
udgītha: *ō pārcchiyāndharu o jayā /*
antarnidhana: *ṣā sī /*
pratihāra: *nṛbhā yiḥ /*
upadrava: *ō vi cā /*
nidhana: *kṣā ṇaḥ //* (UG 1.3)
hṃ /

XIII. prastāva: *prā tū /*
udgītha: *ō vā ō rī ō niṣi dā ō bhāyiḥ / punāno ābhī vājam ārṣa /*
pratihāra: *aśvanna tvā vājinaṃ mārjayāntāyi /*
upadrava: *ō barhāyi raśanābhā yirnnā yā /*
nidhana: *tā yi //*

XIV. prastāva: *su vā /*
udgītha: *ō dhā ō va ō va indūro śāstihā / vṛjanā rākṣamāṇaḥ /*
pratihāra: *pitā devānāñjanitā sudā kṣaḥ /*
upadrava: *ōṃ bho dāyivo dhāruṇāḥ pārtthā yi /*
nidhana: *vyāḥ //*

XV. prastāva: *ārṣīḥ /*
udgītha: *ō prā ō rā o janānāmo bhuḥ / dhīrā uśanā kāviyena /*
pratihāra: *sa cid viveda nihitāyyadāsāṃ*

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upadrava: *ō ciyāṃ guhyānnā mā go /*
nidhana: *nām* // (UG 1.4, based upon JA 62.6–8; RV 9.87. 1–3)

The underlying verses are:

Although the origin of thee, the (Soma) stalk, is on high,
being in heaven, I take for myself here on earth
thy mighty refuge and great fame.
(RV 9.61.10)

उच्चा ते जातमन्धसो
दिवि पदम्या ददे।
उग्रं शर्म महि श्रवः॥

Following his ancient shine,
they richly milk the thousand-winning seer for his bright milk (viz., Soma).
(RV 9.54.1)

अस्य प्रत्नामनु द्युतं
शुक्रं दुदुह्रे अह्रयः।
पयः सहस्रसामृषिम्॥

We who wish to win shall gain through him
all the majesties of the stranger
and of the offspring of Manu.
Finding freedom, flow round for Indra, our comrade,
for Varuṇa and for the Maruts.
(RV 9.61.11–12)

एना विश्वान्यर्य आ
द्युम्नानि मानुषाणाम्।
सिषासन्तो वनामहे॥
स न इन्द्राय यज्यवे
वरुणाय मरुद्भ्यः।
वरिवोवित् परि स्रव॥

Soma, purifying thyself with the stream,
thou flowest clothed in water.
As bestower of wealth, thou sittest on the homestead of truth
(which) is the golden source, o god.
Milking the heavenly udder for its proper honey,
he has sat upon his ancient station.
Cleansed by the priests,
the broad-seeing racer flows to its sought-after support.
(RV 9.107.4–5)

पुनानः सोम धारया-
पो वसानो अर्षसि।
आ रत्नधा योनिमृतस्य सीद-
स्युत्सो देव हिरण्ययः॥
दुहान ऊधर्दिव्यं मधु प्रियं
प्रत्नं सधस्थमासदत्।
आपृच्छ्यं धरुणं वाज्यर्षति
नृभिर्धूतो विचक्षणः॥

Run thou forth, round the bucket; then take thy seat.
Purified by the priests, rush forth to the prize.
First cleansing thee like a racehorse, they lead thee forth by the reigns to the sacrificial seat.
The heavenly drop purifies itself.
Well-weaponed it destroys what is not praise,
while it guards the community.
It is the father and very skillful begetter of the gods,
the prop of heaven and the support of the earth.
Wise seer, guide of people,
able artisan with vision like Uśanas,
He discovered what had been hidden,
the secret name of the cows.
(RV 9.87.1–3)

प्र तु द्रव परि कोशं नि षीद
नृभिः पुनानो अभि वाजमर्ष।
अश्वं न त्वा वाजिनं मर्जयन्तो-
ऽच्छा बर्ही रशनाभिर्नयन्ति॥
स्वायुधः पवते देव इन्दु-
रशस्तिहा वृजनं रक्षमाणः।
पिता देवानां जनिता सुदक्षो
विष्टम्भो दिवो धरुणः पृथिव्याः॥
ऋषिर्विप्रः पुरएता जनाना-
मृभुर्धीरः उशना काव्येन।
स चिद्विवेद निहितं यदासा-
मपीच्यं१ गुह्यं नाम गोनाम्॥

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When the Midday Chant is completed it is actually about 6:30 P.M. The adhvaryu offers a cup of curds (dadhigraha) to Indra. Arrangements are made for the ritual payment of the sacrificial fee (dakṣiṇā) to the priests (for the nonritual payment of the priests, see Volume II, page 459). Two Soma cups are offered to Indra Marutvat. The hotā recites the *marutvatīya-śastra*, which is the same as in the Agniṣṭoma. As in other recitations of the midday and third pressings, one or more Indicatory Verses (*nivid*) are inserted, which refer to deities. Like the Prior Lights (puroruc) we met with before (pages 623, 630), these are listed in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

adhvaryo śoṃsāvo; RV 8.68.1 (3 x); 8.68.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.2.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.53.5–6 (made into three mantras)
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.40.5–6 (made into three mantras)
śoṃsāvo; RV 3.20.4
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.91.2
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.64.6
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.73.1–6
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.16.1;
RV 10.73.7–10;
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.73.11 (3 x).

The pratigara of the adhvaryu at the first stop during the recital of RV 10.73.1 is *madāmo daiva*, "let us enjoy, divine one" (cf. ŚŚS 7.19.16). After the śastra, a third cup is offered by the adhvaryu to Indra Marutvat. The offering verse is RV 3.47.4.

Next come Agnicayana rites. The adhvaryu offers six oblations to Agni, Soma, Savitṛ, Sarasvatī, Pūṣan, and Bṛhaspati. After these oblations, past 11 P.M. (on the night of April 22), comes the anointing (*abhiṣeka*) of the yajamāna, at his usual place south of the large altar. A small silver plate is placed upon the kṛṣṇājina skin, upon which he always sits. Cloths are tied around his head, forming a turban. The adhvaryu pours a mixture of grains (sārvauṣadha), kept from the Vājaprasavīya on the 9th day (above, page 574) over the turban, reciting:

देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे-
ऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां
पूष्णो हस्ताभ्याꣳ
सरस्वत्यै वाचो यन्तुर्यन्त्रेण-
ऽग्नेस्त्वा साम्राज्येनाभि षिञ्चामी-
न्द्रस्य त्वा साम्राज्येनाभि षिञ्चामि
बृहस्पतेस्त्वा साम्राज्येनाभि षिञ्चामि ॥

On the instigation of god Savitṛ,
with the arms of the Aśvins,
with the hands of Pūṣan,
with the bond of Sarasvatī,
binder of speech,
with the government of Agni I anoint you,
with the government of Indra I anoint you,
with the government of Bṛhaspati I anoint you!
(BŚS 10.58:60.12–15; cf. TS 1.7.10.3h)

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Anointing the Yajamāna

The turban is removed, the plate is picked up, and the adhvaryu continues:

Anointed is that Nīlakaṇṭha Śarmā,
of the Kaśyapa clan,
son of Vallabha Śarmā,
grandson of Vāsudeva Śarmā,
descendant of Vallabha Śarmā,
by the Agni ritual!

अभ्यषेच्योऽयं नीलकण्ठशर्मा
काश्यपः
वल्लभशर्मणः पुत्रो
वासुदेवशर्मणः पौत्रो
वल्लभशर्मणो नप्ताग्निसवेन ॥

(BŚS 10.58:60.15–16)

All shout, at the top of their voice, three times:

Akkitiri!

अक्कीतिरि

The yajamāna pronounces:

Earth! Sky! Heaven!

भूर्भुवः स्वः

He wipes his face, stands up, and takes three Viṣṇu steps east with the usual mantras (cf. above, page 324). The adhvaryu concludes the ceremony with six more oblations, for Indra, sound, verse, Aṃśa, Bhaga, the master of the field (*kṣetrapati*), and twelve libations to remove beings or spirits (*bhūta*).

The rest of the midday pressing service proceeds as in the Agniṣṭoma, but with differences in some of the stutis and śastras. The seventh stuti or First Back Chant (*pṛṣṭhastuti*) is not rathantara (as in the Agniṣṭoma), but bṛhat. It consists of seventeen melodies, constructed from three stotriyās in accordance with the seventeenfold viṣṭuti illustrated in Figure 49.

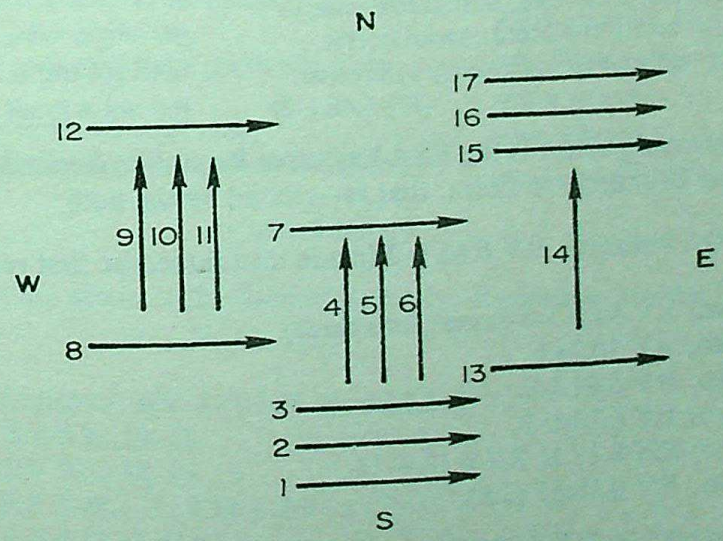

Figure 49—Seventeenfold Viṣṭuti of the Midday Back Chants

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Part II The 1975 Performance

The three basic Stotriyās are:

I. prastāva: *au hō yi tvāmiddhi havāmahā ē |*
udgitha: *a ō tau vājāsyā kāravastūvā au hō vā | vṛtrā yi ṣu vā yindrā sā otpātinnāraḥ |*
pratihāra: *tū vāṅkā ṣṭhā au hō vā |*
upadrava: *ō vārvātā hō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *hās ||*

II. prastāva: *au hō yi tū vā me |*
udgītha: *a ō ṣṭhā sū varvātassatvā au hō vā|naścā yi tra vājrā hā ō stā dhṛṣṇu yā*
pratihāra: *mahastavā au hō vā |*
upadrava: *ō ā drā yi vā hō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *hās ||*

III. prastāva: *au hō yi mahā ē |*
udgītha: *a ō vā nō ā drā yi vā gāmā au hō vā | śuvaṃ rathā yā mā ō yindrā saṅ kā yi rā |*
pratihāra: *satrā vājā au hō vā |*
upadrava: *ō jā yi gyū ṣā yi hō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *hās ||* (RG 1.4, based upon JA 74.7–8)

The underlying verses are:

Only thee do we singers summon in the winning of the contest.
Thee, Indra, who art master of the stead,
the warriors (summon) at the time of obstacles,
thee (the driver) of the course in the racetracks.
Since thou, wondrous cudgel-armed (hero),
art praised as the great one, unshakable one,
scatter upon us boldly cattle and chariot horses,
like booty for one who has completely conquered.
(RV 6.46.1–2)

त्वामिद्धि हवामहे
सातौ वाजस्य कारवः ।
त्वां वृत्रेष्विन्द्र सत्पतिं नर-
स्त्वां काष्ठास्वर्वतः ॥

स त्वं नश्चित्र वज्रहस्त धृष्णुया
महः स्तवानो अद्रिवः ।
गामश्वं रथ्यमिन्द्र सं किर
सत्रा वाजं न जिग्युषे ॥

The accompanying śastra is the First Exclusive Recitation (*niṣkevalyaśastra*) —exclusively belonging to Indra, that is—recited by the hotā:

adhvaryo śoṃsāvo; RV 6.46.1–2 (made into three, the first recited 3 x)
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.61.7–8 (made into three)
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.74.6
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.61.1–2
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.18.1–8
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.17.1; RV 6.18.9–14
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.18.15 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 7.22.1.

The eighth stuti, or Second Back Chant, with the same viṣṭuti (Figure

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49) is vāmadevya, the same as in the Agniṣṭoma. The three basic stotriyās are:

I. prastāva: *kā yā naścāyi trā yā bhuvat /*
udgītha: *ō ā bu hau ho hā ō /*
pratihāra: *ṣṭayau ho hṃ mā /*
upadrava: *vāk o /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*
II. prastāva: *kās tvā satyo mādānām /*
udgītha: *ō ā bu hau ho hā ō /*
pratihāra: *rujau ho hṃ mā /*
upadrava: *vāk o /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*
III. prastāva: *ābhī ṣu ṇās sākhīnām /*
udgītha: *ō ā bu hau ho hā ō /*
pratihāra: *siyau ho hṃ mā /*
upadrava: *vāk o /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

(UG 2.1, based upon JA 63.3–5)

The underlying verses are:

With what help shall our wondrous, always strengthening comrade (Indra) be present?
With what most able regiment?
Which true one among stimulants,
which most gratifying part of the (Soma) plant shall exhilarate thee,
in order to break open even those goods which are solid?
As helper of us singers, thy comrades,
thou shalt be superior in help to even a hundred (others).

कया नश्चित्र आ भुव-
दूती सदावृधः सखा ।
कया शचिष्ठया वृता ॥
कस्त्वा सत्यो मदानां
मंहिष्ठो मत्सदन्धसः ।
दृळहा चिदारुजे वसु ॥
अभी षु णः सखीना-
मविता जरितॄणाम् ।
शतं भवास्यूतिभिः ॥

(RV 4.31.1–3)

The accompanying śastra is the Second Exclusive Recitation, recited by the maitrāvaruṇa:

adhvaryo śoṃsāvo; RV 4.31.1 (3 x); 4.31.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.93.19–21
śoṃsāvo; RV 7.32.14–15
śoṃsāvo; RV 3.48.1–5; 4.19.1–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 4.19.11 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 4.20.4.

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Part II The 1975 Performance

The ninth stuti, or Third Back Chant, with the same viṣṭuti, is not naudhasa (as in the Agniṣṭoma) but śyaitam. The three basic stotriyās are:

I. prastāva: *abhi pravas surādhāsā au ho vā /*
udgītha: *ōndrām arcchā yāthā vāyidā ō hāyi /*
ō jārāyitṛbhyā ō vā purovasuḥ /
pratihara: *sahasreṇāyi vā śā /*
upadrava: *hṃ mā yikṣātā au ho vā /*
nidhana: *vā su //*

II. prastāva: *sahasreṇevā śikṣātā au ho vā /*
udgītha: *ō hā srāyiṇāyi vā śā yikṣātā ō hāyi /*
ō tānāyi kāyivā ō gāti dhārṣṇuyā /
pratihara: *hanti vṛtrāṇī dā /*
upadrava: *hṃ mā yiśūṣā au ho vā /*
nidhana: *vā su //*

III. prastāva: *hanti vṛtrāṇi dā śūṣā au ho vā /*
udgītha: *ōntā yi vārtrāṇāyi da śūṣā ō hāyi /*
ō rāyi rāyi vā prā ō āsya pāyinvāyi rāyi /
pratihara: *datrāṇi purubho /*
upadrava: *hṃ mā yijāsā au ho vā /*
nidhana: *vā su //*

(UG 9.6, based upon JA 74.9–10)

The underlying verses are:

Sing forth to your good Indra of good solicitude, as is well known,
the liberal one of many goods who exerts himself in a thousand ways, as it were, for the singers.
Like a hundred-faced (weapon),
he goes forth daringly and smashes (all) obstacles for his worshipper.
Like the great rivers of the mountain,
the gifts of him swell up, as he offers many benefits.
(RV 8.49.1–2)

अभि प्र वः सुराधसमिन्द्रमर्च यथा विदे ।
यो जरितृभ्यो मघवा पुरूवसुः
सहस्रेणेव शिक्षति ॥
शतानीकेव प्र जिगाति धृष्णुया
हन्ति वृत्राणि दाशुषे ।
गिरेरिव प्र रसा अस्य पिन्विरे
दत्राणि पुरुभोजसः ॥

The accompanying śastra is the Third Exclusive Recitation, recited by the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:

adhvaryo śoṃsāvo; RV 8.49.1–2 (made into three, the first recited 3 x)
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.50.1–2 (made into three)
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.3.15–16
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.104.1–11; 7.23.1–5
śoṃsāvo; RV 7.23.6 (3 x).

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The offering verse is RV 5.40.4.

The tenth stuti, or Fourth Back Chant, with the same viṣṭuti, is kāleya, the same as in the Agniṣṭoma. The three basic stotriyās are:

I. prastāva: *tarobhā yirvo vīdadvasum /*
udgītha: *ō sā ō dha ū ō bṛhāt / gāyā ō sutasomedhvārāyi /*
pratihāra: *huvāyi bharau vā ō vā /*
upadrava: *o kāriṇām /*
nidhana: *ho yi ḷā //*

II. prastāva: *huve bhārāṃ su kāriṇam /*
udgītha: *ō bhā ō su kā ō nā yāndudhrāḥ / ō rante su sthirā mūrāḥ /*
pratihāra: *madāyiṣu śau vā ō vā /*
upadrava: *ō āndhasaḥ /*
nidhana: *ho yi ḷā //*

III. prastāva: *madeṣū śāyiprām andhāsaḥ /*
udgītha: *ō ṣu ō pra mā ō yā ādṛtyā / ō hamānāya sūnvā tā yi /*
pratihāra: *dātā jarau vā ō vā /*
upadrava: *o ūkthiyām /*
nidhana: *ho yi ḷā //*

(UG 2.3, based upon JA 63.8–9)

The underlying verses are:

तरोभिर्वो विदद्वसु-
मिन्द्रं सबाधं ऊतये ।
बृहद्गायन्तः सुतसोमे अध्वरे
हुवे भरं न कारिणम् ॥
न यं दुधा वरन्ते न स्थिरा मुरो
मदे सुशिप्रमन्धसः ।
य आदृत्या शशमानाय सुन्वते
दाता जरित्र उक्थ्यम् ॥

Intensely (we summon) Indra who finds wealth swiftly, for your aid,
as we sing on high at this ceremony in which the Soma is pressed.
I summon him like one who wins the battle.
Him (I summon) whom neither stubborn nor enduring hindrances shall stop
when the lovely lipped one is in the stimulation of the (Soma) plant,
who, once he has robbed it,
shall grant a praiseworthy (prize) to the ministrant, to the presser and to the singer.

(RV 8.66.1–2)

The accompanying śastra is the Fourth Exclusive Recitation, recited by the acchavākā:

adhvaryo śoṃsāvo; RV 8.66.1–2 (made into three, the first recited 3 x)
śoṃsāvo; RV 7.32.20–21 (made into three)
śoṃsāvo; RV 7.32.12–13
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.30.1–5; 3.36.1–10

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śoṃsāvo; RV 3.36.11 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 3.36.3.

In these four Soma sequences, the first cup is offered to Great Indra (Mahendra) and the three remaining cups to Indra. Thus ends the Midday Pressing at about 3:30 A.M. on April 23, 1975.

Eleventh Day: April 23, 1975

EPISODE 28

The Third Pressing (Tṛtīyasavana)

THE THIRD PRESSING which, in the Agniṣṭoma, takes place in the evening of the pressing day (the fifth ritual day of the Agniṣṭoma), marks the beginning of the eleventh ritual day of the Atirātra. It follows the ceremonies of the tenth day without a pause and starts around 4 A.M. on April 23, 1975.

After pressing Soma and offering a cup to the Ādityas, the eleventh stuti, Chant of the Skillful Gods for the Purified Soma (*ārbhavapavamāna-stuti*) is chanted, without viṣṭuti sticks (which are covered with a cloth). It consists of seventeen stotriyās, two of which (IX and X) are different from those in the Agniṣṭoma. The first three are chanted to the gāyatra melody, so that it is sufficient to list the prastāva:

ō hṃ /
I. *svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayōm* (JA 64.1; RV 9.1.1)
II. *rakṣohā viśvacarṣaṇōm* (JA 64.2; RV 9.1.2)
III. *varivodhātamo bhuvōm* (JA 64.3; RV 9.1.3) *hṃ /*
IV. prastāva: *svādiṣṭhayā ma dā yiṣṭhayā /*
udgītha: *ō svā sō ō /*
pratihāra: *ā yindrā /*
upadrava: *ō pā tavā hāvu vā /*
nidhana: *sū taḥ //*
V. prastāva: *rakṣohā viśva cārṣaṇāyiḥ /*
udgītha: *ō yō nīṃ ō /*
pratihāra: *drō ṇe /*
upadrava: *ō dhā sthamā hāvu vā /*
nidhana: *sā dāt //*
VI. prastāva: *varivōdhata mō bhuvaḥ /*
udgītha: *ō ṣṭhōvṛ ō /*
pratihāra: *parṣī /*
upadrava: *ō dhō mā hāvu vā /*
nidhana: *gho nāṃ //*
hṃ /
VII. prastāva: *ayā pāvāsva dā yi vā yuḥ /*

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udgītha: *ō pavāyitrāṃ paryā yiṣi vāyiśvātaḥ |*
pratihāra: *madhoḥ |*
upadrava: *ō hō ā to |*
nidhana: *hā yi ||*
(UG 3.2, based upon JA 64.4; RV 9.63.7)

hṃ |
VIII. prastāva: *pāvāte hāryātō hāriḥ |*
udgītha: *ō hvarāṃ sā yi raṃhā yā |*
pratihāra: *abhāyi |*
upadrava: *ō stōtṛbhyō bā |*
nidhana: *ra vā dyā śaḥ ||*
(UG 3.3, based upon JA 64.5; RV 9.65.25)

hṃ |
IX. prastāva: *purōjitī vō andhāsās sūtāya mādāyitnāvāyi |*
udgītha: *ō pa śvānaṃ śñathiṣṭānā ōhāyi |*
partihāra: *sākhāyo dā yi |*
upadrava: *ō jō bāhvāyāṃ |*
nidhana: *hāyi ||*
(UG 14.4, first sāman, based upon JA 64.6–7; RV 9.101.1–2)

hṃ |
X. prastāva: *sakhāyō dirghajihviyāme |*
udgītha: *ō dhārayā pāvakāyā hā hā au hō vā āyihī |*
pariprasyandātāyi sūtā hā hā au hō vā āyihī |
pratihāra: *indurāśvā hā hā au hō vā āyihī |*
upadrava: *ō kārtvāyā au hō vā |*
nidhana: *madhūścūtaḥ ||*
(UG 27.19, second sāman, based upon JA 64.6–7; RV 9.101.1–2)

hṃ |
XI. prastāva: *indūrāśvās sukṛtvā ya ehiyā |*
udgītha: *ō dūrōṣāmā bhī narā ō hō iyā somaṃ | vā yiśvā ci yā |*
pratihāra: *dhā yā |*
upadrava: *ō hō ō hō iyā yājñā ō saṃtū ā drā yō |*
nidhana: *hā yi ||*
(UG 3.4, third sāman, based upon JA 64.7; RV 9.101.2)

hṃ |
XII. prastāva: *purōjitī va yā ōndhāsāḥ |*
udgītha: *ō tā ya mādā yā hṃ mā |*
antarnidhana: *tnave apa śvānam śñathiṣṭanā |*
pratihāra: *sākhāvu vā |*
upadrava: *ō dīrghā jī hviyā au hō bā |*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā ||*

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XIII. prastāva: *sakhāyō dīrghajā ō hvāyāṃ /*
udgītha: *ō dhārayā pāvā hṃ mā /*
antarnidhana: *kayā pari prasyandate sutāḥ /*
pratihāra: *āyindāvu vā /*
upadrava: *ō śvās sū kārtviyā au hō bā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā /*

XIV. prastāva: *indur aśvas su kā ōrtvāyaḥ /*
udgītha: *ō durō ṣamā bhi hṃ mā /*
antarnidhana: *naras somaṃ viśvāciyā dhiyā /*
pratihāra: *yajñāvu vā /*
upadrava: *ō santū ā drayā au hō bā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā //*
(UG 3.5, based upon JA 64. 6–7; RV 9.101.1–2)

hṃ /

XV. prastāva: *abhyo vā /*
udgītha: *o yāṇi pāvātāyicanō ō māni / yaṃ hvō ādhiyāyi ṣu vā ō /*
pratihāra: *ā sūryasya bṛhatō bṛhann ādhi /*
upadrava: *ō thāṃ vāyiṣvāñcāmā ō yicā kṣā /*
nidhana: *ṇāḥ //*

XVI. prastāva: *ṛtō vā /*
udgītha: *ō jihvā pāvātāyi mādhū ō ktā patiḥ / dhā yō syā dā ō /*
pratihāra: *dadhāti putraḥ pitrōr apīcāyāṃ /*
upadrava: *ō mā tārtti yāmā ō nāndā yi /*
nidhana: *vāḥ //*

XVII. prastāva: *avōvā*
udgītha: *ō tānaḥ kālāśaṃ ācā ō bhiḥ / yemāṇaḥ kōśā hirā ō /*
pratihāra: *abhī ṛtasya dōhanā anuṣāta /*
upadrava: *ō dhāyi trāyipṛṣṭhā ū ō yi rā jā /*
nidhana: *sā yi //*
(UG 3.6, based upon JA 64.9–11; RV 9.75.1–3)

The underlying verses are:

Soma, purify thyself with this most sweet and purifying stream,
now that thou art pressed for Indra to drink.
The smasher of evil forces, known to all the peoples,
has sat upon his iron homestead,
upon his station made of wood.
Become the first of those who create freedom by smashing all obstacles,
the one who is most gratifying.

स्वादिष्ट्या मदिष्ट्या
पवस्व सोम धारया ।
इन्द्राय पातवे सुतः ॥
रक्षोहा विश्वचर्षणे-
रभि योनिमयोहतम् ।
द्रुणा सधस्थमासदत् ॥
वरिवोधातमो भव
मंहिष्ठो वृत्रहन्तमः ।

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Further the solicitude of our patrons.
(RV 9.1.1–3)

पर्षि राधो मघोनाम् ॥

Purify thyself with this stream
with which thou didst make the sun shine,
as thou didst drive forth the waters
destined for the offspring of Manu.
(RV 9.63.7)

अया पवस्व धारया
यया सूर्यमरोचयः।
हिन्वानो मानुषीरपः ॥

The golden steed is sung by Jamadagni,
as he drives forth upon the steer-hide.
(RV 9.65.25)

पवते हर्यतो हरिर्गृणानो जमदग्निना
हिन्वानो गोरधि त्वचि ॥

Comrades, drive away with barbs the long-tongued dog,
with predominant conquest for the (Soma) plant,
for the stimulating juice.
Like a horse trained for victory is this drop,
this juice which runs forth and around along
the purifying stream.
(RV 9.101.1–2)

पुरोजिती वो अन्धसः
सुताय मादयित्नवे।
अप श्वानं श्नथिष्टन
सखायो दीर्घजिह्वयम् ॥
यो धारया पावकया
परिप्रस्यन्दते सुतः।
इन्दुरश्वो न कृत्व्यः ॥

The desired (Soma) purifies itself according to his proper names,
under which the youthful one grows up.
The lofty one of broad vision
has mounted the lofty chariot of the sun
which drives in different directions.
The dear honey purifies itself,
now that it is the tongue of truth
and the undeceivable speaker and master of this hymn.
The son bestows on his parents
his secret third name
in the luminous realm of heaven.
The shining one has bellowed down to the buckets,
as he is held in the golden container by the priests.
The cows of truth have resounded towards him.
The triple-backed one shines upon the dawns.
(RV 9.75.1–3)

अभि प्रियाणि पवते चनोहितो
नामानि यह्वो अधि येषु वर्धते।
आ सूर्यस्य बृहतो बृहन्नधि
रथं विष्वञ्चमरुहद्विचक्षणः ॥

ऋतस्य जिह्वा पवते मधु प्रियं
वक्ता पतिर्धियो अस्या अदाभ्यः।
दधाति पुत्रः पित्रोरपीच्यं
नाम तृतीयमधि रोचने दिवः ॥

अव द्युतानः कलशाँ अचिक्रद-
न्नृभिर्येमानः कोश आ हिरण्ययें।
अभीमृतस्य दोहना अनूषता-
ऽधि त्रिपृष्ठ उषसो वि राजति ॥

The eleventh stuti, composed upon these verses, requires breaths of extreme length. According to the chanters, throughout this chant, the "o" of the udgītha should last 14 mātrās (time units). As in all these chants, each of the five portions (bhakti) should be chanted in one breath. The chant is over by about 5:15 A.M. After a few more mantras (Caland-Henry, §221c) and Stuti Milking, there is an interval of about one hour and a quarter.

The ceremonies resume with the continuation of the animal sacrifice. The rice cakes representing cooked portions of the animals, and the puroḍāśa

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cakes are offered. After Soma oblations by hotā, maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, potā, neṣṭā, acchāvāka and agnīdh, followed by Soma drinking, the cupbearers put the sacred thread over their right shoulder, and portions of the cakes are placed next to the Soma cups: nine next to the cup of the hotā, and three next to each of the other cups. These are offerings of the yajamāna and his priests to their ancestors. This is followed by offering a Soma cup to Savitṛ.

The First Evening Recitation, the Great Recitation to the All-Gods (*mahāvaiśvadevaśastra*), the same as in the Agniṣṭoma, is recited by the hotā:

adhvaryo śośoṃsāvo; RV 5.82.1 (3 x); 5.82.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 5.82.4–6
śoṃsāvo; RV 4.54.1–5
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.18.1; RV 4.54.6
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.3.10[1]
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.159.1–4
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.19.1; RV 1.159.5
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.4.1
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.111.1–4
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.20.1; RV 1.111.5
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.123.1
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.63.3
śoṃsāvo; RV 4.50.6
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.89.1–8; ŚŚS 8.21.1
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.89.9
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.89.10 (3 x).

The pratigara of the adhvaryu throughout the recital of RV 1.159.1–5 (excepting the nivid) is *madāmo daiva*, "let us enjoy, divine one." When the hotā recites *oṃ*, it is *modāmo daiva* (cf. ŚŚS 8.3.12). After Śastra Milking, etc., the adhvaryu offers, with RV 6.52.13 as offering verse, a cup to the All-gods, and cooked rice to Soma. Clarified butter is poured into the remnants of this offering, and yajamāna, brahman, adhvaryu, pratiprasthātā, and agnīdh try to see their faces reflected in it. The dish is then offered to the chanters who try the same. The pātnīvata cup of Soma is offered in the fire for the goddesses.

Before the remnants of the Soma offering are drunk, preparations are begun for the last stuti chant. The adhvaryu issues an order (praiṣa):

Agnīdh, sit on the lap of the neṣṭā.	अग्नीन्नेष्टुरुपस्थमासीद ।
Neṣṭā bring forward the wife,	नेष्टः पत्नीमुदानय ।
inform her through the udgātā	उद्गात्रा संख्याप्या-
how many times she has to use	

[1] This is not a nivid, but a mantra that happens to be lacking in the Ṛgveda "par un hasard inexplicable" (Caland and Henry, page 355).

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the water for washing.	प उपप्रवर्तयतात् ।
Let the washing be done	ऊरुणोऽप प्रवर्तयतात् ।
via the thighs.	नग्नं कृत्वोरुमुपप्रवर्तयतात् ।
Having denuded them,	होतुश्चमसमनून्नयध्वम् ।
let the washing be done.	प्रतिप्रस्थातर्होतृचमसे
(To all the cupbearers:)	ध्रुवायावकाशं कुरुतात् ।
Together with the hotā, raise your cups.	एहि यजमान ॥
Pratiprasthātā, leave space for the dhruva	
in the hotā's cup.	
Yajamāna, come!	

(BŚS 8.14:254.13–17, omitting one phrase)

The Soma drinking begins, and the agnīdh sits on the lap of the neṣṭā. Then the neṣṭā fetches the wife, and the stuti begins. The wife sits down inside the Hall of Recitation, to the right (west) of the pratihartā, facing the udgātā (south). She has brought a small vessel with water. A mat with a hole in it is put around her.

The last chant of the third pressing is the Yajñāyajñīya or Agniṣṭoma Stuti, the same as in the Agniṣṭoma (which derives its name from it). It is interspersed with special rites that also occur in the Agniṣṭoma, and one ceremony that is specific to the Agnicayana. The chant consists of twenty-one stotriyās with the structure:

o hṃ. I.I.I.II.II.II.III;
hṃ. I.II.II.II.III.III.III;
hṃ. I.I.I.II.III.III.III.

The sticks are laid down in accordance with the twenty-one-fold viṣṭuti of Figure 50.

The three basic stotriyās are:

I.	prastāva:	*yajñā yājñā vō gnāyāyi /*
	udgītha:	*ōyirā ihā cā dākṣā sāyi vō priṃ /*
		vayā ō amṛtā ō vā hṃ māyi /
	pratihāra:	*dāyi vāṃ /*
	upadrava:	*ō yāṃ māyitrānnū śāṃsiṣā bu /*
	nidhana:	*vā //*
II.	prastāva:	*prāyām /*
	udgītha:	*ō trānnū śāṃsi ṣā mūrjō nu /*
		pā taṃsa hyā yū mā hṃ māyi /
	pratihāra:	*smā yuḥ /*
	upadrava:	*ō śēmā hāvyādātayā bu /*
	nidhana:	*vā //*
III.	prastāva:	*āśe /*
	udgītha:	*ō havyādātayāyi bhuvād /*

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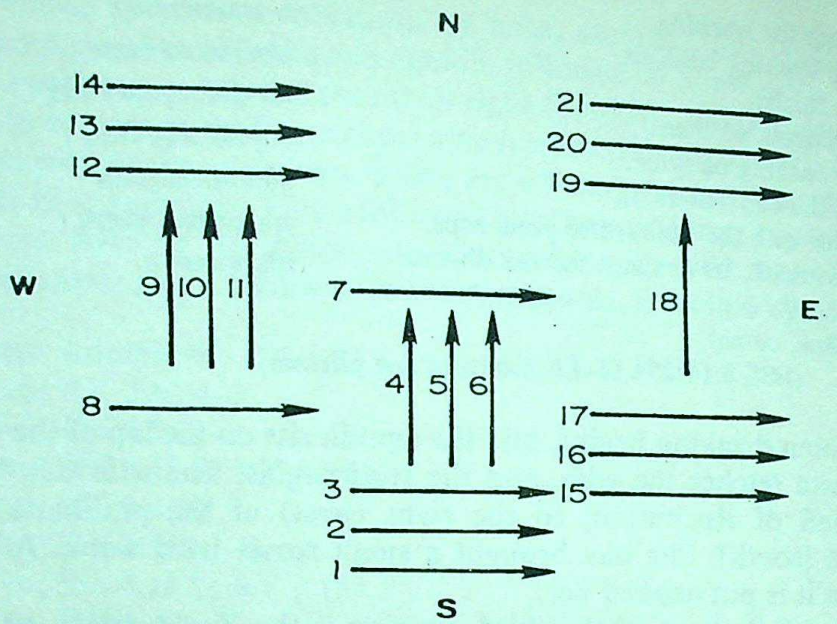

Figure 50—Twenty-one-fold Viṣṭuti of the Yajñāyajñīya

vājeṣvavitā bhūvāddhṃ māyi /
pratihāra: *vārddhāḥ /*
upadrava: *ō tā trātā bāhūna ā bu /*
nidhana: *vā //*

(UG 3.7, based upon JA 64.12–13)

The underlying verses are:

With every worship, with every song
(strive) for Agni to be skillful for you.
We shall praise the immortal Jātavedas like a friendly ally.
Because he is disposed to us,
may we worship the offspring of strength,
for him to distribute the oblations (to the gods).
He shall be our helper in contests,
our strengthener, and the savior of our persons.
(RV 6.48.1–2)

यज्ञायज्ञा वो अग्नये
गिरागिरा च दक्षसे ।
प्रप्र वयममृतं जातवेदसं
प्रियं मित्रं न शंसिषम् ॥
ऊर्जो नपातं स हिनायमस्मयु-
र्दाशेम हव्यदातये ।
भुवद्वाजेष्वविता भुवद्वृध
उत त्राता तनूनाम् ॥

While this Yajñāyajñīya Stuti is being sung, several other ceremonies take place. During the udgītha of the first stotriyā of the first round (*paryāya*), the adhvaryu recites the Seven-Hotā formula:

The hotā wields large oblations,
the adhvaryu efficient libation,

महाहविर्होता ।
सत्यहविरध्वर्युः ।

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the agnīdh unshakable strength,	अच्युतपाजा अग्नीत् ।
the assistant unshakable spirit,	अच्युतमना उपवक्ता ।
the respondents of the ceremony	अनाधृष्यश्चाप्रतिधृष्यश्च
beyond attack and irresistible,	यज्ञस्याभिगूरौ ।
the udgātā indefatigable!	अयास्यं उद्गाता ।
(TA 3.5.1)	

followed by:

Vācaspati Hṛdvidhenāman!	वाचस्पते हृद्विधे नामन् ।
May we honor your name!	विधेमं ते नामं ।
May you honor our name!	विधेस्त्वमस्माकं नामं ।
Vācaspati has drunk Soma.	वाचस्पतिः सोममपात् ।
May the divine thread not break,	मा दैव्यस्तन्तुश्छेदि
and neither the human.	मा मनुष्यः ।
Homage to heaven—	नमो दिवे ।
Homage to earth—svāhā!	नमः पृथिव्यै स्वाहा ॥
(TA 3.5.1)	

In spite of the svāhā exclamation, this is pure recitation, without rite or oblation.

During the second stotriyā of the first round, prastāva and udgītha are sung in the aniruktagāna manner of rathantara:

prastāva: *yajñā yajñā vo agnayōm /*
udgītha: *ōyirā ihā cā dākṣā sāyi bhā bhā bhā*
bhā ō āmṛtā ō vō hṃ māyi /
(RG 1.7, in accordance with JŚS 19:24.7)

In the Agniṣṭoma, the last stotriyā is sung in this fashion. After this, viz., before the third stotriyā begins, the wife puts her finger through the hole in the mat that surrounds her. The udgātā gazes upon it and says:

You are lovely in appearance,	वामी नाम संदृशि ।
may we absorb all that is lovely!	विश्वा वामानि धीमहि ।

The wife's reply is first recited by the udgātā, then repeated by her through the hole:

From you, male, full of male force,	वृष्णस्ते वृष्ण्यावतो
may we absorb all the seeds!	विश्वा रेतांसि धीमहि ॥
(JŚS 19:24.8–10)	

Then the wife, prompted and accompanied by the neṣṭā, recites:

i. Seeing you Agni, who is all,	विश्वंस्य ते विश्वावतो
who possesses all and manly power,	वृष्ण्यावतस्त्वाग्ने

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like your lovers
may I receive all seeds![1]

वामीरनु सन्दशि
विश्वा रेतांꣳसि धिषीय ॥

k. The ritual has come to the gods,
the goddesses have left the ritual
For the gods!
To the Yajamāna pressing Soma,
blessings accompanied by svāhā!
Standing in the ocean
follow the Gandharvas
on the path of the wind,
food that is praised (?)!

अगन् देवान् यज्ञो
नि देवीर्देवेभ्यो यज्ञमशिप-
न्नस्मिन्त्सुन्वति यजमान
आशिषः स्वाहाकृताः
समुद्रेष्ठा गन्धर्वमा तिष्ठतानु
वातस्य पत्मन्नि ईडिताः ॥

(TS 3.5.6.3i-k)

During this recitation, the wife washes herself between the thighs a number of times. Afterwards, she puts the water vessel upside down on the ground so that the remaining water runs out and can be seen outside the mat. Then the chant continues with its third stotriyā.

When the chanting of the stuti is nearing its end, the adhvaryu performs an Agnicayana rite, standing at the northern hip of the bird and touching the five layers from top to bottom, as he did before on the eighth day (end of Episode 18, page 543) and on the tenth day (beginning of Episode 25, page 599). While doing so he recites:

d. Homage to you—do not harm me!
You stand resting on the head of all,
your heart, your life are in the ocean,
heaven and earth are placed on the worlds!

नमस्ते अस्तु मा मा हिꣳसी-
र्विश्वस्य मूर्द्धन्नधि तिष्ठसि श्रितः ।
समुद्रे ते हृदयमन्तरायु-
र्द्यावापृथिवी भुवनेष्वर्पिते ॥

e. Give some water, split what holds water.
From heaven, Parjanya, sky, earth
help us with rain!
You are head of heaven, navel of earth,
strength of waters and plants,
extending protection to all life,
homage to the way!

उद्नो दत्तोदधिं भिन्त
दिवः पर्जन्यादन्तरिक्षात् पृथिव्या-
स्ततो नो वृष्ट्यावत ।
दिवो मूर्धाऽसि पृथिव्या नाभि-
रूर्गापामोषधीनाम् ।
विश्वायुः शर्म सप्रथा नमस्पथे ॥

(TS 4.7.13.2d-e)

Finally the hotā recites the Second Evening Recitation, the Recitation for Agni and the Maruts (āgnimārutaśastra), the same as in the Agniṣṭoma:

adhvaryo śośoṃsāvo; RV 3.3.1 (3 x); 3.3.2–10
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.22.1; RV 3.3.11
śoṃsāvo; RV 2.33.1
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.87.1–5
śoṃsāvo; ŚŚS 8.23.1; RV 1.87.6
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.48.1–2 (made into three)

[1] Following Caland and Henry, page 371 *contra* Keith, page 284.

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śoṃsāvo; RV 7.16.11–12 (made into three)
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.143.1–7
śoṃsāvo: ŚŚS 8.24.1; RV 1.143.8
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.9.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.50.14
śoṃsāvo; RV 5.46.7–8
śoṃsāvo; RV 2.32.4–5
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.44.7–9
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.15.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.14.4,3,5
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.47.1–3
śoṃsāvo; AV 7.25.1
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.154.1
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.53.6
śoṃsāvo; RV 4.17.20 (3 x).

This śastra is recited fairly quickly, with the clear exception of RV 10.9.1–3 (= TS 4.1.5.1b-d, recited frequently, e.g., page 282), and the preceding āhāva. The pratigara of the adhvaryu throughout the recital of RV 6.47.1–3 is: *madāmo daiva*. When the hotā recites *oṃ*, it is: *modāmo dāiva* (cf. ŚŚS 8.6.15). After the usual recitations following the śastra, a Soma cup is offered to Agni and the Maruts. The offering verse is RV 5.60.8, which is also recited more slowly, like the previous śastras.

Eleventh Day: April 23, 1975

EPISODE 29

The Three Ukthya Soma Sequences and the Sixteenth (*Ṣoḍaśī*)

BY 2 P.M. ON APRIL 23 the twelve Soma sequences, which correspond to the Agniṣṭoma, have been completed and the three Soma sequences of the ukthya begin. Each of these is sung in accordance with the twenty-one-fold viṣṭuti of Figure 50. The First Ukthya Stuti (the 13th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *ē hyu ṣu bravāṇa yi tāyi /*
udgītha: *ō gna itthētarā gāyira yē bhāyir varddhā /*
pratihāra: *sa yā hā yi /*
upadrava: *ō bhō /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*
II. prastāva: *yātra kvā ca tē mānaḥ /*
udgītha: *ō kṣan dadhasa ūttarāṃ tatrā yōnāyiṃ /*
pratihāra: *kṛṇā hā yi /*
upadrava: *ō sō /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

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III. prastāva: *nā hī tē pūrttam akṣāyipat /*
udgītha: *ō van nēmānāṃ pātā athā duvaḥ /*
pratihāra: *vanā hā yi /*
upadrava: *ō sō /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

(UG 4.1, based upon JA 65.1–3)

The underlying verses are:

Come and I shall speak well to thee;
—Agni, though the other songs are proper,
thou shalt grow strong upon our drops.
Whenever thou shalt turn thy mind thy highest capability,
then thou shalt make thy seat.
Because thy gift shall never be annoying,
good one of our side,
therefore thou shalt win our friendship.[1]
(RV 6.16.16–18)

एह्यू षु ब्रवाणि ते-
ऽग्न इत्थेतरा गिरः ।
एभिर्वर्धास इन्दुभिः ॥
यत्र क्व च ते मनो
दक्षं दधस उत्तरम् ।
तत्रा सदः कृणवसे ॥
नहि ते पूर्तमक्षिपद्
भुवन्नेमानां वसो ।
अथा दुवो वनवसे ॥

The thirteenth śastra is recited by the maitrāvaruṇa:

adhvaryo śośoṃsāvo; RV 6.16.16 (3 x); 6.16.17–18
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.16.19–21
śoṃsāvo; RV 3.51.1–3; 8.42.1–3; 7.82.1–10; 7.84.1–4
śoṃsāvo; RV 7.84.5 (3 x).

The first ukthya cup, made up from one-third of the Soma mixture in the Ukthya vessel, as in the preceding two pressings, is offered to Indra-Varuṇa. The offering verse is RV 6.68.11. The Second Ukthya Stuti (the 14th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *vayāmū tvām apūrvi yō vā /*
udgītha: *ō rannakacchit bharāntāḥ / ā vā hō syāvaḥ /*
pratihāra: *vajrīṃścitraṃ havā hā yi /*
upadrava: *ō hā au hō vā /*
nidhana: *ūk //*
II. prastāva: *vajrāyiṃścāyitrāṃ havāma hō vā /*
udgītha: *ō pa tvā karmannūtāyāyi / sa nō hō yuva /*
pratihāra: *ugraścakrāma yō hā yi /*
upadrava: *ō ṣā au hō vā /*
nidhana: *ūk //*
III. prastāva: *ugrāścākrāma yō dhṛṣō vā /*
udgītha: *ō middhya vitārāṃ / vavṛhō mā hā yi /*

[1] JA 65.3 has *pate*, "master" for RV *vaso*, "good one."

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pratihāra: *sakhāya indra sā hā yi /*
upadrava: *ō sā au hō vā /*
nidhana: *ūk //*

(UG 4.2, based upon JA 65.4–5)

The underlying verses are:

Seeking aid, like those carrying something heavy,
we summon thee in the contest, foremost one,
thee the wondrous one.
To aid in this enterprise,
that youthful and strong one has approached thee,
who (actest) with daring.
Indra, we comrades choose thee for our winning helper.

(RV 8.21.1–2)

वयमु त्वामपूर्व्य
स्थूरं न कच्चिद् भरन्तोऽवस्यवः ।
वाजे चित्रं हवामहे ॥
उप त्वा कर्मन्नूतये स नो युवो-
ग्रश्चक्राम यो धृषत् ।
त्वामिद्धयवितारं ववृमहे
सखाय इन्द्र सानसिम् ॥

The fourteenth śastra is recited by the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:

adhvaryo śośoṃsāvo; RV 8.21.1 (made into three,
the first recited 3 x)
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.21.9–10 (made into three)
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.57.1–3; 6.73.1–3; 10.42.1–10; 10.68.1–12
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.42.11 (3 x).

The second ukthya cup, from the second third of the ukthya Soma mixture, is offered to Indra-Bṛhaspati. The offering verse is RV 7.97.10. The Third Ukthya Stuti (the 15th Stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *adhā hīndra girvaṇā ē /*
udgītha: *ō pa tvā kāma īmāhāyi /*
pratihāra: *sāsṛgmāhā au hō au hō vā /*
udgītha: *o dē hā yi /*
pratihāra: *vāgmāntā yā au hō au hō vā /*
upadrava: *ō bhī rē hi yā hā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā //*
II. prastāva: *vārṇa tvā yavyābhīre /*
udgītha: *ōrddhāntī śūra brāhmāṇi /*
pratihāra: *vāvṛddhvāṃ sā au hō au hō vā /*
udgītha: *ō ā hā yi /*
pratihara: *drivō dā yi vā au hō au hō vā /*
upadrava: *ō vā ē hi yā hā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā /*
III. prastāva: *yuñjanti harī i ṣirā ē /*
udgītha: *ō gāthayā vu rau rā thē urō yugāyi /*

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pratihāra: *vacō yū jā au hō au hō vā /*
udgītha: *ōndrā hā yi /*
pratihāra: *vāhā suvā au hō au hō vā /*
upadrava: *ō dā ē hi yā hā /*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā //*

(UG 4.3 based upon JA 65.6–8)

The structure of the stotriyās in this stuti, with two occurrences of udgītha and pratihāra, is not found anywhere else.

The underlying verses are:

Indra, lover of songs,
we have released our desires upon thee,
like those going along the waters (release) the waters.
Hero, our prayers strengthen thee,
like water in the brooks,
although thou growest strong (by thyself) day by day.
(The singers) yoke with their song
the two steeds of swift (Indra)
on to his broad chariot of broad yoke,
the steeds which convey Indra
and are yoked by our (holy) words.

(RV 8.98.7–9)

अधा हीन्द्र गिर्वण
उप त्वा कामान् सहः ससृज्महे।
उदेव यन्त उदभिः ॥
वार्ण त्वा यव्याभि-
र्वर्धन्ति शूर ब्रह्माणि।
वावृध्वांसं चिदद्रिवो दिवेदिवे ॥
युञ्जन्ति हरी इषिरस्य
गाथयोरौ रथे उरुयुगे।
इन्द्रवाहा वचोयुजा ॥

The fifteenth śastra is recited by the acchāvāka:

adhvaryo śośoṃsāvo; RV 8.98.7 (3 x); 8.98.8–9
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.98.10–12
śoṃsāvo; RV 2.13.1–13; 1.154.1–6; 1.155.1–6; 6.69.1–7
śoṃsāvo; RV 6.69.8 (3 x).

The third ukthya cup is offered to Indra-Viṣṇu. The offering verse is RV 6.69.3.

The priests are ahead of their schedule and wait for about three hours until 6:30 P.M. When the sun is half set, the Ṣoḍaśi Stuti (the 16th Stuti) begins. The dark horse is tied to the eastern entrance of the new havirdhāna. Since the Ṣoḍaśi Śastra will be recited by the hotā, the adhvaryu will hand over the stotra (see above, page 579). For this stuti only, it consists of two grass blades and two blades of gold. Like the grass blades, these are long and thin. The adhvaryu puts them on the back of the horse, leads the horse toward the sadas, ties it to the eastern entrance of the sadas, and hands the stotra to the udgātā. The viṣṭuti for the Sixteenth Chant is again the twenty-one-fold pictured in Figure 50. Afterwards, the horse will be given to the adhvaryu, and a similar horse to the udgātā.

The Ṣoḍaśī is based upon strange mantras, full of interpolations, which

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are not found in the Ṛgveda though they are referred to in the Śrauta Sūtras and Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda, and occur in the Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda. Both chant and recitation are complex and are considered particularly sacred and powerful. Many Nambudiris who don't wish or are unable to attend the entire Atirātra ritual, make enquiries when the Ṣoḍaśī will take place, and take care to be present at least then. The chant contains the largest number of long syllables and the longest syllables. While some single syllables last as long as 18 seconds, the longest portion (bhakti) that has to be sung in one breath (the pratihāra) lasts about thirty seconds (see also Staal 1961, 83). There is a belief among the chanters and reciters that those who make a mistake when singing this chant or reciting the śastra will go mad.

Before the adhvaryu takes the stotra, the yajamāna, prompted by his elder brother Vasudevan Akkitiripad, recites:

Than whom no other is born higher,
entering all beings, Prajāpati,
joined with his creatures, associated with three lights,
he is the Ṣoḍaśī!
This proper brahmin, called Indra,
renowned among his followers,
I shall praise your tawny horses in great assembly!
Privileged I love your favorite drink, Indra,
fine like butter, which is poured with tawny (Soma drops).
Renowned among your followers, let the chants
enter you with your tawny appearance!
(TB 3.7.9.5–6)

यस्मान्न जातः परो अन्यो अस्ति ।
य आविवेश भुवनानि विश्वा ।
प्रजापतिः प्रजया संविदानः ।
त्रीणि ज्योतींषि सचते स षोडशी ॥
एष ब्रह्मा य ऋत्वियः ।
इन्द्रो नाम श्रुतो गणे ।
प्र ते महे विदथे शंसिषꣳ हरी ।
य ऋत्वियः प्र ते वन्वे ।
वनुषो हर्यतं मदम् ।
इन्द्रो नाम घृतं न यः हरिभिश्चारु सेचते ।
श्रुतो गण आ त्वा विशन्तु ।
हरिवर्पसं गिरः ॥

This recitation from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa intertwines a verse from the Ṛgveda (10.96.1) with another mantra (given in ŚŚS 9.6.6). These mantras recur in the Ṣoḍaśi Śastra (Part VI), which is characterized throughout by the same process of intertwining or transposition (*viharaṇam*).

The chant begins. The three basic stotriyās are:

I. prastāva: *indrā jūṣāsvā prāvāha /*
udgītha: *ō yā hi śūra hariha pā yi bā /*
sūtāsyā mātirṇā mādhōḥ /
pratihāra: *cā kā nāścā /*
upadrava: *ō mō bā dā yō /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*
II. prastāva: *indrā jāṭhārannavyanna /*
udgītha: *ō ṇasva madhōr divō nā syā /*
sūtāsyā sūvarṇā ū pā /

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pratihāra: *tvā mādāssū /*
upadrava: *ō cō bā ā sthuḥ /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*
III. prastāva: *indrāstū rā ṣāṇ mitrō nc /*
udgītha: *ō ghā na vṛtra yatirna bā yi bhā /*
dāvālāṃ bhṛgūr nā sā sā /
pratihāra: *hā yi śātrūn mā /*
upadrava: *ō sō bā mā syō /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

(UG 4.4, based upon JA 65.9–11)

The underlying verses could well have been composed under the influence of Soma:

Indra enjoy—drive on,
come, hero—with your two steeds,
drink of Soma—like a sage,
loving the sweet, pleased with inebriation!
Indra, your belly—like one to be praised,
fill it with sweet—like heavens,
with pressed Soma—like paradise,
well-spoken inebriants have gone to you!
Indra fast conquering—like a friend,
killing the demon—like ascetics,
he split the cave—like Bhṛgu,
he conquers his enemies inebriated with Soma!
(AV 2.5.1–3)

इन्द्र॑ जु॒षस्व॒ प्र व॒हा
या॑हि शूर॒ हरि॑भ्याम् ।
पिबा॑ सु॒तस्य॑ म॒तेरि॒ह
मधो॑श्चका॒नश्चारु॒र्मदा॑य ॥
इन्द्र॑ ज॒ठरं॑ न॒व्यो न
पृ॒णस्व॒ मधो॑र्दि॒वो न ।
अ॒स्य सु॒तस्य॒ स्व॑१॒र्णो-
प॑ त्वा॒ मदाः॑ सु॒वाचो॑ अगुः ॥
इन्द्र॑स्तु॒रा॒षाण्मि॒त्रो
वृ॒त्रं यो ज॒घान॑ य॒तीर्न ।
बि॒भेद॑ व॒लं भृगु॒र्न
स॑सहे॒ शत्रू॒न् मदे॒ सोम॑स्य ॥

The same technique of transposition or intertwining underlies the construction of the Ṣoḍaśi Śastra. It can be divided into ten parts:

I. The first part is the same piece that underlies the Stuti:

śoṃsāvo / indra juṣasva pra vahā yāhi śūra harī iha / pibā sutasya matir na madhvaś cakānaś cārur madāyo // (3 x) *indra jaṭharan navyan na pṛṇasva madhvo divo na / asya sutasya svarṇopa tvā madās suvāco astho // indras turāṣāṇ mitro na jaghāna vṛtraṃ yatir na / bibheda valaṃ bhṛgur na sasāhe śatrūn made somasyo //*

This first part consists of three verses in the svarāj meter, which consists of 34 syllables. As the first verse is repeated thrice, there are $5 \times 34 = 170$ syllables. Traditionally, the Ṣoḍaśi Śastra is held to consist of anuṣṭubh meters. An anuṣṭubh consists of four octosyllabic verses, or $4 \times 8 = 32$ syllables. Part I is interpreted as consisting of five anuṣṭubh verses, i.e., $5 \times 32 = 160$ syllables. This leaves an excess of 10 syllables.

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II. RV 8.46.1:

tvāvataḥ purūvaso vayam indra praṇetaḥ / smasi sthātar hariṇo //

This verse is in an irregular gāyatrī meter. The regular gāyatrī consists of three octosyllabic verses, or $3 \times 8 = 24$ syllables. RV 8.46.1 is a *gāyatrī pāda nicṛt*, which has one syllable less in each pāda, viz. $24 - 2 = 22$ syllables. Add to these the 10 syllables left from Part I, and we obtain $22 + 10 = 32$ syllables. These are interpreted as constituting one anuṣṭubh.

III. The next piece consists of six verses in the anuṣṭubh meter, which are put together by intertwining three verse in the gāyatrī meter and three verse in the paṅkti meter. This can be done because the anuṣṭubh consists of four octosyllabic verses, the gāyatrī of three, and the paṅkti of five. The first underlying mantra in the gāyatrī meter is:

ā tvā vahantu harayo vṛṣaṇam somapītaye / indra tvā śūracakṣasaḥ //
(RV 1.16.1)

The first underlying mantra in the paṅkti meter is:

svādor itthā viṣūvato madhvaḥ pibanti gauryaḥ / yā indreṇa sayāvarīr vṛṣṇā madanti sobhase vasvīr anu svarājyam //
(RV 1.84.10)

The first two mantras in the anuṣṭubh meter, which result from intertwining these, are:

ā tvā vahantu harayas svādor itthā viṣūvataḥ / *vṛṣaṇaṃ somapītaye* madhvaḥ pibanti gauryo // *indra tvā śūracakṣaso* yā indreṇa sayāvarīḥ vṛṣṇā madanti śobhase vasvīr anu svarājyo //

In the remaining six mantras in the anuṣṭubh meter, the portions from the underlying gāyatrī verses (RV 1.16.2–3) are in italics, and the portions from the underlying paṇkti merses (RV 1.84.11–12) are in Roman:

imā dhānā ghṛtasnuvas tā asya pṛśanāyuvaḥ / *harī ihopa vakṣatas* somaṃ srīṇanti pṛśnayo // *indraṃ sukhatame rathe* priyā indrasya dhenavaḥ / vajraṃ hinvanti sāyakaṃ vasvīr anu svarājyo // *indraṃ prātar havāmahe* tā asya namasā sahaḥ / *indram prayaty adhvare* saparyanti pracetaso // *indraṃ somasya pītaye* vratāny asya saścire // purūṇi pūrvacittaye vasvīr anu svarājyo //

IV. Six anuṣṭubh mantras result from intertwining three verses in the uṣṇih meter (RV 8.98.1–3) and three verses in the bṛhatī meter (RV 3.45.1–3). The

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uṣṇih consists of three verses in 28 syllables (8+8+12), and the bṛhatī consists of four verses in 36 syllables (8+8+12+8). Portions from the former are italicized:

> *indrāya sāma gāyatā* mandrair indra haribhiḥ / *viprāya bṛhate bṛhad* yāhi mayūraromabho // *dharmakṛte vipaścite* mā tvā kecin ni yaman vim /
> *panasyave* na pāśino 'ti dhanveva tāṃ iho // *tvam indrābhibhūr asi* vṛtrakhādo valaṃrujaḥ / *tvaṃ sūryam arocayaḥ* purān darmo apām ajo // *viśvakarmā viśvadevas* sthātā rathasya haryoḥ / *mahāṃ asy* abhisvara indro dṛḍhā cid ārujo // *vibhrājaṃ jyotiṣā svar* gambhīrāṃ udadhīṃriva / *agaccho rocanan divaḥ* kratuṃ puṣyasi gā ivo // *devās ta indra sakhyā* pra sugopā yavasan dhe / *ya yemire* navo yathā hradam kulyā ivāśato //

V. Two anuṣṭubh mantras result from intertwining a twenty-syllable verse (RV 7.34.4) with a verse in the triṣṭubh meter (RV 6.47.8). The triṣṭubh consists of four verses of 11 syllables each:

> *ā dhūrṣv asmā* urun no lokam anu neṣi vidvān / *dadhātāśvant* svarvaj jyotir abhayaṃ svasto // *indro na vajry* ṛṣvā ta indra sthavirasya bāhū / *hiraṇyabāhur* upa stheyāma śaraṇā bṛhanto //

VI. Six anuṣṭubh mantras result from intertwining three verses consisting of 16 syllables each (given in ŚŚS 9.6.6) and three verses in the jagatī meter (RV 10.96.1–3). The jagatī consists of four verses of 12 syllables each:

> *eṣa brahmā* pra te mahe vidathe śaṃsiṣaṃ harī / *ya ṛtviyaḥ* pra te vanve vanuṣo haryatam mado // *indro nāma* ghṛtan na yo haribhiś cāru secate / *śruto gaṇa* ā tvā viśantu harivarpasaṃ giro // *viśrutayo* hariṃ hi yonim abhi ye samasvaran / *yathā patho* hinvanto harī divyaṃ yathā sado // *indra tv adyann* ā yaṃ pṛṇanti haribhir na dhenavaḥ / *ti rātaya* indrāya śūṣaṃ harivantam arcato // *tvām iccha* so asya vajro harito ya āyasaḥ / *vasaspate* harir nikāmo harir ā gabhastyo // *yanti giro* dyumnī suśipro harimanyusāyakaḥ / *na saṃyata* indre ni rūpā haritā mimikṣiro

VII. Four anuṣṭubh mantras result from reciting three gāyatrī verses (RV 1.84.13–15), consisting together of $3 \times 24 = 72$ syllables, as if they consisted of two anuṣṭubh verses ($2 \times 32 = 64$ syllables) with 8 syllables left. These remaining eight are followed by a verse (RV 10.133.1) in the śakvarī meter, which consists of $7 \times 8 = 56$ syllables, together recited as if they, too, consisted of two anuṣṭubh verses (64 syllables):

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indro dadhīco asthabir vṛtrāṇy apratiṣkutaḥ / jaghāna navatīr navecchann aśvasya yac chiro // parvateṣv apaśritaṃ tad vidac charyaṇāvati/ atrāha gor amanvata nāma tvaṣṭur apīcyo // itthā candramaso gṛhe pro 'ṣv asmaipuroratham / indrāya sūṣam arcatābhīke cid u lokakṛto // saṃge samatsu vṛtrahā 'smākaṃ bodhicoditā / nabhantām anyakeṣāṃ jyākā adhi dhanvaso //

IX. śoṃsāvo; nivid (cf. ŚŚS 8.25.1); RV 8.69.15.
X. śoṃsāvo; RV 8.69.7 (3 x).

The total number of anuṣṭubh verses in the Ṣoḍaśi Śastra is forty:

Parts I and II:	6
Part III:	6
Part IV:	6
Part V:	2
Part VI:	6
Part VII:	4
Part VIII:	6
Part IX:	1
Part X:	3
	40.[1]

The pratigara of the adhvaryu throughout the recital of the verses in parts III through VI is: *othāmo daiva made*. When the hotā recites *oṃ*, it is *modāmo daivotho* (cf. ŚŚS 12.11.10).

Finally a Soma cup is offered to Indra Ṣoḍaśi with RV 10.96.13 as offering verse. The adhvaryu uses the ṣoḍaśi-pātram (see page 215). This is the last graha (see page 608).

Eleventh Day: April 23 and 24, 1975

EPISODE 30

The Three Overnight Rounds (*Rātriparyāya*)

AT ABOUT 8:00 P.M. the three nocturnal rounds (rātriparyāya) of the Atirātra begin. Each consists of four Soma sequences. The structure of all the chants is the same, the fifteenfold viṣṭuti of Figure 48. Within each round, the four śastras are recited successively by hotā, maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, and acchāvāka. The offerings are all for Indra and are made by adhvaryu and pratiprasthātā together with the cupbearers from camasa cups without mantras.

[1] This is one of the very few places where even Caland got lost.

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The first stuti of the first round (the 17th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *pāntām ā vō andhasaḥ /*
udgītha: *ondram a bhā yi pragāyāta viśvāsāhaṃ / śātākrātūṃ /*
pratihāra: *maṃhiṣṭhañ carṣaṇā yi /*
upadrava: *ō mā au hō vā /*
nidhana: *ō kāḥ //*

II. prastāva: *purūhūtāṃ pūrūṣṭutaṃ /*
udgītha: *ō rūhūtāṃ purūṣṭūtaṃ gāthānāyaṃ / sānāśrūtāṃ /*
pratihāra: *ā yindra iti bravā yi /*
upadrava: *ō nā au hō vā /*
nidhana: *ō kāḥ //*

III. prastāva: *indra innō māhōnāṃ /*
udgītha: *ondra innō māhōnāṃ dātā vājā / nān nārtūḥ /*
pratihāra: *māhaṃ abhijūvā /*
upadrava: *ō mā au hō vā /*
nidhana: *ō kāḥ //*

(UG 5.1, based upon JA 66.1–3)

The underlying verses are:

पान्तमा वो अन्धस
इन्द्रमभि प्र गायत ।
विश्वासाहं शतक्रतुं
मंहिष्ठं चर्षणीनाम् ॥
पुरुहूतं पुरुष्टुतं
गाथान्यं ँ सनश्रुतम् ।
इन्द्र इति ब्रवीतन ॥
इन्द्र इन्नो महानां
दाता वाजानां नृतुः ।
महाँ अभिज्ञा यमत् ॥

Sing forth to Indra who drinks up your (Soma) plants,
the all-prevailing (hero) of a hundred intentions,
the most gratifying (ruler) of the peoples.
By the name 'Indra' address him who is summoned and praised by many,
who leads the song and is famed of old.
Indra shall grant great booty to our warrior.
The great one shall hold it up to his knees.
(RV 8.92.1–3)

In the second and third stotriyā of this seventeenth stuti, the first pada ("foot": third or quarter verse) of the mantra is repeated (with slight variations, e.g., the first syllable is replaced by "o"): it occurs first in the prastāva, then again at the beginning of the udgītha. In the seventeenth śastra, recited by the hotā, the same practice is followed in RV 8.92.2–6 (cf. ŚŚS 7.26.12 and 9.7.2) among the mantras that constitute the śastra:

śoṃsāvo; RV 8.92.1 (3 x); 8.92.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.92.4–6
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.92.7–33
śoṃsāvo; 1.51.1–14

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śoṃsāvo; RV 1.51.15 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 2.14.1.

The second stuti of the first round (the 18th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *pra va indrāya mādānaṃ /*
udgītha: *ō vā indrā au hō / yā mādānaṃ harā ā śvā au ho / yā gāyāta /*
pratihāra: *sakhāyās sō au hō /*
upadrava: *ō pō vā vāv nno /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

II. prastāva: *śaṃsēd ukthāṃ sudānāvā yi /*
udgītha: *ōṃsā yid ūkthā au hō / sūdānāvā utā dyukṣā au hō / yāthā nāraḥ /*
pratihāra: *cakṛmā sā au hō /*
upadrava: *ō rō bā dhā so /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

III. prastāva: *tvan na indra vājāyuḥ /*
udgītha: *ō vān na yā au hō / drā vājāyus tuvāṃ gavyā au hō / śātākrātā bu /*
pratihāra: *tuvāṃ hā yi rā au hō /*
upadrava: *ō yō bārvā so /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

(UG 5.2, based upon JA 66.4–6)

The underlying verses are:

Comrades, sing forth a stimulating (song) to Indra
of the golden steeds,
to the drinker of Soma.
Recite a hymn to the giver of goods,
and a majestic one at that,
just as we men have composed it for him of real solicitude.
Indra of a hundred intentions,
thou art eager for booty,
for cattle and for gold.

प्र व इन्द्रा॑य मादने॑
हर्यश्वाय गायत ।
सखा॑यः सोम॒पाव्ने॑ ॥
शंसेदु॒क्थं सु॒दानव
उ॒त द्यु॒क्षं यथा॒ नरः ।
च॒कृ॒मा स॒त्यरा॑धसे ॥
त्वं न॑ इन्द्र वाज॒यु-
स्त्वं गव्युः॑ शतक्रतो ।
त्वं हि॑रण्ययु॒वसो ॥

(RV 7.31.1–3)

In this chant, the first pada ("foot") of each verse is again repeated, with similar variations. This first pada is also repeated in RV 7.31.1–3 and 8.32.1–3 among the mantras of the eighteenth śastra, recited by the maitrāvaruṇa:

śoṃsāvo; RV 7.31.1 (3 x); 7.31.2–3

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śoṃsāvo; RV 8.32.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.4.1–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.52.1–8; 1.52.10–12; 1.52.14
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.52.13 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 6.44.15.

The third Stuti of the first round (the 19th Stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *vayam ū tvā tadidartthāḥ /*
udgītha: *ai hi hō yi vayam u tva tadidartthā indra tvā yantās sākhāyaḥ /*
pratihāra: *kāṇvāh /*
upadrava: *ō kthā yi bhīr jo bā /*
nidhana: *rantā yā //*

II. prastāva: *na ghem ānyad ā papana /*
udgītha: *ai hi hō yi na ghem anyad ā papana vajrinn apaso navā yi ṣṭau /*
pratihāra: *tā ve /*
upadrava: *ō stō maiścō bā /*
nidhana: *ketā yā //*

III. prastāva: *icchantā yi devās sunvantaṃ /*
udgītha: *ai hi hō icchanti devās sunvantan na svapnāyā spṛhayaṃti /*
pratihāra: *yānti /*
upadrava: *ō mādāmo bā /*
nidhana: *tandrā yā //*

(UG 5.3, based upon JA 66.7–9)

The underlying verses are:

Indra, we Kāṇvas who are thy devoted comrades
sing to thee with hymns,
having that as our only purpose.
I do not admire anything else
in this new quest of my work, cudgel-bearer.
I think only of thy praise.
The gods seek only the man pressing (Soma);
they are not eager for sleep.
Untiring they go after their exhilaration.
(RV 8.2.16–18)

वयसु त्वा तदिदर्थाइन्द्र त्वायन्तः सखायः ।
कण्वा उक्थेभिर्जरन्ते ॥
न घेमन्यदा पपन
वज्रिन्नपसो नविष्टौ ।
तवेदु स्तोमं चिकेत ॥
इच्छन्ति देवाः सुन्वन्तं
न स्वप्नाय स्पृहयन्ति ।
यन्ति प्रमादमतन्द्राः ॥

PLATE 106 Again, the practice of the stuti is adopted in the śastra: the first pada of the verse is repeated in RV 8.2.16–18 and 8.64.6–8 among the mantras of the nineteenth śastra, recited by the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:

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śoṃsāvo; RV 8.2.16 (3 x); 8.2.17–18
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.64.6–8
śoṃsāvo; RV 3.37.1–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.53.1–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.53.11 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 6.24.1.

The fourth stuti of the first round (the 20th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *indrāya madvanē sutam indrāya mo vā |*
udgītha: *ō nā yi sūtāṃ pari ṣṭōbhā hā hāntū nō gā yi raḥ |*
pratihāra: *arkam ārcā hā hā yi |*
upadrava: *ō kārāvaḥ |*
nidhana: *ō yi ḷā ||*

II. prastāva: *yasmin viśvā ādhi śriyō yasmin viśvō vā |*
udgītha: *ō dhā yi śrāyā rāṇanti sā hā hā pta sāṃsādaḥ |*
pratihāra: *āyindrā sūte hā hā yi |*
upadrava: *ō vāmāhā yi |*
nidhana: *ō yi ḷā ||*

III. prastāva: *trikadrukeṣu cētana trikadrukō vā |*
udgītha: *ō cā yi tānāndā yi vā sō yā hā hā jñam atnāta |*
pratihāra: *tam id vārddhā hā hā yi |*
upadrava: *ō nō gā yi raḥ |*
nidhana: *ō yi ḷā ||*

(UG 5.4, based upon JA 66.10–12)

The underlying verses are:

Let our songs resound around to Indra who is wild for the juice.
Let the bards sing their song.
We summon Indra to the pressing, in whom reside all splendors,
in whom rejoice the seven assemblies.
The gods performed a notable sacrifice among the Trikadruka people.
Let our songs increase it.
(RV 8.92.19–21)

इन्द्रा॑य मद्व॑ने सु॒तं
परि॑ ष्टोभन्तु नो॒ गिरः॑ ।
अ॒र्कम॑र्चन्तु का॒रवः॑ ॥
यस्मि॒न् विश्वा॒ अधि॒ श्रियो॒
र॒ण॒न्ति स॒प्त सं॑स॒दः॑ ।
इन्द्रं॑ सु॒ते ह॑वामहे ॥
त्रिक॑द्रुकेषु॒ चेत॑नं
दे॒वासो॑ य॒ज्ञम॑तनत ।
तमिद्व॑र्धन्तु नो॒ गिरः॑ ॥

The first pada of the verse is repeated in RV 8.92.19–31 and 1.7.1–3 (partly translated above, page 631) among the mantras of the twentieth śastra, recited by the acchāvāka:

śomsāvo; RV 8.92.19 (3 x); 8.92.20–21

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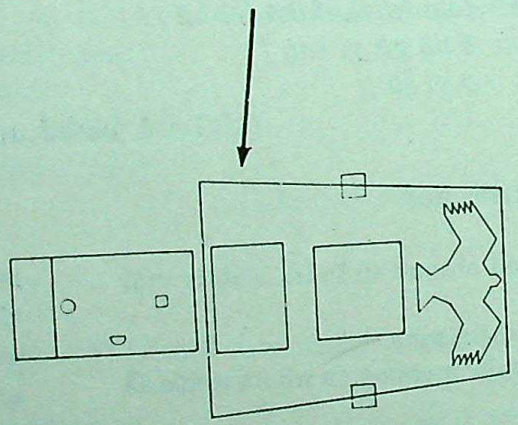
PLATE 106

Nocturnal Recital by Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin

During the Atirātra ("overnight"), there are three overnight rounds (rātriparyāya), each consisting of four Soma sequences. Each sequence includes one chant by the three sāmavedins, and one recital from the Ṛgveda. During each round, the four recitals are successively rendered by the hotā, maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, and acchāvāka priests. They sit in front of their dhiṣṇya hearths, facing east, and recite with their hands folded. On the plate, the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin recites his śastra.



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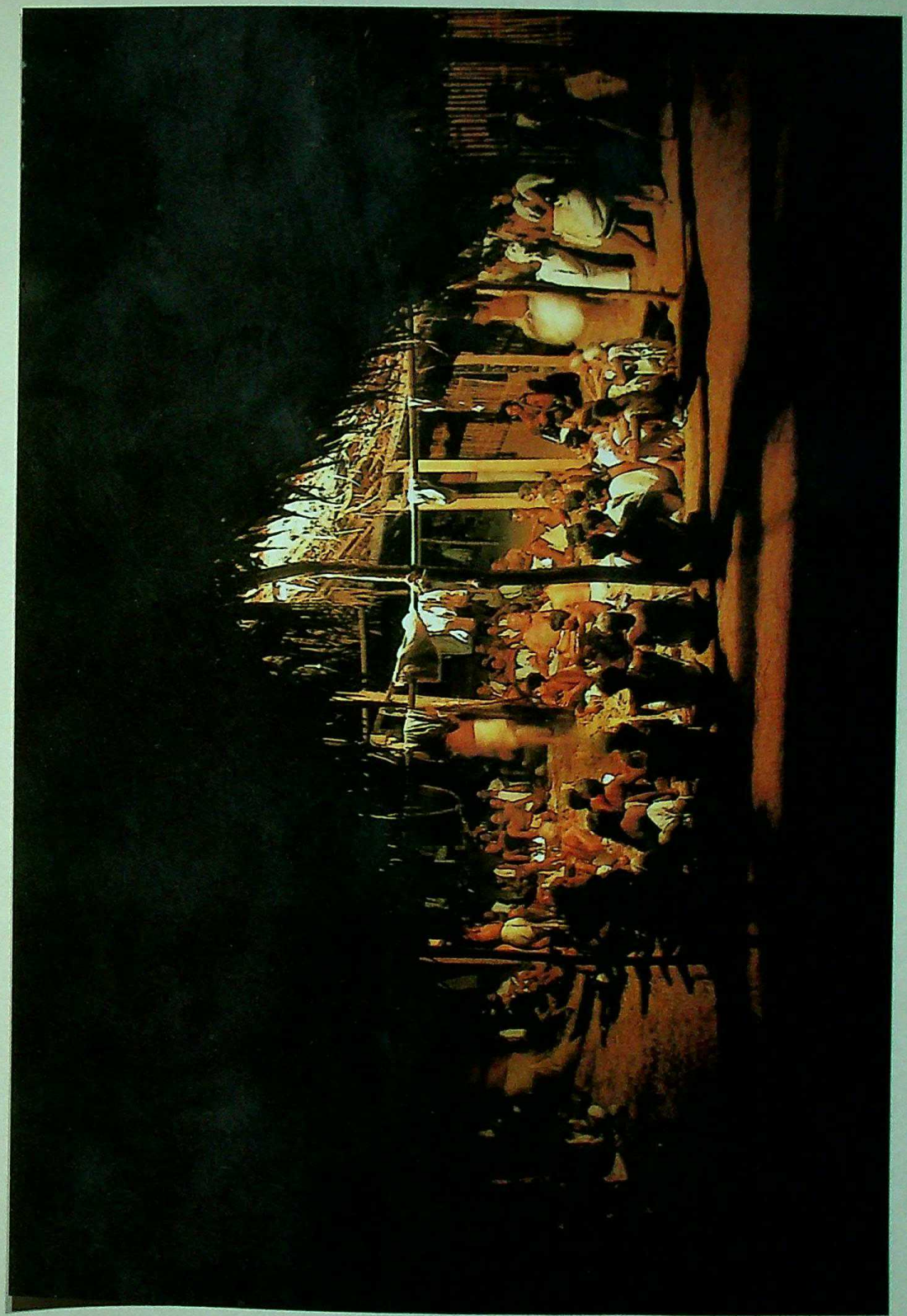

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śoṃsāvo; RV 1.7.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.7.4–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.54.1–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.54.11 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 6.44.16.

The first nocturnal round is over. The first stuti of the second round (the 21st stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *āyan ta indra sōma u vā hā yi |*
udgītha: *ō pūtō adhi barhiṣy u vā hō yi nipūtō adhi barhiṣy u vā hō yi |*
pratihāra: *ā yi hīm asyā |*
upadrava: *ō vā pā yi bā |*
nidhana: *suvṛkkibhir nṛmādanaṃ bhare ṣu vā ||*

II. prastāva: *śācigō śācipūjana u vā hā yi |*
udgītha: *ō yaṃ raṇāya tē suta u vā hō ayaṃ raṇāya tē suta u vā hō yi |*
pratihāra: *ākhaṇḍalā |*
upadrava: *ō hū yā sā yi |*
nidhana: *suvṛkkibhir nṛmādanaṃ bhare ṣu vā ||*

III. prastāva: *yas te śṛṃgavṛṣō ṇapād u vā hā yi |*
udgītha: *ō ṇapāt kuṇḍapāyya u vā hō yi praṇapāt kuṇḍapāyya u vā hō yi |*
pratihāra: *nāy asmin dā |*
upadrava: *ō ā mā nāḥ |*
nidhana: *suvṛkkibhir nṛmādanaṃ bhare ṣu vā ||*

(UG 6.1, based upon JA 67.1–3)

The underlying verses are:

अयं त इन्द्र सोमो
निपूतो अधि बर्हिषि ।
एहीमस्य द्रवा पिब ॥
शाचिगो शाचिपूजना-
ऽयं रणाय ते सुतः ।
आखण्डल प्र हूयसे ॥
यस्ते शृङ्गवृषो नपात्
प्रणपात् कुण्डपाय्यः ।
न्यस्मिन् दध्र आ मनः ॥

Indra, this Soma has been purified for thee upon the sacrificial strew.
Come—hurry—and drink of it.
Śācigu, Śācipūjana, this has been pressed for thy delight.
Ākhaṇḍala thou art summoned.
Offspring of Śṛṅgavṛṣ, descendent!
—he has fixed his mind on thy kuṇḍapāyya offering.
(RV 8.17.11–13)

In this stuti, the *second* pada of each verse is repeated, with variations, in the udgītha. The second pada is also repeated in RV 8.17.11–13; 8.64.10–12 among the mantras of the twenty-first śastra, recited by the hotā:

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śoṃsāvo; RV 8.17.11 (3 x); 8.17.12–13
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.64.10–12
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.93.1–33
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.48.1–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.48.11 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 2.19.1.

The second stuti of the second round (the 22nd Stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *ā tū na indra kṣumāntāṃ /*
udgītha: *ō traṃ grābhaṃ saṃ gṛbhāyā citraṃ grābhaṃ saṃ gr au hō yi bhā ya /*
pratihāra: *ai hā yi mahāhastī dakṣā hō yi /*
upadrava: *au hō vā hō bā ṇā yi nō /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

II. prastāva: *vitmā hi tvā tūvikūrmiṃ /*
udgītha: *ō vidēṣṇan tūvīmāghāntū vidēṣṇan tūvā au hō yi mā ghām /*
pratihāra: *ai hā yi tūvimātram ā hō yi /*
upadrava: *au hō vā hō bā vā bhō /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

III. prastāva: *nahi tvā śura dā yi vaḥ /*
udgītha: *ō martāsō ditsāntān na martāsō dā au hō yitsāntaṃ /*
pratihāra: *ai hā yi bhīman na gāṃ vārā hō yi /*
upadrava: *au hō vā hā bā yānto /*
nidhana: *hā yi //*

(UG 6.2, based upon JA 67.4–6)

The underlying verses are:

आ तू न इन्द्र क्षुमन्तं
चित्रं ग्राभं सं गृभाय ।
महाहस्ती दक्षिणेन ॥
विद्मा हि त्वा तुविकूर्मिं
तुविदेष्णं तुवीमघम् ।
तुविमात्रमवोभिः ॥
नहि त्वा शूर देवा
न मर्तासो दित्सन्तम् ।
भीमं न गां वारयन्ते ॥

Indra, with thy great right hand seize a wondrous handful of cattle for us.
We know that thou art one of mighty enterprises, mighty gifts,
mighty liberality and mighty portions through thy assistance.
Like a fearsome bull, neither gods nor mortals
can stop thee when thou wishest to give, o hero.
(RV 8.81.1–3)

Following the stuti, the second pada of each verse is repeated in RV 8.81.1–3; 4.32.1–3 among the mantras of the twenty-second śastra, recited by the maitrāvaruṇa:

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śoṃsāvo; RV 8.81.1 (3 x); 8.81.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 4.32.1–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.8.1–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 2.16.1–8
śoṃsāvo; RV 2.16.9 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 6.44.14.

The third stuti of the second round (the 23rd stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *abhi tvā vṛṣabhā sutē sutaṃ sṛjō vā |*
udgītha: *ō pītāyā yi sutaṃ sṛjāmi pītāyā yi |*
pratihāra: *tṛmpā |*
upadrava: *ō yā au hō vā |*
nidhana: *śñuhī mādāṃ ||*

II. prastāva: *mā tvā mūrā aviṣyavō mopahasvo vā |*
udgītha: *ō ā dābhān mopahasvāna ā dābhān |*
pratihāra: *mā kīṃ |*
upadrava: *ōṃ hmā au hō vā |*
nidhana: *dviṣāṃ vānaḥ ||*

III. prastāva: *iha tvā gōparīṇasam mahē mandō vā |*
udgītha: *ō rādhāsā yi mahē mandantū rādhāsā yi |*
pratihāra: *sārāḥ |*
upadrava: *ō rā au hō vā |*
nidhana: *yathā pība ||*

(UG 6.3, based upon JA 67.7–9)

The underlying verses are:

Bull, I release the juice for thee to drink at this pressing.
Enjoy, and reach exhilaration.
Let not the fools nor the scornful deceive thee because they desire thy help.
Love not the enemies of the priests.
With their plentitude of milk,
let (the drops) stimulate thee here for our solicitude.
Drink a lakeful of it, like a buffalo.
(RV 8.45.22–24)

अभि त्वा वृषभा सुते
सुतं सृजामि पीतये।
तृम्पा व्यश्नुही मदम् ॥
मा त्वा मूरा अविष्यवो
मोपहस्वान आ दभन्।
माकीं ब्रह्मद्विषो वनः ॥
इह त्वा गोपरीणसा
महे मन्दन्तु राधसे।
सरो गौरो यथा पिब ॥

PLATE 106 The second pada of reach verse is repeated in RV 8.45.22–24; 8.69.4–6 among the mantras of the twenty-third śastra, recited by the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:

śoṃsāvo; RV 8.45.22 (3 x); śoṃsāvom; RV 8.45.23–24
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.69.4–6

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śoṃsāvo; RV 3.41.1–9
śoṃsāvo; RV 2.17.1–8; śoṃsāvo; RV 2.17.9 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 10.112.2.

The fourth stuti of the second round (the 24th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *idaṃ vasō sutam andhā e |*
udgītha: *ō bā supūrṇām udarau hō vā | pibā supūrṇām udarau hō vā |*
pratihāra: *ā nābhāyin |*
upadrava: *ō rimā tā au hō bā |*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā ||*

II. prastāva: *nṛbhir ddhautas sutō āśnā e |*
udgītha: *ō vyā vāraiḥ pāripūtā au hō vā | avyā vāraiḥ pāripūtā au hō vā |*
pratihāra: *āśvō nā ni |*
upadrava: *ō nadīṣū au hō bā |*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā ||*

III. prastāva: *tan tē yavayyathā gōbhīr e |*
udgītha: *ō dum akarmā śrīṇāntā au hō vā | svādum akarmā śrīṇāntā au hō vā |*
pratihāra: *indrā tvāsmīn |*
upadrava: *ō dhamā dā au hō bā |*
nidhana: *hō yi ḷā ||*

(UG 6.4, based upon JA 67.10–12)

The underlying verses are:

इदं वसो सुतमन्धः
पिबा सुपूर्णमुदरम् ।
अनाभयिन् ररिमा ते ॥
नृभिर्धूतः सुतो अश्वै-
रव्यो वारैः परिपूतः ।
अश्वो न निक्तो नदीषु ॥
तं ते यवं यथा गोभिः
स्वादुमकर्म श्रीणन्तः ।
इन्द्रं त्वाऽस्मिन्त्सध्रमादे ॥

Good one, drink the noble and full juice of the plant.
Fearlessly we bestow it upon thee.
It has been cleansed by the priests, pressed by rocks, purified by the strainer, and washed in the rivers like a steed.
Mixing it, like barley, with milk, we have sweetened it for thee.
Indra, (we summon) thee to this comraderie.
(RV 8.2.1–3)

The second pada of each verse is repeated in RV 8.2.1–3; 1.9.1–3 among the mantras of the twenty-fourth śastra, recited by the acchāvāka:

śoṃsāvo; RV 8.2.1 (3 x); śoṃsāvo; RV 8.2.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.9.1–3; śoṃsāvo; 1.9.4–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 5.34.1–8
śoṃsāvo; RV 5.31.3 (3 x).

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Part II The 1975 Performance

The offering verse is RV 10.112.6.

It is shortly after midnight, and the third nocturnal round begins. Its first stuti (the 25th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *idaṃ hy anū ōjasā |*
udgītha: *ō taṃ rādhānāṃ pātau hō vā hā yi | pibā tū vasya gā yirvāṇau hō vā hā yi |*
pratihāra: *pibā tu vau hō vā hā yi |*
upadrava: *ō gā yirvāṇā au hō vā |*
nidhana: *ghṛtāścūtaḥ ||*

II. prastāva: *pra tē aśnotu kukṣyōḥ |*
udgītha: *ōndra brāhmaṇā śā yirau hō vā hā yi | pra bāhū sūra rādhāsau hō vā hā yi |*
pratihāra: *pra bāhū śau hō vā hā yi |*
upadrava: *ō rādhāsā au hō vā*
nidhana: *ghṛtāścūtaḥ ||*

III. prastāva: *yas te anū svadhāmasāt |*
udgītha: *ō tā yi nī yaccha tānū vau hō vā hā yi | sa tvā māmattū sōmā yau hō vā hā yi |*
pratihāra: *sa tvā mamau hō vā hā yi |*
upadrava: *ō sōmāyā au hō vā |*
nidhana: *ghṛtāścūtaḥ ||*

(UG 7.1, based upon JA 68.1–3)

The underlying verses are:

इदं ह्यन्वोजसा
सुतं राधानां पते।
पिबा त्वस्य गिर्वणः ॥
प्र ते अश्नोतु कुक्ष्योः
प्रेन्द्र ब्रह्मणा शिरः।
प्र बाहू शूर राधसे ॥
यस्ते अनु स्वधामसत्
सुते नि यच्छ तन्वम्।
स त्वा ममत्तु सोम्यम् ॥

Lord of successes, this has been pressed for thee with might.
Drink of it, thou lover of songs.
Along with our prayer, let it reach your sides, your head, your arms, for our solicitude, hero.
Stop by this pressing, which conforms to your independence.
Let it exhilarate thee who art devoted to Soma.
(RV 3.51.10,12,11)

In this stuti, the *third* pada of each verse is repeated, with variations, in the pratihāra and upadrava. The third pada is also repeated in RV 3.51.10–12; 8.6.1–3 among the mantras of the twenty-fifth śastra, recited by the hotā:

śoṃsāvo; RV 3.51.10 (3 x); 3.51.12,11
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.6.1–3; śoṃsāvo; 8.6.4–45
śoṃsāvo; RV 2.21.1–5; śoṃsāvo; RV 2.21.6 (3 x).

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The offering verse is RV 3.35.1.

The second stuti of the third round (the 26th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *ā tū ētā ni ṣīdātā |*
udgītha: *ōndram abhāyi pra gāyatā sākhāya stōmavā au hō | vavāhāsaḥ |*
pratihāra: *hayā yi sākhāya stōmavā au ho |*
upadrava: *hṃ mā hā sō |*
nidhana: *hā yi ||*

II. prastāva: *purūtamaṃ purūṇāṃ |*
udgītha: *ō śānaṃ vāryāṇāmā yindraṃ sōmē sacā au hō | vavāsūtā yi |*
pratihāra: *hayā indraṃ sōmē sacā au hō |*
upadrava: *hṃ mā sū tō |*
nidhana: *hā yi ||*

III. prastāva: *sa ghā nō yōga ā bhuvāt |*
udgītha: *ō rāyā yi sā purandhā yāṃ gamad vājēbhir ā au hō | vavāsānaḥ*
pratihāra: *hayā yi gamad vājebhir ā au hō |*
upadrava: *hṃ mā sā nō |*
nidhana: *hā yi ||*

(UG 7.2, based upon JA 68.4–6)

The underlying verses are:

आ त्वेता नि षीदते-
न्द्रमभि प्र गायत ।
सखायः स्तोमवाहसः ॥
पुरूतमं पुरूणा-
मीशानं वार्याणाम् ।
इन्द्रं सोमे सचा सुते ॥
स घा नो योग आ भुवत्
स राये स पुरंध्याम् ।
गमद्वाजेभिरा स नः ॥

Come here and sit down.
Sing forth to Indra,
ye comrades who convey our praises.
(Summon) Indra as the very first
of the many (gods),
that lord of boons, to this pressing.
He will be present in this undertaking of ours,
for wealth, for excellence.
He shall come to us with booty.

(RV 1.5.1–3)

The third pada is repeated in RV 1.5.1–3; 8.82.4–6 among the mantras of the twenty-sixth śastra, recited by the maitrāvaruṇa: PLATE 107

śoṃsāvo; RV 1.5.1 (3 x); 1.5.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.82.4–6
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.5.4–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.49.1–10; śoṃsāvo; RV 10.49.11 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 2.15.1.

The third stuti of the third round (the 27th stuti) is based upon:

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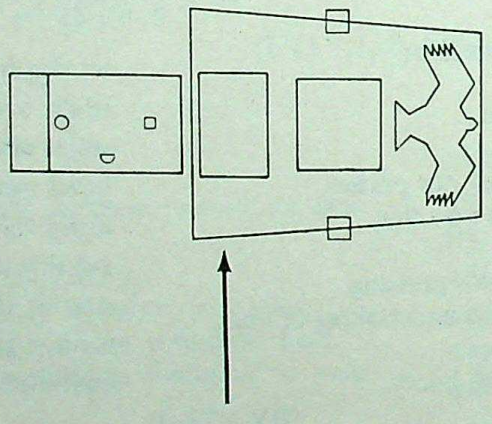
PLATE 107

Nocturnal Recital by Maitrāvaruṇa

The maitrāvaruṇa recites a śastra during each of the three overnight rounds (rātriparyāya). Facing east he sits in front of his hearth (dhiṣṇya). The hearths of the hotā (which is bigger and has a clay dish on it), brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, potā, neṣṭā, and acchāvāka are to his left. In front the yajamāna, his fists still closed, has finally fallen asleep. To the right are three wooden Soma goblets, each placed within a small clay dish.

Photo A. Parpola



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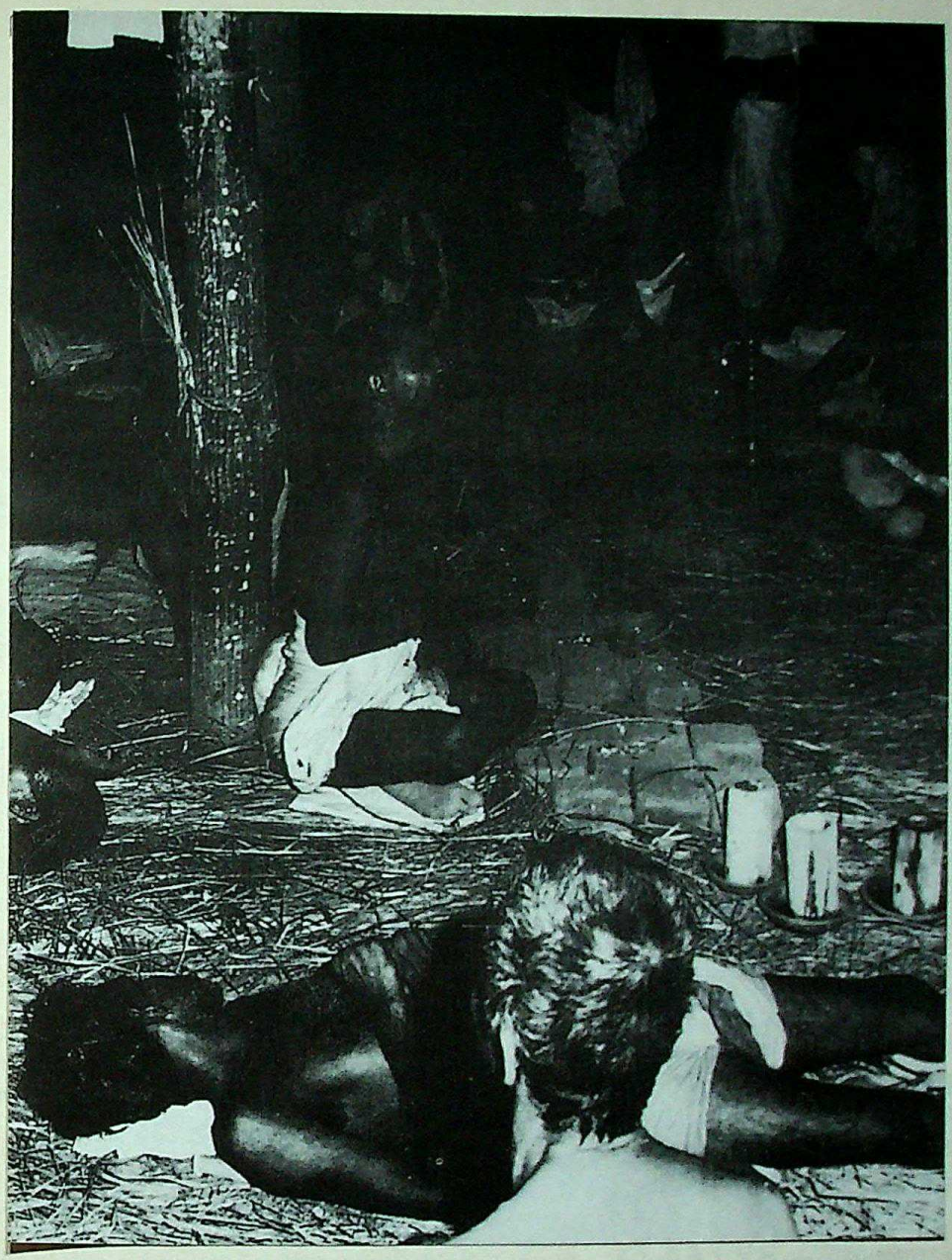

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Part II The 1975 Performance

I. prastāva: *yōgēyōgē tavā hā bu stārām /*
udgītha: *ō jēvāje havāmāhā ē hū vā au hō vā /*
pratihāra: *sākhāya indram ūtāyā ē hū vā au hō vā /*
upadrava: *ō khāya yā hū vā au hō bā /*
nidhana: *dram ūtaye //*

II. prastāva: *ā ghā gamad yadī hā bu śrāvāt /*
udgītha: *ō hasriṇībhir ūtā yi bhā ē hū vā au hō vā /*
pratihāra: *vājēbhir ūpa nō hāvām hū vā au hō vā /*
upadrava: *ō jebhir ā hū vā au hō bā /*
nidhana: *pa nō havāṃ //*

III. prastāva: *anu pratnasyau hā bu kasaḥ /*
udgītha: *ō vē tūvīpratā yin nārāṃ hū vā au hō vā /*
pratihāra: *yān te pūrvaṃ pitā hūvā ē hū vā au hō vā /*
upadrava: *ōn tē pūrvāṃ hū vā au hō bā /*
nidhana: *pitā hūve //*

(UG 7.3, based upon JA 68.7–9)

The underlying verses are:

As comrades we summon most mighty Indra
for our help in every undertaking,
in every contest.
If he shall hear,
he shall come with this thousandfold help to our call,
he shall come with booty.
Following ancient custom,
I summon the warrior of great opposition,
whom thy father summoned formerly.
(RV 1.30.7–9)

योगेंयोगे तवस्तरं
वाजेंवाजे हवामहे ।
सखांय इन्द्रमूतयें ॥
आ घा गमद्यदि श्रवत्
सहस्रिणीभिरूतिभिः ।
वाजेभिरुपं नो हवम् ॥
अनु प्रत्नस्यौकसो
हुवे तुविप्रतिं नरम् ।
यं ते पूर्वे पिता हुवे ॥

The third pada is repeated in RV 1.30.7–9; 1.6.1–3 among the mantras of the twenty-seventh śastra, recited by the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin:

śoṃsāvo; RV 1.30.7 (3 x); 1.30.8–9
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.6.1–3;
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.6.4–10
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.102.1–10;
śoṃsāvo; RV 1.103.5 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 6.37.2.

The fourth and last stuti of the third round (the 28th stuti) is based upon:

I. prastāva: *indra sutēṣu sōmēṣu /*
udgītha: *ō tūṃ punāyiṣa ukthiyāṃ vide vārddhāsya dakṣasya /*
pratihāra: *mahaṃ hāyi ṣaḥ /*
upadrava: *ō haṃ hi ṣāḥ /*

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nidhana: *ō yi ḷā //*
II. prastāva: *sa prathame viyōmānī /*
udgītha: *ō vānāṃ sādanē vṛdhās supārās sūśravastamaḥ /*
pratihāra: *samapsūjīt /*
upadrava: *ō mapsujā yit /*
nidhana: *ō yi ḷā //*
III. prastāva: *tamu hūvē vājasātāyā yi /*
udgītha: *ōndrāṃ bhārāya śūṣmiṇāṃ bhavānās sūmnē antamaḥ/*
pratihāra: *sakhā vārddhā yi /*
upadrava: *ō khā vṛdhā yi /*
nidhana: *ō yi ḷā //*

(UG 7.4 based upon JA 68.10–12)

The underlying verses are:

Indra purifies his praiseworthy intention
among the pressed Soma offerings.
He is known to be of mature capability because he
is great.
He became strong in the highest heaven,
in the seat of the gods.
He is successful, of very great fame,
fully conquering in the waters.
I summoned aggressive Indra to this battle,
for the winning of the contest.
Be thou nearest to us in favor,
a comrade for our increase.

इन्द्रः सुतेषु सोमेषु
क्रतुं पुनीत उक्थ्यम् ।
विदे वृधस्य दक्षसो
महान् हि षः ॥
स प्रथमे व्योमनि
देवानां सदने वृधः ।
सुपारः सुश्रवस्तमः समप्सुजित् ॥
तमह्वे वाजसातय
इन्द्रं भराय शुष्मिणम् ।
भवा नः सुम्ने अन्तमः सखा वृधे ॥

(RV 8.13.1–3)

In this 28th stuti, the last four syllables of each of the underlying verses (viz., *mahān hi ṣaḥ*, "for he is great;" *samapsujit*, "conquering all the waters;" and *sakhā vṛdhe*, "for friend's growth") are first intoned in the pratihāra and then repeated in the upadrava. The last four syllables of these three verses (RV 8.13.1–3) and also of the following three (RV 8.13.16–18) are repeated among the mantras of the twenty-eighth śastra, recited by the acchāvāka:

śoṃsāvo; RV 8.13.1 (3 x); 8.13.2–3
śoṃsāvo; RV 8.13.16–18
śoṃsāvo; RV 3.42.1–9
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.96.1–12;
śoṃsāvo; RV 10.96.13 (3 x).

The offering verse is RV 10.104.3.

Thus ends the third and last nocturnal round. Throughout these rounds, the śastra begins with the three verses upon which the stuti was based, and repeats the padas of its verses in these three and also in the next three verses

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in the same way it was done in the stuti. As a result, the first padas are repeated in the first nocturnal round, the second in the second, and the third in the third, with a special modification in the final sequence where the repetition is confined to the last four syllables. Throughout the nocturnal rounds the principle that the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa formulates is followed:

As it is chanted, so it is recited. यथा स्तुतम्वनुशस्तं भवति

(KB 17.5.7)

Eleventh Day: April 25, 1975

EPISODE 31

The Chant and Recitation for the Aśvins

(*Āśvinastuti; Āśvinaśastra*)

IT IS ABOUT 2:30 A.M. on April 25. Preparations are made for the twenty-ninth and final Soma sequence. A pile of bricks is made west of the hearth of the hotā, and covered with towels. It will serve as back support for the hotā, who will recite the one thousand verse of the Recitation for the Aśvins (*āśvinaśastra*). But first comes the Chant for the Aśvins (*āśvinastuti* as the Nambudiris call it, rather than *sandhistotra,* Twilight Chant). It consists of nine stotriyās from the Ūṣāṇi (*Rahasya-gāna*):

ō hṃ /

I. prastāva: *ā yi nā vō agnin nāmasō vā /*
udgītha: *ōrjō napātam ā hūvē priyañ cētiṣṭam aratiṃ su āddhvarāṃ /*
pratihāra: *viśvāsyā dūtāṃ /*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō mārtā mō vā hā vu vā /*
nidhana: *ās /*

II. prastāva: *viśvō vā /*
udgītha: *ō dūtam amṛtaṃ sa yōjatē aruṣā viśvabhōjasā /*
pratihāra: *sa dūdrāvāt su /*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō hūtā ō vā hā vu vā /*
nidhana: *ās //*

III. prastāva: *sa dōvā /*
udgītha: *ō vat svāhutas subrahmā yajñas suśamī vasūnāṃ /*
pratihāra: *dēvam rādhō jā /*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō nāmā ō vā hā vu vā /*
nidhana: *ās //*

(RG 2.3 based upon JA 69.1–2, made into three)

hṃ /

IV. prastāva: *prāti vō darśyāyatō vā /*
udgītha: *ō cchantī duhītā divō pō mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ /*

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pratihāra: *jyōtiḥ kṛṇōti |*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō nārī ō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *ās //*

V. prastāva: *jyōtō vā |*
udgītha: *ō ṇōti sūnarī udusriyās sṛjatē sūriyās sacā |*
pratihāra: *udyan nākṣātrāṃ |*
upadrava: *i ḷā ōrcā yi vā dō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *ās //*

VI. prastāva: *udyō vā |*
udgītha: *ō kṣatram arcivat tavēd uṣō vyuṣi sūriyāsya ca |*
pratihāra: *saṃ bhaktēnā ga |*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō mahī ō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *ās //*
(RG 2.4, based upon JA 69.3–4, made into three)

hṃ |

VII. prastāva: *ā yi mā u vān diviṣṭayō vā |*
udgītha: *ō srā havantē śvinā yaṃ vāmahvaya vasē śacivasū |*
pratihāra: *viśamviśāṃ hī |*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō cchāthā ō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *ās //*

VIII. prastāva: *viśō vā |*
udgītha: *ō śaṃ hi gacchathō yuvañ citran dadathur bhōjanān narā |*
pratihāra: *cōdēthāṃ sūnṛ |*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō vātē ō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *ās //*

IX. prastāva: *cōdō vā |*
udgītha: *ō sūnṛtāvatērvāg rathaṃ samanasā ni yācchatāṃ |*
pratihāra: *pibataṃ sōmi |*
upadrava: *i ḷā ō mādhū ō vā hā vu vā |*
nidhana: *ās //*
(RG 2.5, based upon JA 69.5–6, made into three)

Though there are no repetitions, the stotriyās are marked by viṣṭuti sticks as in Figure 51.

The underlying verses are addressed to Agni, Dawn (uṣas) and the Aśvin twins successively:

Reverently I summon in this way
the offspring of strength,
our most understanding friend,
the leader skilled in the ceremonies,
the immortal messenger of everyone.
He shall yoke his two ruddy foxes

ए॒ना वो॑ अ॒ग्निं नम॑सो॒-
र्जो नपा॑त॒मा हु॑वे ।
प्रि॒यं चेति॑ष्ठमर॒तिं
स्व॑ध्व॒रं विश्व॑स्य दू॒तम॒मृत॑म् ॥

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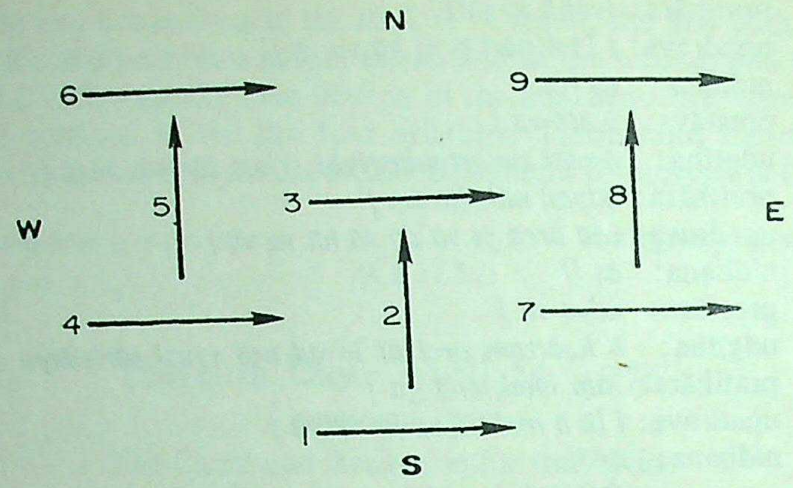

Figure 51—Viṣṭuti of the Chant for the Aśvins

which bring enjoyment to everyone,
and he shall run hither
now that he has been properly poured upon.
This worship offering good prayers and rites
belongs to the Vasu gods;
divine solicitude belongs to the peoples (in return).
(RV 7.16.1–2)

स योजते अरुषा विश्वभोजसा
स दुद्रवत् स्वाहुतः ।
सुब्रह्मा यज्ञः सुशमी वसूनां
देवं राधो जनानाम् ॥

(Dawn), the daughter of heaven has appeared now,
shining as she draws near.
The noble lady rolls up[1]
the great darkness
and produces the light in order for us to see.
The sun frees the ruddy cows
while it, the ray-filled star, rises on high.
May we be united with our share
as thou, o Dawn, and the sun
come into shining.
(RV 7.81.1–2)

प्रत्यु अदर्श्यायत्यु ।
च्छन्ती दुहिता दिवः ।
अपो महि व्ययति चक्षसे तमो
ज्योतिष्कृणोति सूनरी ॥
उदुस्रियाः सृजते सूर्यः सचाँ
उद्यन्नक्षत्रमर्चिवत् ।
तवेदुषो व्युषि सूर्यस्य च
सं भक्तेन गमेमहि ॥

These matinal (rites) summon you two Aśvins
hither to the quest for (winning) this day.
I myself have summoned you two for help,
ye who are rich in abilities.
Indeed ye come to every clan.
Ye have given wondrous enjoyment, ye warriors.
Inspire yourselves for the nobility.
Direct in harmony your chariot near to us.
Drink the honey mixed with Soma.
(RV 7.74.1–2)

इमा उ वां दिविष्टय
उस्रा हवन्ते अश्विना ।
अयं वामह्वेऽवसे शचीवसू
विशंविशं हि गच्छथः ॥
युवं चित्रं ददथुर्भोजनं नरा
चोदेथां सूनृतावते ।
अर्वाग्रथं समनसा नि यच्छतं
पिबतं सोम्यं मधु ॥

[1] JA 69.3 has *vṛṇute* "chooses" (not mentioned in Caland's edition)

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Chant and Recitation for the Aśvins

It is still long before sunrise and the hotā continues immediately with the Recitation for the Aśvins (*āśvinaśastra*). His recitation is fast, but clear and succinct. This is a tour de force not only because of the length of the recital (1,000 mantras), but also because of its complexity. There is one āhāva at the beginning and one before the last verse. The structure of the stuti is followed in the six mantras that have just been translated, and that are their underlying verses. Since these occur wide apart, they will be marked with an asterisk in the following list. In RV 7.16.1–2, the two are made into three by repeating *viśvasya dūtam amṛtam* and *sa dudravat svāhutaḥ*. In RV 7.81.1–2, *jyotiṣ kṛṇoti sūnarī* and *udyan nakṣatram arcivat* are repeated; and in RV 7.74.1–2, *viśaṃviśaṃ hi gacchathaḥ* and *codethāṃ sūnṛtāvate*.

On the whole, the Recitation for the Aśvins follows the Morning Litany (prātaranuvāka), which is recited by the hotā at the beginning of the Pressing Day (see above pages 600–601). However, a specific number of mantras are omitted from each group of meters, and others are inserted, to arrive at the required number. Śāṇkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (9.20) specifies the numbers, but not the mantras. In the following list, the position of the omitted mantras will be indicated by capitals; they will be listed subsequently:

śoṃsāvo

RV 6.15.13 (3 x)	= 3	RV 7.9.1–6	= 6
1.74.1–9	= 9	7.10.1–5	= 5
1.1.1–9	= 9	7.11.1–5	= 5
1.12.1–22	= 12	10.1.1–7	= 7
1.27.1–10	= 10	10.2.1–7	= 7
1.75.1–5	= 5	10.3.1–2	= 2 (C)
1.78.1–5	= 5	7.12.1–3	= 3
3.11.1–9	= 9	7.16.1*,2*,3–12	= 13
4.8.1–8	= 8	1.36.1–20	= 20
4.9.1–8	= 8	1.44.1–12	= 12
5.13.1–6	= 6	3.9.1–8	= 8
5.14.1–6	= 6	8.103.1–4	= 4
7.15.1–15	= 15	3.16.1–6	= 6
8.43.1–33	= 33	3.10.1–9	= 9
8.44.1–26	= 26 (A)	8.23.1–19	= 19 (D)
6.16.1–27	= 27	1.150.1–3	= 3
2.5.1–8	= 8	1.140.1–7	= 7
6.2.1–7	= 7 (B)	1.144.1–7	= 7
4.7.2–11	= 10	2.2.1–2	= 2 (E)
4.2.1–20	= 20	5.11.1–6	= 6
4.3.1–16	= 16	5.6.1–10	= 10
4.4.1–15	= 15	1.30.20–22	= 3
7.7.1–7	= 7	4.52.1–7	= 7
7.8.1–7	= 7	1.49.1–4	= 4
	281		456

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	456
RV 7.77.1–6	= 6
7.78.1–5	= 5
7.79.1–5	= 5
7.80.1–3	= 3
7.81.1*,2*,3–6	= 7
1.48.1–16	= 16
1.92.13–15	= 3
1.92.1–4	= 4
5.79.1–10	= 10
1.3.1–3	= 3
1.22.1–4	= 4
1.30.17–19	= 3
1.46.1–15	= 15
2.41.7–8	= 2
8.5.1–36[1]	= 36
8.73.1–18	= 18
8.85.1–9	= 9
8.8.1–23	= 23
5.73.1–10	= 10
5.74.1–10	= 10
5.76.1–5	= 5
5.77.1–5	= 5
1.116.1–25	= 25
1.120.1–9	= 9
1.117.1–25	= 25
1.118.1–11	= 11 (F)
1.180.1–10	= 10
1.181.1–9	= 9
1.183.1–6	= 6
1.184.1–6	= 6 (G)
2.39.1–8	= 8
3.54.16	= 1
3.58.1–9	= 9
4.43.1–7	= 7
4.44.1–7	= 7
4.45.7	= 1
	784

	784
RV 5.78.4	= 1
6.49.5	= 1
6.50.10	= 1
6.62.1–7	= 7
6.62.10–11	= 2
6.63.1–9	= 9
7.67.1–10	= 10
7.68.8–9	= 2
7.69.1–8	= 8
7.70.1–7	= 7
7.71.1–6	= 6
7.72.1–5	= 5
10.106.1–11	= 11
7.73.1–5	= 5
7.74.1*,2*,3–6	= 7
1.47.1–8	= 8
8.26.1–5	= 5
1.34.1–12	= 12
1.112.1–25	= 25
10.39.1–14	= 14
10.40.1–14	= 14
10.41.1–3	= 3
5.75.1–9	= 9
1.50.1–9	= 9
1.115.1–6	= 6
10.37.1–12	= 12
7.32.26–27	= 2
1.22.13–15	= 3
ŚŚS 9.20.26	= 1
śoṃsāvo	
RV 2.23.15 (3 ×)	= 3
	1000

[1] The reciter jumps from RV 8.5.20 to 8.5.30 (the beginning of both verses is the same)—presumably by mistake.

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A few comments on the omitted mantras:

(A) RV 8.44.27–30, 10.156.1–5, 10.187.1–5, fourteen gāyatrī mantras, prescribed for the Morning Litany (prātaranuvāka) in ŚŚS 6.4.1; omitted in accordance with ŚŚS 9.20.8, which states that fourteen gāyatrī mantras have to be omitted.

(B) RV 6.2.8–9, two anuṣṭubh mantras, prescribed in ŚŚS 6.4.3, omitted in accordance with ŚŚS 9.20.9.

(C) RV 10.3.3–7, 10.4.1–7, 10.5.1–7, 10.6.1–7, 10.7.1–7, thirty-three triṣṭubh mantras, prescribed in ŚŚS 6.4.5, omitted in partial accordance with ŚŚS 9.20.10, which states that 113 triṣṭubh mantras should be omitted.

(D) RV 8.23.20–30, eleven uṣṇiḥ mantras, prescribed in ŚŚS 6.4.9, omitted in accordance with ŚŚS 9.20.17.

(E) RV 2.2.3–13, eleven jagatī mantras, prescribed in ŚŚS 6.4.11, omitted in accordance with ŚŚS 9.20.18.

(F) RV 1.158.1–3, three triṣṭubh mantras, prescribed in ŚŚS 6.6.5, omitted in partial accordance with ŚŚS 9.20.10. So far, 36 of the required number of 113 triṣṭubh mantras have been omitted.

(G) According to ŚŚS 9.20.13, 103 "suparṇa" verses should be inserted after the (presumably: last) Agastya hymn, viz., 1.184. Caland says: "It is certain that some Vālakhilya hymns are meant . . . but how the number of verses is to be explained escapes me." The next sūtra (9.20. 14) states: "Of as many other verses addressed to the Aśvins." Since nothing is inserted here, but many other verses addressed to the Aśvins are inserted later, these later verses may be the "suparṇa" verses. There are thirty-three, viz., RV 3.54.16, 4.45.7, 5.78.4, 6.62.1–7, 6.62.10–11, 6.63.1–9, 7.67.1–10, 7.68.8–9. How the number of verses is to be explained escapes me, too, unless we read *trayastriṃśat* ("thirty-three") for *triśatam* ("103") in ŚŚS 9.20.13.

It might be asked why *omitted* mantras should be part of the description of the 1975 performance. This is not because the hotā uses Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, though he belongs to the same tradition. However, only the omission and insertion of particular mantras can explain the extraordinary feat of memory that is here on display. The hotā knows thoroughly the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā, from beginning to end. Throughout the recitation, he never hesitates when he is within a hymn, or at the end of a hymn when he is about to recite the next hymn. But when he is about to recite *another* hymn, or *other* verses than the ones that traditionally follow, he pauses at his last breathing pause, i.e., in the middle of the last verse. At that time, obviously, he concentrates on what is to be done next. Once he remembers it, he continues with the next part of the verse, and continues immediately, without taking breath, with the other hymn or verses that are prescribed. Since any priest who can officiate in the Atirātra can certainly officiate in the Agniṣṭoma, and since, in this particular case, the hotā has already recited the Morn-

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ing Litany (prātaranuvāka) on the tenth day, his memory operates through at least two stages. The Recitation for the Aśvins is similar to the Morning Litany. Since he has learnt how to recite the Morning Litany by deviating from the order of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā as it is handed down, he has learned to further deviate from the litany when he recites the Recitation for the Aśvins. Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra is composed precisely within this perspective: its rules pertain to this process of memorization.

In the meantime, dawn has come, the sun has appeared, birds have started twittering and the daily heat begins. Most people have also woken up, producing their habitual noises. Pots are broken, announcing the impending destruction of all ritual implements.

After the recitation has been completed, cups are offered to the Aśvins. The offering verse is RV 3.58.7. At the same time, the pratiprasthātā offers a cake prepared by the agnīdh on two potsherds to the Aśvins. The final sequence is over before 6:30 A.M. on April 25.

Twelfth Day: April 25, 1975

EPISODE 32

The Tail of the Ritual (*Yajñapuccha*)

THE REMAINING RITES are like in the Agniṣṭoma with some Agnicayana peculiarities and insertions. The animal sacrifices continue with eleven after-offerings (anuyāja) by the adhvaryu and eleven accessory offerings (upayāja) by the pratiprastāthā for each of the eleven animals represented by their packages of rice flour. The hotā recites the *saṃyuvāka* benedictions while the adhvaryu casts away the prastara bundle and the enclosing sticks on the fire. The unnetā priest pours the remaining one-third of the Soma liquid from the clay āgrāyaṇa pot into the wooden droṇakalaśa vessel, pours parched barley into it, puts the droṇakalaśa on his head and makes two copious offerings to Indra Harivant, standing west of the fire with his legs crossed. Standing like that, with the pot on his head, he looks like the *cātaka* bird (Malayalam: *cāttan: Cucculus melanoleucus*). The yajamāna makes an offering of parched barley by itself. This is followed by ancestral rites in the mārjālīya, and numerous expiation rites (prāyaścitta), for errors committed and not committed, in the āgnidhrīya and on the main altar. The priests take a few drops of curds in the āgnidhrīya and come out muttering the words with which the priestly alliance of friendship (tānūnaptra: above, page 358) is dissolved (*sakhyavisarjanam*).

In the meantime the animal sacrifices approach their final stage. The offerings for the divine consorts (*patnīsaṃyāja*) are made into the offering fire. The last oblations of the animal sacrifices are butter oblations made from darbha grass dipped in the dhruvā ladle. They are accompanied by the formulas of completion (*samiṣṭayajus*): one occurs in the full- and new-moon

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ceremonies (addressed to the wind: TS 1.1.13. 3u-v), three in the animal sacrifice (TS 1.4.44.3g-k), nine in the Agniṣṭoma (adding TS 1.4.44.1a-2f), and nineteen in the Agnicayana by adding the following ten:

a. What has flown sincerely, heartfelt,
or gathered with intent or open eyes,
follow it to the world of good acts
where the firstborn seers of old dwell.

यदाकूतात् समसुस्रोद्धृदो वा
मनसो वा संभृतं चक्षुषो वा।
तमनु प्रेहि सुकृतस्य लोकं
यत्रर्षयः प्रथमजा ये पुराणाः॥

b. Present there, I place the treasure
that Agni Omniscient has conveyed.
The ritual patron will follow,
you will know him in the highest firmament!

एतꣳ सधस्थ परि ते ददामि
यमावहाच्छेवधिं जातवेदाः।
अन्वागन्ता यजमानो अत्र
तꣳ स्म जानीत परमे व्योमन्॥

c. Know him in the highest firmament,
gods there present, know his form;
when he comes by the paths, divine ways,
reveal to him the fruits of sacrifice!

जानीतादेनं परमे व्योमन्
देवाः सधस्था विद रूपमस्य।
यदागच्छात् पथिभिर्देवयानै-
रिष्टापूर्ते कृणुतादाविरस्मै॥

d. Move forward, go along together,
Agni, make the paths, divine ways,
be present in this highest abode,
you All-gods, sit with the yajamāna!

सं प्र च्यवध्वमनु सं प्र याता-
ग्ने पथो देवयानान् कृणुध्वम्।
अस्मिन्त्सधस्थे अध्युत्तरस्मिन्
विश्वे देवा यजमानश्च सीदत॥

e. With prastara bundle, enclosing stick,
with ladle, altar, and sacred grass,
with recitations, carry this ritual of ours
to go to heaven among the gods!

प्रस्तरेण परिधिना स्रुचा वेद्या च बर्हिषा।
ऋचेमं यज्ञं नो वह
सुवर्देवेषु गन्तवे॥

f. What is offered, what is handed over,
what is given, the sacrificial fee,
May Agni Common-to-All-Men, on our behalf,
place it in heaven among the gods!

यदिष्टं यत् परादानं यद्दत्तं या च दक्षिणा।
तदग्निर्वैश्वकर्मणः
सुवर्देवेषु नो दधत्॥

g. That by which you carry a thousand,
all our property, Agni,
use it to carry our ritual
to go to heaven among the gods!

येना सहस्रं वहसि येनाग्ने सर्ववेदसम्।
तेनेमं यज्ञं नो वह
सुवर्देवेषु गन्तवे॥

h. That by which our able priests,
carry the fees, the ritual, Agni,
use it to carry our ritual
to go to heaven among the gods!

येनाग्ने दक्षिणा युक्ता यज्ञं वहन्त्यृत्विजः।
तेनेमं यज्ञं नो वह
सुवर्देवेषु गन्तवे॥

i. That by which doers of good deeds,
obtain the flow of honey, Agni,
use it to carry our ritual
to go to heaven among the gods!

येनाग्ने सुकृतः पथा मधोर्धारा व्यानशुः।
तेनेमं यज्ञं नो वह
सुवर्देवेषु गन्तवे॥

k. Where are the never-ending streams
of honey and of melted butter,
take us there, Agni Common-to-All-Men,
in heaven among the gods!

(TS 5.7.7.1a-3k)

यत्र धारा अनपेता मधोर्घृतस्य च याः।
तदग्निर्वैश्वकर्मणः
सुवर्देवेषु नो दधत्॥

For the first time since the consecration, the yajamāna and his wife bathe. This final bath, the avabhṛtha, takes place in the pond of the

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Ayyappan temple in Panjal. This temple is open to all Hindus, unlike the Viṣṇu temple in Panjal, which was used for the final bath on former occasions, but which is for all practical purposes reserved for Nambudiris. The idea is that not only the yajamāna and his wife have a bath, but all others, including
PLATE 108 visitors. Prior to the bath there is a procession from the sacred enclosure to the temple bank, protected by guardsmen with swords and shields. The iṣṭi
PLATE 109 ceremony is performed for Varuṇa in the water, which is treated on this occasion as though it were the offering fire. After an oblation shared with the Agniṣṭoma, there is an Agnicayana oblation offered with:

Homage to the waving ocean,
to the master of the Indus streams!
To the father of all streams, all-maker,
make an immortal offering,
lasting through all days!

समुद्राय वयुनाय
सिन्धूनां पतये नमः।
नदीनाꣳ सर्वासां पित्रे
जुहुता विश्वकर्मणे
विश्वाऽहाऽमर्त्यꣳ हविः॥

(TS 4.6.2.6r)

All return to the Old Hall where a few other Agnicayana rites take place. The adhvaryu unyokes Agni (*agni-vimoka*; cf. above page 599) with a butter oblation accompanied by:

Suck this mighty breast of waters,
filled in the midst of flood, Agni.
Ocean, enjoy the fountain of sweetness,
enter your seat in the sea!

इमꣳ स्तनमूर्जस्वन्तं धयापां
प्रपीनमग्ने सरिरस्य मध्ये।
उत्सं जुषस्व मधुमन्तमूर्वं
समुद्रियꣳ सदनमा विशस्व॥

(TS 5.5.10.6e)

The yajamāna addresses Agni:

Fires of mud
that have entered the earth,
you are their highest,
urge us to life!
I have obtained you, Agni, with my mind,
I have obtained you, Agni, with effort,
I have obtained you, Agni, with consecration,
I have obtained you, Agni, with days of observance,
I have obtained you, Agni, by a day of pressing,
I have obtained you, Agni, by sacrificial fee,
I have obtained you, Agni, by the final bath,
I have obtained you, Agni, by a barren cow,
I have obtained you, Agni, by shouting svāgā!

येऽग्नयः पुरीष्याः प्रविष्टाः पृथिवीमनु।
तेषां त्वमस्युत्तमः प्र णो जीवातवे सुव॥
आपं त्वाऽग्ने मनसा।
आपं त्वाग्ने तपसा।
आपं त्वाऽग्ने दीक्षया।
आपं त्वाऽग्न उपसद्भिः।
आपं त्वाऽग्ने सुत्यया।
आपं त्वाऽग्ने दक्षिणाभिः।
आपं त्वाऽग्नेऽवभृथेन।
आपं त्वाग्ने वशया।
आपं त्वाऽग्ने स्वगाकारेण।

(TS 5.5.7.4–5)

The Concluding Offering (udayanīyeṣṭi) is performed; it corresponds to the Introductory Offering (prāyaṇīyeṣṭi) on the fourth ritual day. A final animal, a she-goat, representing a barren cow, is sacrificed to Mitra and Varuṇa.

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Itself represented by a package of rice flour, it is combined with an offering of sour milk (*āmikṣā*). This is followed by oblations to minor deities (*devikāhaviṃṣi*) that might have been neglected. In the Agniṣṭoma this is done with clarified butter; in the Agnicayana, with rice.

The yajamāna consigns his three fires to the kindling woods: he takes them, and leaves the Old Hall. He stops on his way home. The adhvaryu makes fire, sets up the three fires, and performs the Departure Offering (*udavasānīyeṣṭi*). Yajamāna and brahman sit south of the offering fire. The offering consists of an oblation of clarified butter and corresponds to Entering the Old Hall (adhyavasānam) on the first day. Then torches are lit from all the fires, and the ritual enclosure is set on fire. The only things that will remain are the altars made from bricks. PLATES 110,111

Once more, the yajamāna consigns his fires to the kindling woods. He returns home, ready to perform the morning and evening fire rites for the rest of his life.

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PLATE 108

On the Way to the Final Bath

Since the consecration ceremony on the first day, the yajamāna and his wife have not left the ritual enclosure, bathed, or changed clothes. On the last day of the ritual, they leave the enclosure, together with the priests and ritual implements. They go to a temple pond for the final bath (avabhṛtha). They are surrounded by villagers who could not enter the ritual enclosure while the ceremonies were being performed.

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PLATE 109

The Final Bath (Avabhṛtha)

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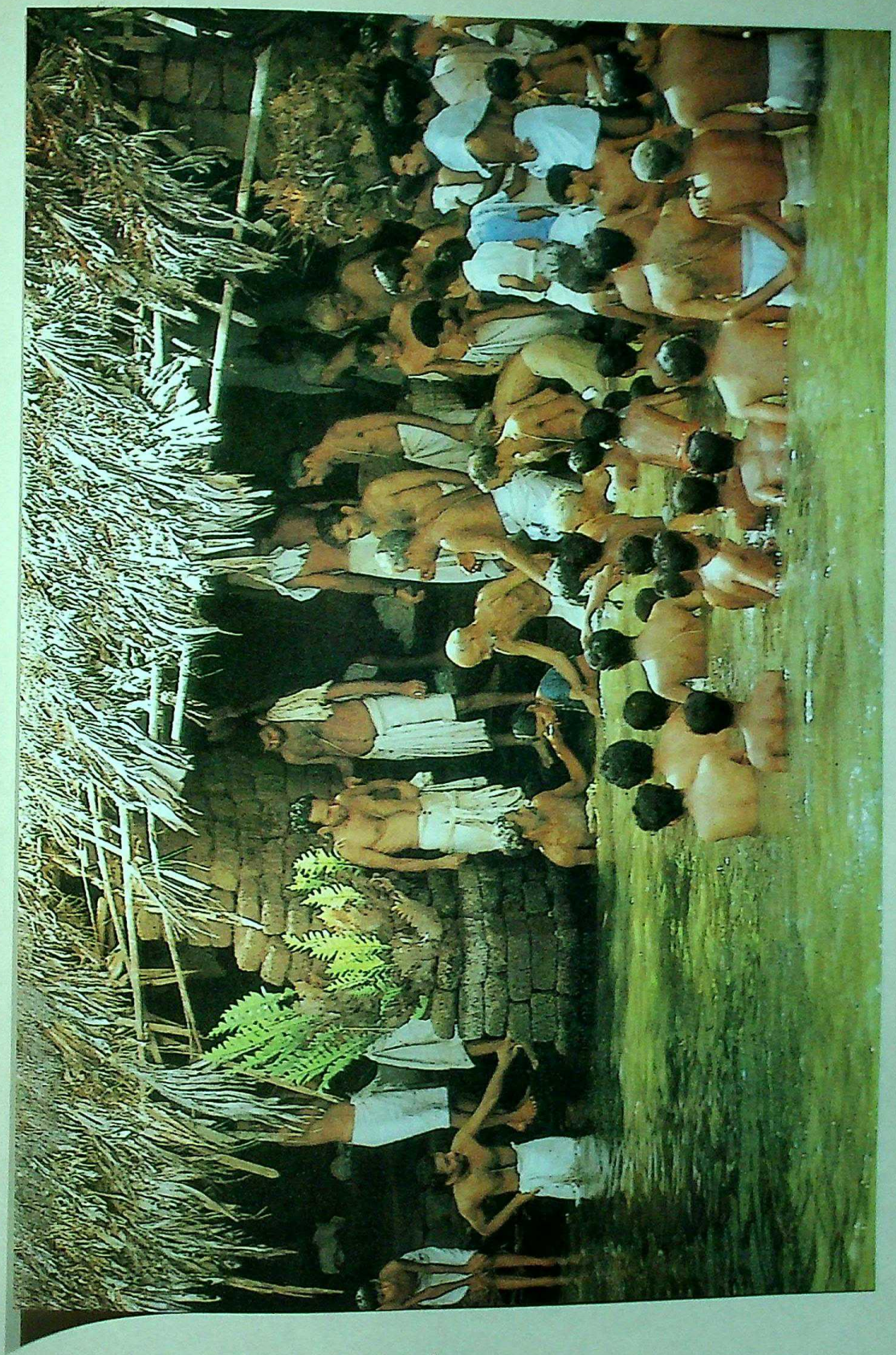

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PLATE 110

Burning the Enclosure

When the last ceremonies have beem completed, the ritual enclosure with all its contents is abandoned to Agni.

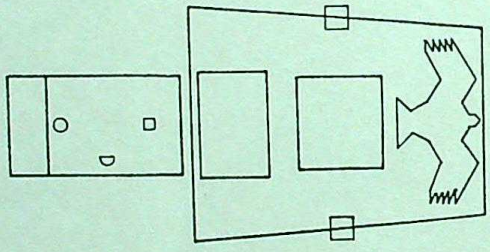

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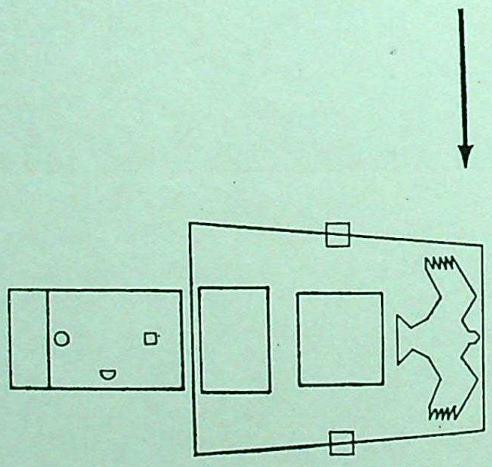
PLATE III

After the Fire

After the ritual enclosure has burnt down, the only remainders of the ritual are the large altars made of bricks: the domestic altar and the bird-shaped offering altar.



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APPENDIX

Praiṣārtham

by Erkkara Raman Nambudiri

Malayalam Text
established by E.R.Sreekrishna Sarma

(for English translation see pages 329–33)

DURING THE ATIRĀTRA, the praiṣārtham generally stresses only features pertaining to Atirātra, since Agniṣṭoma features were already included in the praiṣārtham that accompanied the yajamāna's Agniṣṭoma. In 1975, however, as there was enough time, Erkkara included features pertaining to Agniṣṭoma as well.

As in the translation, capital letters indicate that the original is in Sanskrit, not in Malayalam.

ATHAINAM ANUSĀŚATI enna vidhikku takkavaṇṇam adhvaryu dīkṣāvācakaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna karmaṅṅaḷe anuṣṭhiccu dīkṣaṇīyēṣṭijanyam āyi dīkṣākhyam āyirippōṛu apūrvatte ātmāviṅkal saṃbhāvicc irikkunna bhavānoṭu talparipālanattināyikkoṇṭu dīkṣitadharmaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna yamaniyamaṅṅaḷe anuśāsikka ceytatu DIKṢITO 'SI ennu tuṭaṅṅiyuḷḷa praiṣatte kkoṇṭu.

aviṭe naṭē dharmaprāptikku nimittam āyirikkunna dīkṣitatvatte anuvadikkunnu DIKṢITO'SI enna bhāgatte kkoṇṭu. dīkṣitan āyi ippōḷ bhavān. anuṣṭhitaṅṅaḷāya karmaṅṅaḷekkoṇṭu saṃjātadīkṣan āyi bbhavikkunnu. snānādidīkṣitāvēdanāntaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna karmaṅṅaḷ anuṣṭhitaṅṅaḷ āyatu:

SNĀNAṂ CA PAVANAṂ CAIVA
TATHĀCAMANAM EVA CA /
MANTRAPROKṢAṆAM ITY ETAIḤ
KARTĀ SAṂSKĀRYA ĀDITAḤ //

enna vacanam uṇṭākayāl. snānapavanācamanapuṇyāhaṅṅaḷ karmādiyiṅkal sāmānyēna kartṛsaṃskāraṅṅaḷ. śraddhāhvānākūtyāvēdanaphalasaṃkalpādikaḷ bahvaṅgaṅṅaḷ. iviṭe sāgnikam āyirikkunna atirātramallō prārabdham āyatu. agniśabdaṃ vahnivācakam āyirppōnnu. lakṣaṇayā kratuvinēyuṃ sthalaviśeṣattēyum collunnu.

AGNĀV EVĀGNIŚABDAS TU
RŪḌHO LAKṢAṆAYĀSYA TU /
KRATAU STHALAVIŚEṢE CA

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Appendix

PRAYOGO VIDUṢĀṂ MATAḤ //
AGNER ĀDHĀRABHĀVĀDI-
SAṂBANDHO LAKṢAṆĀŚRAYAḤ /
ATAḤ STHALAVIŚEṢO 'TRA
ŚYENĀDYĀKṚTIKO MATAḤ //

enniṅṅanē. ŚYENACITAṂ CINVITA ennu vidhiccirikkunna ī cayanaṃ vahnisaṃskāram atrē. YAD IṢṬAKĀBHIR AGNIṂ CINOTI enna vidhikku takkavaṇṇam iṣṭakakaḷe kkoṇṭu agni cētavyam ākkunnu. TASMĀT PAÑCACITĪKAŚ CETAVYAḤ ennu vacanam pañcacitīkam āyiṭṭu agni cētavyam. evambhūtam āyirikkunna ī cayanam ādhānam pōle agnisaṃskāram atrē. saṃkṛtam āyirikkunna agnikku karmākāṅkṣayiṅkal ATHĀTO 'GNIM AGNIṢṬOMENĀNUYAJATI ennu tuṭaṅṅiyuḷḷa agniṣṭōmādikaḷe vidhikka koṇṭu naṭē citam āyirikkunna agniye atirātraṃ koṇṭu anuyajikkunnu. enniṭṭu sāgnicayanam āyirikkunna atirātram ākunnu. jyōtoṣṭōmādikaḷ. jyotiṣṭōmattinnu ēḷallō saṃsthakaḷ uḷḷū. AGNIṢṬOMO 'TYAGNIṢṬOMA UKTHYAṢ ṢOḌAŚI VĀJAPEYO 'TIRĀTRO 'PTORYĀMA ITI SAPTA SOMASAṂSTHĀḤ ennu gautamīyavacanam uṇṭākayāl. iviṭe atyagniṣṭōmaṃ agniṣṭōmattil kūṭuṃ; vājapēyaṃ ṣōḍaśiyil kūṭuṃ; aptōryāmam atirātrattil kūṭuṃ; enniṭṭu nālu saṃsthakaḷ ennu collukilumāṃ. ī eḷiluṃ veccu naṭētte saṃsthayallō agniṣṭōmam ākunnatu. agniṣṭōmādikaḷ sāgnikaṅṅaḷ āyiṭṭuṃ niragnikaṅṅaḷ āyiṭṭum anuṣṭheyaṅṅaḷ. YA EVAṂ VIDVĀN AGNIṂ CINUTE enniṅṅane agnicayanatte vidhicciṭṭu ATHĀTO 'GNIM AGNIṢṬOMENĀNUYAJATI TAM UKTHYENA TAṂ ṢOḌAŚINĀ TAM ATIRĀTREṆA ennellāṃ tuṭaṅṅiyuḷḷa vidhi yuṇṭākayāl.

agnicidvrataṅṅaḷ dīkṣa niṣpannayāyirikkunpōḷ ttanne pravarttikkunnavayalla. kratvantattiṅkalē pravarttikkunnu. iṅṅine bhagavān jaiminiyāl uktam āyi. KRATVANTE VĀ PRAYOGAVACANĀBHĀVĀT ṇniṅṅane.

naṭē samantrayāyiṭṭu ukhaye saṃbhariccu VĀYAVE NIYUTVATE TŪPARAM ĀLABHATE enna vidhikku takkavaṇṇaṃ śṛṅgarahitam āyi vāyudevatyam āyirippōru paśu ālabdhavyam. YAD VĀYAVYAḤ PAŚUR BHAVATI TENA VĀYOR NAITI; YAT PRĀJĀPATYAḤ PUROḌĀŚO BHAVATI TENA PRAJĀPATER NAITI ennu vacanam uṇṭākayāl paśu vāyudevatyam āyiṭṭu kāryam. paśupurōḍāśam prājāpatyam āyiṭṭu kāryam. dīkṣaṇīyēṣṭi trihāvissāyiṭṭu kāryam. TRIṆY ETĀNI HAVĪṂṢI BHAVANTI enna vacanam uṇṭākayāl. agnicayanattinnu munpil ukhyāgniyuṭe dhāraṇaṃ kāryam. ukhayiṅkal agniye nidhānam ceytu ṣaḍudyāmam āyittān dvādaśōdyāmam āyittān irikkunna śikyattiṅkal ukhyāgniye avasthānam ceytu ā śikyatte tanṯṯe kaṇṭhattil bandhiccu saṃvatsaram ukhyāgniyuṭe dhāraṇam kartavyam. TASMĀT SAṂVATSARAṂ BHĀRYAḤ enna vidhi yuṇṭākayāl. TASMĀT TRIYAHAṂ BHĀRYAḤ; TASMĀT ṢAḌAHAṂ BHĀRYAḤ; TASMĀD DVĀDASĀHAṂ BHĀRYAḤ enniṅṅine tryahaṣaḍahadvādaśāhadhāraṇarūpaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna vidhikaḷum uṇṭu.

ATHAITAM AGNIṂ TRYUPASATKAM ṢAḌUPASATKAṂ DVĀDAŚOPASATKAṂ CINVĪTA

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ennu tuṭaṅṅiya vidhikku takkavaṇṇam upasaddinaṅṅaḷil agni cētavyam ākunnu. ī yajñattiṅkal dīkṣōpasattukaḷkkŭ divasasaṃkhyāvikalpam uṇṭeṅkilum tridinadīkṣam āyi ṣaḍupasatkam āyiṭṭŭ ārabdham āyi. itu raṇṭāmatte yajñamākakoṇṭŭ mādhyaṃdinasavanattiṅkal marutvatīyaśastrattinṭṭe śēṣaṃ bṛhatta iṣṭam ākunnu. atirātrattiṅkal rātriye atikramiccuḷḷa sauryaśaṃśanam uṇṭākayāl atirātrasaṃstham āyi.

ivaṭṭil veccŭ āgnāvaiṣṇavīyēṣṭi sākṣāt dīkṣāpādikayākunnu ennŭ atiprasiddham allō. YADĀ VĀ ĀGNĀVAIṢṆAVAḤ PUROḶĀŚO NIRŪPYATE ATHAIVA DĪKṢITA ITI HA SMĀHA enniṅṅine. dīkṣayennāl indriyasaṃyamaṃ. ennāl sākṣāl saṃyamatteyalla iviṭe vidhippū. vagādīndriyābhimāninikaḷ āyirikkunna agnyādidevatakaḷkkŭ svābhāvikapravṛttiparityāgatte cceytŭ śāstrīyapravṛttisvabhāvyāpādakam āyi vihitānekakarmajanitam āyi atīndriyam āyirpporatiśayaṃ dīkṣayākunnatŭ. itra nēravum indriyābhimāninikaḷ āyirikkunna devatakaḷ viṣayānubhavaṃ koṇṭu malīmasakaḷ āyi śāstrīyapravṛttivimukhakaḷ āyirunnuvatrē. ippōḷ anuṣṭhitaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna karmaṅṅaḷekkoṇṭŭ nirmalakaḷ āyi vihitānuṣṭhānaṅṅaḷilum tadupāyabhūtavastvantaraṅṅaḷilum udyuktamār āyi vannu ennŭ DĪKṢITO 'SI enna bhāgattekkoṇṭu colliyatŭ. SOMO DĪKṢAYĀ DĪKṢĀ SOMASYA enna mantraliṅgattekkoṇṭŭ somayāgāṅgamāṇŭ dīkṣayennu varuṃ. ennāl atirātrasaṃstham āyirikkunna sōmayāgattinnāyikkoṇṭŭ ippōḷ dīkṣitan āyi bhavān ennŭ DĪKṢITO 'SI enna bhagattekkoṇṭu colliyatŭ. īvaṇṇaṃ dīkṣitattvatte anuvadiccŭ taddharmaṅṅaḷe ccollunnu praiṣaśeṣattekkoṇṭŭ.

DĪKṢITAVĀDAṂ VADA. dīkṣitavādatte vadikkēṇam. dīkṣitavādam ennŭ saṃskṛtayāyirikkunna vākkŭ. EKĀ HA TV EVA VYĀHṚTIR DĪKṢITAVĀDAḤ SATYAM EVA. ekā ennŭ avyabhicāriṇi. kāladeśaṅṅaḷkku takkavaṇṇaṃ vyabhicarikkāte irikkunnatŭ. aṅṅine irikkunna saṃskṛtavākkukaḷe kkoṇṭu vēṇaṃ vyavaharikkān. saṃskṛtapadaṅṅaḷe kkoṇṭu vyavaharikkunpōḷuṃ arthataḥ satyam āyirikkēṇam ennuṃ collunnu; SATYAM EVA VADA ennatinekkoṇṭŭ. satyaṃ tanne vadikkēṅaṃ.

DṚṢṬAṂ ŚRUTAṂ SVĀNUMATAṂ
SVĀNUBHŪTAṂ YATHĀRTHATĀ /
KATHANAṂ SATYAM ITY ĀHUḤ
PARAPĪḌĀVIVARJITAM //

evambhūtam āyirippōnnŭ satyaṃ. satyapratiyogi anṛtaṃ. atine vadikkayum arutŭ. vadikkil prāyaścittam uṇṭŭ. DĪKṢITAŚ CED ANṚTAṂ VADED IMAṂ ME VARUṆA, TATTVĀYĀMI BRAHMAṆĀ, TVAṂ NO AGNE, SA TVAṂ NO AGNE ITI CATASRO VĀRUṆĪR JAPET enna vacanam uṇṭākayāl. ī vaṇṇam anṛtavacanatte niṣēdhiccŭ niṣēdhaprasaṅgathiṅkal niṣēdhāntaraṅṅaḷe ccollunnu śeṣattekkoṇṭŭ. MĀ SMAYIṢṬHĀ MĀ KAṆḌŪYATHĀ MĀPĀVṚTHĀḤ. smayanam ennu cirikka. atine cceyyolla. NA JAKṢED DĪKṢITAḤ enna vacanam uṇṭākayāl. kaṇḍūyanam ennu corivuka. atine cceyyolla. NA KAṆḌŪYETA DĪKṢITAḤ enna

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vacanam uṇṭākayāl. apāvaraṇam ennu āvaraṇavarjanam. atu śirassiṅkal ttānuṃ. NA PURĀ SOMASYA KRAYĀD APORṆVĪTA enna vacanam uṇṭākayāl sōmakrayattinnu munpu apagatōṣṇīṣan āyi bbhavikkol'a. anantaraṃ smayanakaṇḍūyanaṅṅaḷ anigṛhītēndriyannu saṃbhāvitaṅṅaḷ enniṭṭu tatsaṃbhāvanayiṅkal niyamavidhiye cceyyunnu śeṣattekkoṇṭu. YADI SMAYĀSĀ APIGṚHYA SMAYĀSAI. asahiṣṇutayā smayanaṃ ceyyēṇṭi vannāl paranmār dantatte kāṇāttavaṇṇaṃ vā potti cciriccukoḷḷēṇam. YADI KAṆḌŪYĀSAI KṚṢṆAVIṢĀṆAYĀ KAṆḌŪYĀSAI. avvaṇṇame asahiṣṇutayā kaṇḍūyanaṃ ceyyēṇṭi vannāl kṛṣṇaviṣāṇakoṇṭū kaṇḍūyanatte cceytu koḷḷēṇam. YADI VĀCAṂ VISṚJED VAIṢṆAVĪṂ ṚCAM ANUDRAVATĀT. DĪKṢITA VĀCAṂ YACCHA YAJAMĀNA VĀCAṂ YACCHA ennu tuṭaṅṅiyuḷḷa vāgyamanavidhiyiṅkal vagvisargaṃ ceytupōyāl vaiṣṇaviyāyirikkunna VIṢṆO TVAṂ NO ANTAMAḤ ennuḷḷa ṛkkine japiccu koḷḷēṇam. MĀ TVĀNYATRA DĪKṢITAVIMITĀT SŪRYO 'BHYUDAGĀT MĀBHINIMRUKTA. dīkṣitavimitattiṅkal ninnu anyatra sannāyirikkunna bhavāne abhilakṣiccu sūryan abhyudgamikkayuṃ abhinimrōcanatte ceykayum arutu. dīkṣitavimitam ennu svāyatanatte iviṭe vivakṣiccu. abhyudgamikkayennāl udikkuka. abhinimrōcanatte cceyyuka astamikkuka. sūryanu niyōjyatvaṃ cērāykayāl puruṣaparam āyiṭṭu yōjippiccukoḷḷēṇam vākyatte. ennāl udayāstamanakālaṅṅaḷil svāyatanattil ninnu pravāsaṃ ceyyolla ennu tālparyam. YĀNI DEVATĀNĀMĀNI YATHĀKHYĀTAṂ TĀNY ĀCAKṢVA. adēvatānāmaṅṅaḷ uccarikkunnatil viśeṣam uḷḷatukoṇṭu dēvatānāmaṅṅaḷil viśeṣam illennu collunnu ādyaṃ. yāvacilava dēvatānāmaṅṅaḷ viṣṇuḥ nārāyaṇaḥ ennu tuṭaṅṅi yuḷḷava. avaaye yathākhyātamāṃ vaṇṇam ākhyānaṃ ceyakyē vēṇṭu. ākhyānaṃ ceyka vadikkuka. ATHA YĀNY ADEVATĀNĀMĀNI YATHĀKHYĀTAṂ TĀNY ĀCAKṢĀṆA UPARIṢṬĀD VICAKṢAṆAṂ DHEHI. yāvacilava adēvatānāmāṅṅaḷ uḷḷatu bhavadāsaḥ bhavatrātaḥ ityādi, avatte ākhyānaṃ ceytiyaṅṅunnavan avattinu mīte vicakṣaṇapadatte kkūṭe uccarikkēṇam. bhavadāsa vicakṣaṇā bhavatrāta vicakṣaṇā ityādi. CANASITAVATĪṂ VICAKṢAṆAVATĪṂ VĀCAṂ VADA palavavākyaṅṅaḷe uccarikkeṇṭivarikil naṭē canasita ennu colli paṟayēṇṭatellāṃ paṟaññū oṭuvil vicakṣaṇa ennuṃ collu. KṚṢṆĀJINĀN MĀ VYAVACCHETHSĀḤ. sāṅgam āyirikkunna kṛṣṇājinattiṅkal ninnu vērpeṭolla. avabhṛtattōḷavuṃ kṛṣṇājinathiṅkal ninnu vērpeṭolla ennu tālparyam. DAṆḌĀC CA. daṇḍattiṅkal ninnuṃ vērpeṭolla. MAITRĀVARUṆĀYA DAṆḌAṂ PRAYACCHA enna praiṣaṃ uṇṭākayāl maitrāvaruṇanāyikkoṇṭu daṇḍatte kkoṭuppōḷavuṃ daṇḍattiṅkal ninnu vērpeṭolla. caśabdatte kkoṇṭū ī praiṣattiṅkal anuktaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna yāvacila yamaniyamaṅṅaḷ uṇṭō SOMENA DĪKṢITO NA DADYĀN NA JUHUYĀN NA PACEN NA JAPET. ĀDITA EVA VIBHAJET ennu tuṭaṅṅiyuḷḷavayuṃ kūṭe uktaṅṅaḷ āyi. uktaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna yamaniyamaṅṅaḷe paripāliccukoḷḷēṇam. saṅkalpiccē yamaniyamaṅṅaḷ uṇṭāvū.

SAṄKALPAMŪLAḤ KĀMO VAI
YAJÑĀḤ SAṄKALPASAṂBHAVĀḤ /
TATHĀNYE YAMADHARMĀŚ CA
SARVE SAṄKALPAJĀḤ SMṚTĀḤ //

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ennu vacanam uṇṭākayāl. uktaṅṅaḷ āyirikkunna yamaniyamakalāpaṅṅaḷe paripālikkunnērattu avahitan āyiṭṭu vartticcukoḷḷēṇam. ennu adhvaryu DIKṢITO 'SI enna praiṣattekkoṇṭu colliyatu.

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IN THE FIELD of Vedic studies there are two excellent bibliographies: Renou (1931) and Dandekar (three volumes: 1946, 1961, 1973). The reader is referred to these for further particulars and for editions and translations of the texts listed under A. The reader who wishes to consult the Ṛgveda is referred to Geldner's translation (1951) and to Renou (1955–1967). For the Taittirīya Saṃhitā of the Black Yajurveda, Keith (1914) may be used. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda is readily accessible in the translation by Eggeling (1882–1900, reprinted 1963 and 1966).

A. TEXTS WITH THEIR ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
AB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AG	(Jaiminīya) Araṇyageyagāna
ĀpGS	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
ĀpŚulvaS	Āpastamba Śulva Sūtra
ĀGS	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra's
ĀŚS	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
AV	Atharvaveda Saṃhitā
BĀU	Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad
BGS	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
BhārŚS	Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra
BŚS	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
BŚulvaS	Baudhāyana Śulva Sūtra
CU	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
GG	(Jaiminīya) Grāmageyagāna
GobhGS	Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra
HirGS	Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra
HirŚS	Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra
JA	Jaiminīya Ārcika
JB	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa
JŚS	Jaiminīya Śrauta Sūtra
KapS	Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā
KŚS	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
KŚulvaS	Kātyāyana Śulva Sūtra
KB	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
KhādGS	Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra
KS	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā

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KU	Kena Upaniṣad
LŚS	Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
MānŚS	Mānava Śrauta Sūtra
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
MU	Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad
PārGS	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
PB	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
RV	Ṛgveda Saṃhitā
SV	Sāmaveda Saṃhitā
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ŚGS	Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
ŚŚS	Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
TA	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
TU	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
VaikhŚS	Vaikhānasa Śrauta Sūtra
VāitŚS	Vaitāna Śrauta Sūtra
VarŚS	Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra
VS (K/M)	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (Kāṇva/Mādhyandina)
VŚS	Vādhūla Śrauta Sūtra

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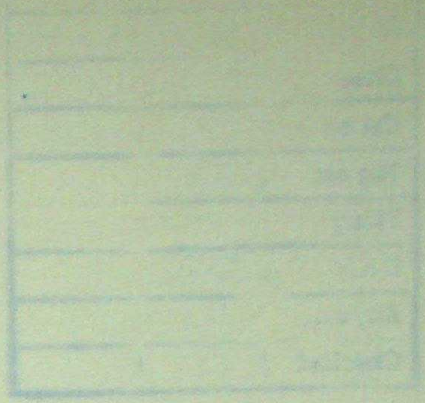

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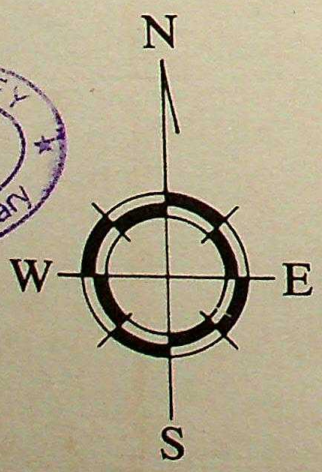

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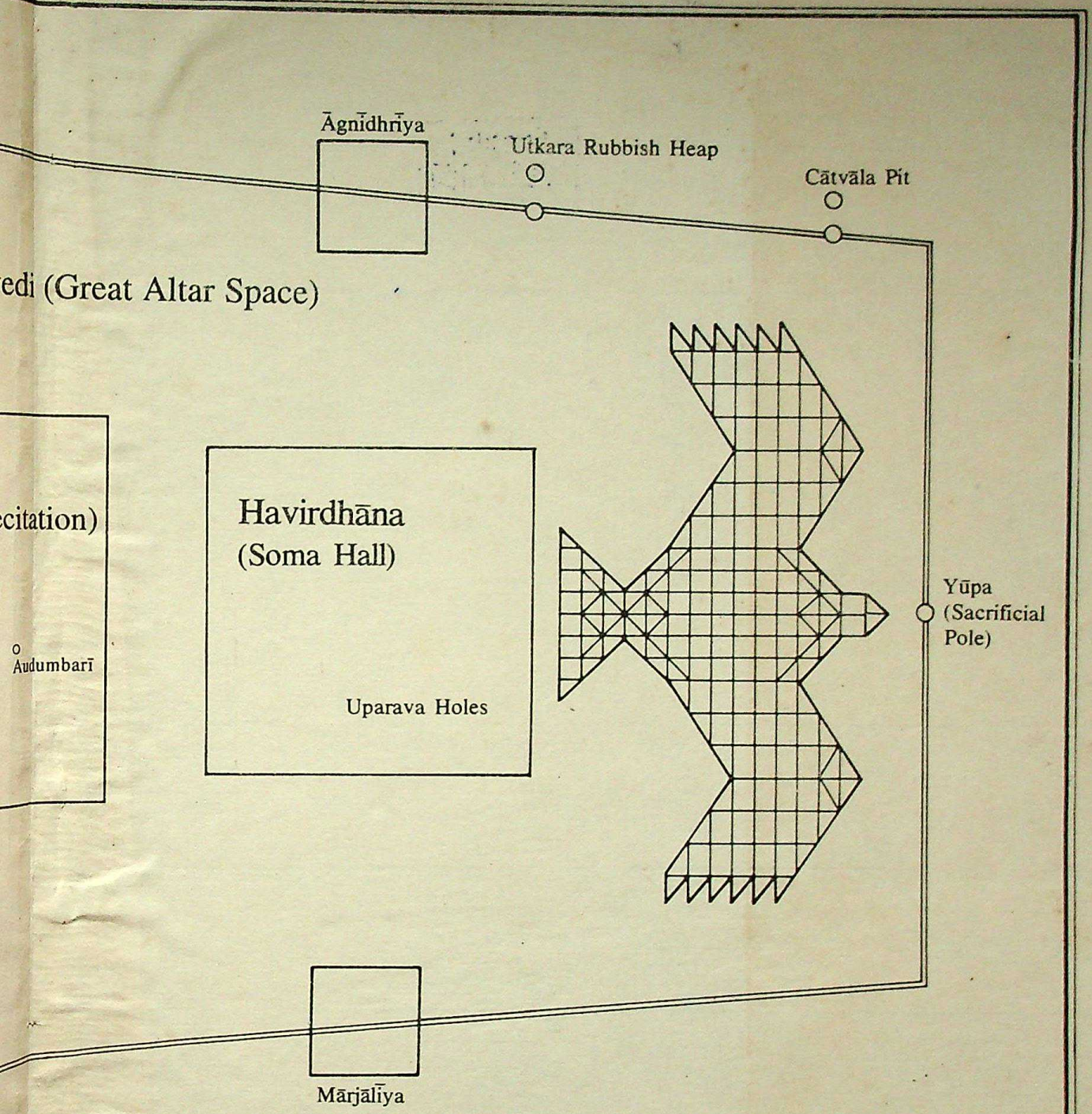

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Extracts from reviews

Due to the energetic perseverance of Professor Staal ...he succeeded in fully recording one of the most complicated Vedic rituals, that of the Fire Altar. The present work gives a complete record of this ritual according to the interpretations of the ancient manuals current among the Nambudiri brahmin community. Apart from the unique documentary value of this venture, *Agni* points to new ways of looking at and studying the Veda and its ritual, as well as its transmission over the centuries.

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Almost immediately after the completion of this historic Atiratra-Agnicayana, an eagle flew over the ritual enclosure and an hour later, the first monsoon rains came pouring down. In ancient India these were auspicious signs that guaranteed that the sacrifice was successful. Today there is no need for such signs. For future generations will look with admiration on what has been achieved here. With this epoch-making initiative, Frits Staal and his collaborators have earned the gratitude of the history of civilization.

KLAUS MYLIUS

All of us, Indologists, historians of religion or of culture, ethnologists, and linguists, are indebted to Frits Staal for his decades of inspired studies among his Nambudiri friends. With *Agni*, a work of surpassing beauty and intelligence, he has joined a scholarly lineage established by Albrecht Weber four generations ago, a *sakha* dedicated to advancing our understanding of the Vedic ritual heritage and its civilizational matrix.

DAVID M. KNIPE
Journal of Asian Studies, 1986

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
PUBLISHERS PVT. LTD.
Delhi (INDIA)
E-mail: mlbd@mlbd.com
Website: www.mlbd.com

ISBN 81-208-1660-9

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